

**SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE
OF RACE RELATIONS**

**A SURVEY
OF RACE RELATIONS IN
SOUTH
AFRICA
1973**

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A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Compiled by
**MURIEL HORRELL
DUDLEY HORNER**

Research staff
South African Institute of Race Relations
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**SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE
RELATIONS**

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NOTE

This *Survey* is stated to be for the year 1973. As it was wished to have it published early in the new year, however, it was impossible to include mention of events that took place during the last few weeks of the year. This will be done in the next issue.

All dates mentioned refer to the year 1973 unless otherwise stated.

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POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS: THE WHITE POPULATION GROUP

THE NATIONAL PARTY

During 1973 the National Party has been faced with increasing manifestations of black dissatisfaction and anger. The Black Consciousness movement appears to be gaining strength, despite the banning of most of its prominent members. Two of the more conservative of the homeland leaders have been voted out of office. The leaders are voicing the demands of their people with increasing forthrightness and to wider audiences. Serious unrest has continued at black universities. Guerilla activities in Rhodesia and Mozambique, aimed ultimately at the Republic itself, have been intensified. The "outward policy" is not succeeding: there is mounting international criticism of South Africa.

The Government has pressed ahead with plans for the partial consolidation of the homelands, but in almost every case these plans have not proved acceptable to the people concerned, who have claimed far more land and greater economic benefits than are offered.

So far as Africans in the towns are concerned, 22 Bantu Affairs Administration Boards are in the process of taking over administrative control from urban local authorities. Plans are being continued for large regional townships in the homelands to which African families will be moved from "white" towns in the regions concerned, the workers having to commute daily, weekly, or even less often to their places of employment. But the new Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr. T. N. H. "Punt" Janson, has conceded that Africans in cities remote from the homelands will be there for generations to come, and that their numbers will grow. Already, he indicated,¹ about 77 per cent of those living on the Rand, including mine labourers, are settled there on a family basis. He stated that steps must be taken to make them as contented as possible, and has invited suggestions for easing the impact of the so-called pass laws. He is promoting consultation between administrators and urban Africans, and is raising funds for the provision of recreational and sports facilities in urban townships.

Coloured people are becoming increasingly alienated from the Whites, in particular the Afrikaners. The Government has

¹ Assembly, 29 May, Hansard 16 col. 941.

appointed a multi-racial Commission of Enquiry into matters relating to this population group.

The wide-spread strikes of African workers, who are awakening to their immense potential power, have been instrumental in bringing about amendments to labour legislation, providing improved channels through which certain categories of African employees can express their grievances, and legalising strikes in certain limited circumstances. Government departments, in particular the Railways and the Post Office, are continuing the process of allowing Africans to progress to work requiring some degree of skill, and the Prime Minister has said that the Government will not stand in the way of changes in South Africa's traditional work patterns in the private sector, allowing blacks to move into higher job categories if white workers in the fields of employment concerned agree to this. The necessity of a narrowing of the wage gap is being accepted. For the first time there are official plans for the pre-service and in-service training of African factory workers in "white" areas.

In an effort to lessen South Africa's isolation in the sporting world, the Government's policy in regard to mixed sporting events has been redefined, certain "multi-national" events having been actively encouraged. This policy remains complicated, however, and unacceptable to those people in the Republic and to overseas countries that press for multi-racial sport at all levels.

As described later, interim reports by the (Schlebusch) Commission of Inquiry into Certain Organizations have had significant repercussions.

Despite the difficulties it faces, the Nationalist Government remains very firmly in the saddle.

THE UNITED PARTY

Press attacks on the Party's leadership

During the early part of 1973 the *Sunday Times*, formerly a staunch supporter of Sir De Villiers Graaff's leadership of the United Party, published a series of editorials and articles demanding his resignation. It and other English-language newspapers voiced dissatisfaction with the Party's "lack of dynamism" and "political compromises".

It was reported² that during July the U.P.'s general secretary, Senator J. L. Horak, wrote to the *Sunday Express*, stating that he had been directed by a combined meeting of the Party's Central Head Committee and its Parliamentary Caucus to convey appreciation of this newspaper's consistent and responsible support. This was resented by the "reformist" members of the Transvaal provincial caucus, under the provincial Party leader, Mr. Harry Schwarz, M.P.C., who declared that the *Sunday Express* had been

² e.g. *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 July.

openly critical of them and had published reports containing mis-statements of fact. Sir De Villiers issued a statement supporting the allegations of "regrettable attacks" by this newspaper on Party leaders in the Transvaal.

Conflict within the Party

As mentioned on page 8 of last year's *Survey*, in August 1972 Mr. Harry Schwarz, M.P.C., defeated Mr. S. J. Marais Steyn, M.P., in the election of a Party leader for the Transvaal. Mr. Steyn had for long been one of the Party's most prominent members, but was regarded by the "reformists" or "young Turks" as being too conservative. It was widely reported that there was considerable disagreement between the supporters of these two men.

One source of dispute arose from the fact that a different emphasis could be placed on aspects of the Party's constitutional plan, described in the previous issue of this *Survey* (page 9), and again defined in a pamphlet issued by the Party's Division of Information in 1973, entitled *Federation: Your only way to security*. It was stated in this pamphlet that there must be no domination by one population group of any other, that power must be shared. However, the (white) parliament would act as regulator in the delegation of powers to the legislative assemblies for the various communities and to the proposed Federal Assembly, and no powers affecting the security of the State would be transferred without a special mandate of the white electorate given at a referendum.

A subsequent official statement was released to the effect that the United Party was committed "to white leadership in the interests of all our people and³ as an instrument to bring about a sharing of power and responsibility among all our population groups". The phrasing made it possible for conservative Party members to emphasize "white leadership" rather than the ultimate sharing of power, and vice versa.

A further cause of dissension arose from the United Party's participation in the (Schlebusch) Commission of Inquiry into Certain Organizations.⁴ This matter is described in a subsequent chapter, but it is relevant to mention here that the Commission consisted of six members of the National Party and four members of the United Party. During February it issued two interim reports, both of which had been approved unanimously. The first called for the establishment of a permanent, bi-party, statutory Parliamentary Commission on Internal Security, to continue the work of the Schlebusch Commission. The second report, dealing with the National Union of S.A. Students (Nusas), recommended that, while no action should be taken against this Union as a

³ According to the *Rand Daily Mail*, for 12 September, this word "and" was not included in the first issue of this statement

⁴ See 1972 *Survey*, page 52.

body, the continued involvement in student politics of eight named members of Nusas was "extremely undesirable". Banning orders were thereupon served by the Government on the eight student leaders concerned.

There was wide-spread criticism of the rôle played by the United Party commissioners. They should, it was said, have submitted a minority report recommending that the evidence obtained be submitted to the Attorney-General for action, if warranted. The United Party was repeatedly urged to "get off the Commission". Among the outspoken critics were Party members on the Witwatersrand and Mrs. Catherine D. Taylor, M.P. for Wynberg, Cape. (The support given by the Parliamentary caucus for the commissioners is described below.)

Mrs. Taylor had specialized in educational matters and the affairs of Coloured people. She stated⁵ that, nevertheless, she had not been considered for membership of the Schlebusch Commission nor the Commission of Inquiry into matters relating to the Coloured population group. She was warned at a caucus meeting⁶ that if she made any further public statement that questioned the wisdom of Party tactics, or did not endorse the action and conclusions of the four United Party Schlebusch commissioners, this could result in her expulsion from the caucus. Mrs. Taylor thereupon resigned as the Party's shadow Minister of Education. Later, she announced⁷ that she would not seek re-election to Parliament. "In-fighting is consuming all our energies", she said.

Attitude to the Schlebusch Commission's reports

Early in May⁸ the chairman of the United Party's caucus, Mr. T. Gray Hughes, released a statement to the effect that the caucus had passed a vote of full confidence in its four members of the Schlebusch Commission, and had requested them to continue in office. Until the final report on Nusas was released, any attempt at assessment or criticism of the Commission's findings must be premature.

Failure by the United Party to have participated in the Commission, and with it, failure to have played a necessary part in ensuring a fair and just hearing for those whose actions were being investigated, would have been a grave dereliction of the Party's constitutional function as the Opposition, it was stated.

The caucus reaffirmed the United Party's total opposition to arbitrary banning as a form of administrative punishment, and its unshakable belief that, if such action was contemplated or taken against anyone, compliance with the rule of law demanded that the person concerned must have access to a judicial tribunal,

⁵ e.g. *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 March.

⁶ *Ibid.*, and issue of 19 June.

⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 July.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 4 May.

which would have power to examine the matter independently of Parliament and the executive.

It was emphasized that the United Party would not tolerate any attempts to achieve political change other than by democratic procedures within the law. It would continue to oppose any tendencies on the part of the Government, or of any other persons or agencies, to impose totalitarian methods in the maintenance of order.

Discussion of consensus

When the Commission's first interim report was under discussion, Mr. S. J. Marais Steyn spoke in support of the establishment of a bi-party Parliamentary Commission on Internal Security, and added that he believed consensus between the two parties would grow.⁹

In a Press statement,¹⁰ Sir De Villiers Graaff then firmly rejected suggestions of a move towards consensus on the major issues facing the country. The only object of consensus should be to remove discussion on inconsequential issues, allowing the nation to face the real ones. There were five basic principles on which the United Party would never compromise with the Nationalists, he said. These were:

- (a) its profound belief in the freedom and dignity of the individual;
- (b) its conviction that points of agreement between people should be stressed, and not points of difference;
- (c) its belief in a free enterprise system with a minimum of governmental interference;
- (d) its acceptance that people of different races, different standards of living, and different cultures could live in harmony in a single state;
- (e) its belief that all the people of South Africa had a common destiny and should have a common loyalty to one another and to the country.

The Prime Minister commented¹¹ that in a broad sense he wanted consensus on matters of common interest to South Africa, but it would have to be on his Party's terms. "I do not seek consensus with the United Party as such. What would I do with it?"

Debates on race relations

In the Assembly on 5 February,¹² Mr. Dave J. Marais maintained that urban Africans were and would remain a permanent part of "white" South Africa, and that the denial to them of basic human rights gave rise to a potentially explosive situation.

⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 and 13 June.

¹⁰ *Sunday Express*, 10 June, and *Star*, 12 June.

¹¹ Senate, 12 June, Hansard 12 cols. 4 000 *et seq.*

¹² Hansard 1 cols. 81-5.

Mr. Japie D. du P. Basson said,¹³ "We shall never find the right answers until we deliberately and openly adopt a course leading away from colour as the norm for all arrangements." After referring to the humiliations of petty apartheid in lifts, post offices, etc. he stated that these were fostering a spirit of discourtesy to non-whites. "Every white child who sees this situation must simply, from an early age, arrive at one conclusion, namely that in our eyes the non-white person is considered to be inferior."

Speaking shortly afterwards,¹⁴ Sir De Villiers Graaff condemned "hurtful and unnecessary invasions of human dignity which are often found in what is called petty apartheid", hardships under the pass laws, and evils of the migratory labour system. He referred to the dissatisfactions of Africans in urban areas, repeating a previous warning that "the urban Bantu is the flash-point for race conflict in South Africa".

In a subsequent debate,¹⁵ Mr. T. Gray Hughes said that relations between the Government and the country's Africans had never before been so strained. There was naught for the comfort of anyone in the confrontation that was building up. The Government's policy was rapidly approaching the point of no return. The economic needs of the homelands had been neglected in favour of their political development. The Government's homelands policy could not even begin to succeed unless these areas could absorb their own annual increase in workseekers, which they were very far from doing. But, Mr. Gray Hughes added, the Achilles heel of the Government's policy was its attitude to urban Africans.

Mr. David Marais repeated¹⁶ that it was in the urban African townships that the real racial tensions were compounding to an alarming degree. If the Government persisted in treating these people as temporary sojourners in so-called white South Africa, he said, it should at least, and as a matter of urgency, create a "migrant workers' charter".

Following an investigation of "petty apartheid" by a committee headed by Dr. G. F. Jacobs, M.P., the U.P. formulated its policy on social relationships in South Africa. This was released to the Press in October. On 29 October *The Star* quoted Dr. Jacobs as saying, "We are opposed to forced separation of the races, and also to forced integration. The basic idea is that in social affairs, we believe that you must have options."

Three principles were proposed. The first was that neither open (integrated) nor exclusive (separate) facilities should be enforced. It should be left to the proprietor of an institution or service to say who should use it. Secondly, where no separate

¹³ Hansard 3 cols. 1136-8.

¹⁴ Cols. 1281-9.

¹⁵ 17 May, Hansard 14 cols. 6842-53.

¹⁶ Cols. 6863-5.

facilities existed, as in state libraries, museums, or opera houses, these should be open to all races until equivalent ones could be provided. And thirdly, in transport, public lavatories, and residential areas, there should be both facilities open to all races and others that were exclusive, but a higher price would have to be paid for the latter.

Transvaal congress of the United Party

Black leaders had in the past addressed the United Party's parliamentary caucus, but during August, for a first time, three addressed a Party congress — that held in the Transvaal. They were Professor H. W. E. Ntsanwisi, Chief Executive Councillor of Gazankulu, Mr. Tom Swartz, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council, and Mr. J. N. Reddy, a member of the Executive of the S.A. Indian Council.

Mr. Harry Schwarz and Dr. Gideon Jacobs were unanimously re-elected leader and deputy-leader, respectively, of the U.P. in the Transvaal. Neither was opposed. Both men were given standing ovations.

An "Act of Dedication to our People" (described below), which had been formulated by the provincial caucus, was unanimously accepted.

In his summing-up speech at the end, Sir De Villiers Graaff paid sincere tribute to Mr. Schwarz (thus implicitly giving notice that the campaign against him and his supporters by conservative members must cease).¹⁷

"Act of Dedication to our People"

The "Act of Dedication" stated¹⁸ that "all our people, irrespective of language, creed, race, or colour, shall be entitled:

1. to be free of humiliations impugning upon their dignity and not be subject to unjust discriminatory practices;
2. to the protection of the rule of law, which presumes a man's innocence until guilt is proven before an independent judiciary, which guarantees the liberty and security of the individual, which ensures freedom from restriction and detention by executive action, and which permits the suspension of such fundamentals only in times of war or other national emergency;
3. to live in a society where law and order is maintained to protect the individual and security of the State, and where the ballot box is recognized as the only means of bringing about changes of government and of the constitution;
4. to social and economic justice, with opportunity of progress

¹⁷ *Sunday Times*, 26 August.

¹⁸ *Race Relations News*, June.

and to obtain a share in the wealth of the land, with free education for all, with protection against exploitation of the working man so that all who do a fair day's work can own a home and enjoy a decent living standard, and with deserved care when aged or infirm;

5. to a participation in the determination of their own destiny so that no-one will be without voice in the constitutional machinery of the State whilst ensuring security for all groups, without domination by one over others and without danger to standards already attained;
6. to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion, peaceful assembly and association, together with freedom of speech, including lawful dissent and protest;
7. to be proud citizens of South Africa, commanding respect in the community of nations, strong morally, economically, and militarily, able to resist terrorism and other aggression, while seeking to live in peaceful co-existence with neighbours in Africa."

Following its unanimous acceptance by the Transvaal congress, the Act of Dedication was submitted for consideration by the central congress of the U.P. in November.

Further statements on internal feuding in the U.P.

Following a meeting of the U.P.'s central executive committee held in Cape Town during July, Sir De Villiers Graaff announced¹⁹ that there had been a full and frank discussion on party unity. It had become abundantly clear that no real differences existed on fundamental policy. With the full support of his provincial chairmen and other members of his executive he wished to state, however, that he was not prepared to countenance feuding within the Party, indiscipline, or personality differences, which derogated from the U.P.'s first duty of attacking the National Party Government.

During the following month²⁰ Sir De Villiers repeated that he and his provincial chairmen were determined to root out the bickering and quarrelling which had done so much to tarnish the Party's image and impede its progress. He made it clear, however, that internal debates arising from the ferment of ideas in the country were accepted and welcomed.

Resignation of Mr. Marais Steyn

It was reported in various newspapers on 31 August that at a combined U.P. central head committee and parliamentary caucus meeting, Mr. Schwarz attacked Mr. Marais Steyn for emphasizing "white leadership" as being the Party's policy, rather than "shared power". Mr. Steyn then announced his resignation as chairman of

¹⁹ Various newspapers of 26 July.

²⁰ *Star*, 18 August.

the Party's Information Division, saying it had become clear to him that there were unbridgeable personality problems between himself and Mr. Schwarz, and that important matters of principle were involved, for example the attitude of Party members to the question of dynamic white leadership in South Africa.

Sir De Villiers was reported to have issued a statement endorsing Mr. Schwarz's interpretation, i.e. that white leadership was necessary only in order to establish a Federation in which power would be shared.

On 1 September Mr. Steyn resigned from the U.P. and announced that he would seek membership of the National Party. The Press speculated²¹ that he hoped to be supported by conservative Party members. If this was the case, the move was abortive, for a meeting of the public representatives of the U.P. in the Transvaal unanimously reaffirmed loyalty to the Party, its policies, its national leader, and its Transvaal provincial leader. Mr. Steyn was called upon to resign his Parliamentary seat forthwith: like other members, he had undertaken to do so if he ever ceased to be a Party member. The U.P. Divisional Committee of his constituency, Yeoville, met too, and also called upon Mr. Steyn to resign and fight a by-election as a Nationalist.²² He announced,²³ however, that he would meet the voters of Yeoville before deciding. Meanwhile, he had been accepted as a National Party member.

National Congress of the U.P.²⁴

In opening the national congress of the U.P., held in Bloemfontein during November, Sir De Villiers made it plain that the Party's policy was to use white leadership to bring about a federal political system in which power and responsibility would be shared fairly by all the communities of South Africa.

The congress accepted revised aims and principles which embodied this principle and also (in a slightly revised form) those contained in the Transvaal congress's "Act of Dedication". The policy of continuing consultation with members of all racial groups was fully endorsed, as was the Transvaal decision to invite black leaders to address its congress. It was decided that whites ought not to have the right to veto the establishment of independent homelands if this was in accordance with the wishes of the blacks concerned.²⁵

At his request, Sir De Villiers was given a mandate to appoint a central disciplinary committee with wide powers. Its decisions would be subject only to appeal to the central head committee.

²¹ *Sunday Times*, 2 September.

²² *Siar*, 4 September.

²³ *Ibid.*, 18 September.

²⁴ Account based on numerous Press reports between 9 and 12 November.

²⁵ In previous years, the U.P. had opposed the granting of ultimate sovereign independence to the homelands.

THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY

When opening the Transvaal congress of the Progressive Party, held in Johannesburg during June, the Party leader, Mr. Colin Eglin, appealed to verligtes in other parties who were frustrated by political deadlocks to help the Progressives to create a grand alliance of modern enlightened South Africans.

Two motions were debated behind closed doors, their terms being released to the Press later.¹ One matter discussed was that considerable numbers of voters found themselves unable to subscribe to National or United Party policies, yet were not attracted to Progressive Party policies. It was considered that one reason was that the Party's policy statements did not give adequate reassurance to whites in general, and Afrikaners in particular, that their identities were recognised and would be preserved within a framework of equal opportunities and rights for all.

Following discussion of the other motion, it was decided that the Party might be well advised to place more emphasis on pragmatic, short-term objectives rather than on long-term ideological philosophies. Immediate objectives might include pressing for the right of urban Africans to have their families with them, the freezing of group areas removals, massive economic development of the homelands, the control of black governmental bodies by elected rather than nominated members, non-interference by the Government in sport.

It was planned to submit these recommendations to the national congress in September; but in the event they were not discussed at the latter meeting owing to lack of time.

At this national congress, held in Durban, Mr. Colin Eglin was unanimously re-elected as Party leader, and Mr. Ray Swart was unanimously elected national chairman in succession to the late Mr. Harry Lawrence.

The congress made no policy changes, but focussed primarily on the way in which issues such as labour, education, and the cost of living should be tackled. Delegates gave full backing to Mr. Eglin's initiative in having held discussions with black leaders in the Republic and in other African states. It was decided to plan a national convention of all races to consider such matters as the franchise, federation, land distribution, and the rights of workers.²

Invitations to attend the congress had been sent to all the homeland leaders, three of whom were able to accept and addressed the delegates — Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu, Mr. Collins Ramusi of Lebowa, and Mr. T. M. Molathlawa of Bophutha-Tswana. Chief Buthelezi received a standing ovation after a speech in which he urged that blacks and whites should together draft

¹ e.g. *Sunday Times*, 24 June, *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 June.

² *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 September.

and work for the enactment of constitutional guarantees for the safeguarding of basic rights and freedoms for all, thus allaying the fears of minority groups, particularly the whites.³

ACTION SOUTH AND SOUTHERN AFRICA (ASASA) AND PLANS FOR A DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The establishment by Mr. Theo J. A. Gerdener of a movement called Action South and Southern Africa, and his initial plans, were described on pages 61-2 of last year's *Survey*.

Mr. Gerdener said during June⁴ that ASASA had been working for a closing of the wage gap, and for the elimination of petty apartheid. Discussions were in progress to identify the forms of discrimination that caused the greatest inter-racial friction. Two further projects would be given priority. One, called "Food and race relations", would concern itself with the fact that only 22 per cent of South Africa's work force of five million people enjoyed proper well-balanced feeding. Proper feeding would improve productivity and cut the accident, absenteeism, and sickness rates. The second project was to establish citizens' advice bureaux in the major cities to help newcomers, especially blacks, find their way through the welter of laws and regulations that affected them.

During the latter part of the year⁵ Mr. Gerdener announced his plans for the creation of a Democratic Party, initially all-White, but later to include people of other racial groups. Its policy would be a "twin stream" one. In the one stream would be the Whites, Coloured, and Indians. All basic rights at present enjoyed by the Whites would be extended gradually to the others. In the course of time, all public facilities would be shared, and a state would emerge in which all citizens had full equality. Petty discrimination based on colour would be eliminated.

The borders of the homelands would be redrawn to consolidate these areas into large blocks which could become viable, completely independent states. There would be no mass removals of people: Whites could remain in the new African areas if they so wished.

A policy for urban Africans in white areas had still to be determined. Consideration was being given to the conversion of large urban African townships into autonomous city states, dual states, or integrated parts of homelands.

The White, Coloured, and Indian areas, the independent African states, the autonomous city states, and, possibly, neighbouring states would be linked in a commonwealth of Southern African states, economically inter-dependent but politically independent, and anti-communist. Richer member-states would con-

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Sunday Express*, 3 June.

⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 31 July, 4 August, 30 August; *Sunday Times*, 5 August and 23 September.

tribute to the dynamic economic advancement of the less fortunate ones. A commonwealth was preferable to a federal form of government, since in a federation one group might be able to dominate the others.

VERLIGTE ACTION

During the past two years a series of informal meetings were held throughout the country between verligte⁶ white people of various political parties who are disillusioned by the political log-jam and anxious to see bold action taken to remedy legitimate grievances of blacks. These culminated in a meeting held in Pretoria on 20 May, organized by Professor Willem A. Joubert of the University of South Africa, and attended by prominent academics, politicians, businessmen, and others from various political parties, including General R. C. Hiemstra (the former Commandant-General), Professor Frans Maritz and Dr. Connie Alant of the University of South Africa, Mr. Japie Basson, M.P., and Mr. Colin Eglin.

With financial assistance from two businessmen whose names were not revealed, this group planned a function which was held in Johannesburg on 29 June, and attended by about 450 invited guests. Professor Joubert, who was in the chair, said that the object was to form a verligte action group on an across-the-party basis in order to mobilise enlightened political opinion to facilitate change. He stated that there were three points of departure on which it was essential to agree:

- (a) that South Africa was one nation whose people had a common destiny, their mutual commitment making joint planning for the future essential;
- (b) that the country had a "multi-form" nature consisting of different population groups;
- (c) that all people in South Africa, notwithstanding their status, group loyalties, or colour, were entitled to a life consonant with human dignity.⁷

An interim steering committee consisting of 21 persons was appointed, and a full-time office opened in Pretoria.

During the following month,⁸ a special committee was set up to discuss with black leaders the question of the involvement of their peoples in the new movement. A series of action groups was formed to discuss, with people of all racial groups, current questions such as citizenship and political rights, education, city and community planning, economic affairs and labour, censorship, student affairs, and welfare services.

It was announced on 25 July that the interim national Com-

⁶ "Enlightened".

⁷ *Star*, 25 June, and *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 June.

⁸ *Star*, 13 July.

mittee had decided to open the membership of Verligte Action to all South Africans, irrespective of language or colour. Multi-racial meetings, with speakers drawn from the different racial groups, were held in Cape Town, Pretoria, Johannesburg, Durban, and other centres.

A pamphlet was issued, amplifying the "points of departure". Verligte Action, it was stated, was concerned about the future of South Africa and its people, and about the humiliations and injustices to which many South African citizens were subjected. It was concerned about the growing feeling of frustration and bitterness among many people, the increasing antagonism between language and colour groups and the danger of open confrontation. It called for a fundamental reappraisal of attitudes, policies, and actions, and asked all South Africans to assist in the eradication of prejudice and the removal of injustice. Verligte Action committed itself to principles of non-discrimination and the full participation of all groups in the country's social, economic, and political structure.⁹

Plans were discussed for a national convention to consider the political future of South Africa.

CONSTITUTION AND ELECTIONS AMENDMENT ACT

NO. 79 OF 1973

A Constitution and Elections Amendment Bill was introduced by the Minister of the Interior during April, and was referred to a Select Committee before its Second Reading. After hearing evidence, this committee drafted an amended Bill, which was adopted by Parliament.

It contained a large number of provisions relating to the registration of voters (continuous registration will take place), and the conduct of elections. Many of these provisions are to apply, too, to the election of members of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council and the Coloured Council for South West Africa.

At present, the House of Assembly consists of 166 members, 160 of them elected by white voters in the Republic, and 6 by white voters in South West Africa. The quota per electoral division in the Republic is obtained by dividing the total number of registered voters by 160. However, if an electoral division has an area of 10 000 square miles (approximately 26 000 square kilometres) or more, the delimitation commission may reduce the number of voters in this division to 8 000 or a number equal to 70 per cent of the quota, whichever is the greater. The number of seats per province has, thus, altered from time to time according to the distribution of the population. In 1973 it was:

⁹ *Star*, 14 August.

Transvaal	...	...	...	...	...	73
Cape	...	...	...	...	...	54
Natal	...	...	...	...	...	18
Free State	...	...	...	...	...	15
						<hr/> 160 <hr/>

When introducing the revised Bill,¹ the Minister of the Interior said that the number of seats per province was to become fixed, because, proportionately, the numbers of voters in the Cape and Free State were not increasing as rapidly as were those in the Transvaal and Natal. The number in rural areas of the Cape and Free State had decreased.

In terms of the new Act, the House of Assembly will consist of 165 members elected in the Republic and, as before, 6 elected in South West Africa. The distribution of seats in the Republic will be:

Transvaal	...	...	...	...	...	76
Cape	...	...	...	...	...	55
Natal	...	...	...	...	...	20
Free State	...	...	...	...	...	14
						<hr/> 165 <hr/>

These numbers will not be altered until a period of ten years has elapsed from the date of commencement of the Amendment Act. The average quota for the Republic will be obtained by dividing the number of white voters on the current lists by 165, provided that in the case of an electoral division with an area of 25 000 square km. or more, the delimitation commission may reduce the number of voters to a number equal to 70 per cent of the quota.

At present, a provincial council has the same number of members as are elected in that province for the House of Assembly, except that there must be a minimum of 25. The numbers in 1973 were, in consequence:

Transvaal	...	...	...	...	...	73
Cape	...	...	...	...	...	54
Natal	...	...	...	...	...	25
Free State	...	...	...	...	...	25

According to the Amendment Act, provincial councils will consist of the same number of members as are elected in the province for the House of Assembly, provided that in any province whose representatives in the Assembly are fewer than 20, the provincial council will consist of twice as many members as the number of representatives of that province in the Assembly. In

¹ Assembly 12 June, Hansard 18 cols. 8928-36.

such case, each electoral division for the Assembly in that province will be divided by the commission into two electoral divisions of the provincial council, each containing as nearly as possible an equal number of voters. The number of provincial council seats will, accordingly, be:

Transvaal	...	...	...	...	...	76
Cape	...	...	...	...	...	55
Natal	...	...	...	...	...	20
Free State	...	...	...	...	...	28

The new Act provides that the life of a provincial council shall normally be five years, but the State President may by proclamation dissolve all provincial councils with effect from the same date. Should a provincial council dissolve by effluxion of time during the existence of a House of Assembly, the State President may by proclamation extend the duration of the provincial council for a period not exceeding 18 months. If, however, the Assembly is dissolved before the 18 months has expired, the provincial council may be dissolved, too.

The object of these provisions is to make it possible for elections for the House of Assembly and for the provincial councils to be held on the same day.

The United Party supported the Second Reading of the Bill. It was opposed by Mrs. Helen Suzman, for the Progressive Party, because it:

- (a) perpetuated the existing disparity between the values of the votes of urban and rural electors;
- (b) introduced a disparity between the values of the votes of electors in the different provinces;
- (c) might reduce the importance of provincial issues by submerging them in the politics of national elections.

Mrs. Suzman claimed that the measure would operate to the disadvantage of the Transvaal.²

² Hansard 18 col. 8946.

POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL MATTERS: THE COLOURED, INDIAN, AND AFRICAN POPULATION GROUPS

COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO MATTERS RELATING TO THE COLOURED POPULATION GROUP

The appointment of a Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group was gazetted on 23 March, in terms of Proclamation 81 and Government Notice 442. The Commission was requested to report within 18 months. The terms of reference were:

- “1. to inquire into and to consider and report on:
 - (a) the progress of the Coloured population group since 1960 in:
 - (i) the social sphere, with the inclusion of housing and health conditions, community development, education, and all matters relevant hereto;
 - (ii) the economic field, with the inclusion of commerce and industrial development, agricultural development, general economic development, occupational participation, and all matters relevant hereto;
 - (iii) the constitutional field, and all matters relevant hereto;
 - (iv) local government, and all matters relevant hereto;
 - (v) the sports and cultural fields, and all matters relevant hereto;
 - (b) hindrances in the different fields which can be identified as being obstacles;
 - (c) any other relevant matters within the scope of the designated field of inquiry which may come to the attention of the commission;
- “2. to make recommendations . . . as to the manner in which development of the Coloured population group can be further promoted.”

Professor Erika Theron of Stellenbosch was appointed chairman of the commission, the other members being six Coloured men and twelve Whites, all with specialised knowledge in various fields. The commission set up study groups on government and administration, economics and labour, agricultural matters, education, cultural and religious matters, the social sphere and welfare

services, housing, transport and community development, health, and sport and recreation.

The Labour Party and the Natal Coloured Teachers' Association are reported¹ to have decided to withhold evidence unless subpoenaed. They objected to the identification of 'Coloured' people as a separate population group, for whom full citizenship rights were not contemplated.

THE COLOURED PERSONS' REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL (CPRC) Budget

According to the Republic's official estimates of expenditure for 1973-4,² the amounts allocated to the CPRC were:

	R
Provision from Revenue Vote (Coloured Relations)	111 091 000
Provision from Loan Account	52 500
	111 143 500

In addition, the central Government budgeted R6 409 900 for the salaries of 1 347 White personnel seconded to the service of the CPRC.

These amounts exclude expenditure on the University of the Western Cape, which does not fall under the CPRC.

The Council's proposed expenditure in 1973-4 is:³

<i>Revenue Account</i>		R
Finance and Auxiliary Services		1 487 000
Education		69 272 500
Welfare Services and Pensions		39 308 000
Rural areas and Settlements		1 020 500
Local Government		3 000
 <i>Loan Account</i>		
Education		15 300
Rural Areas and Settlements		37 200
		111 143 500

In terms of Proclamation 185 of 3 August, agricultural services in Coloured areas are to be transferred to the control of the CPRC.

Constitution of the Council

The next elections of the 40 elected members of the CPRC are due in 1974. As previously, a further 20 members will be nominated by the Government.

From 1979, however, all 60 members will be elected. The

¹ *Star*, 22 May.

² R.P. 2/1973, 3/1973, and 6/1973.

³ Letter 6/29 dated 2 November from the Commissioner for Coloured Affairs.

Minister of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs said in the Assembly on 29 May⁴ that an earlier date was impossible because much work had still to be done in demarcating the constituencies.

Tactics of the opposition Labour Party

Many members of the Labour Party consider that they should identify themselves with the Black consciousness movement. Certain leaders of this movement have criticised the party for remaining in the CPRC, but it has, thus far, done so in order to use the Council as a platform from which it can, legally and officially, launch attacks on Government policy.⁵

At its national congress, held in April, the Labour Party decided to allow its Youth Organization to become non-racial. This had been urged by youths who supported Black consciousness.⁶

1973 Session of the CPRC

The official opening of the CPRC's 1973 Session on 3 August by the President of the Republic's Senate was boycotted by the Labour Party. This party subsequently introduced a motion of no confidence in the CPRC, which was defeated by 30 votes to 22.⁷ The Council decided unanimously to call upon its Executive to negotiate with the Government for the declaration of 1 December as a national day to commemorate the abolition of slavery.⁸

Proceedings were interrupted later in the month because of complaints by the leaders of both of the main parties against actions by the Republic's Minister of the Interior, Dr. Connie P. Mulder. At a National Party meeting Dr. Mulder referred to the fact that Mr. Tom Swartz, leader of the Federal Party and chairman of the Council's Executive, had addressed the Transvaal congress of the United Party. According to a report published in the *Burger*, the Minister stated that Mr. Swartz had become a leader of the Coloured people because the Government nominated him as a leader. At the time, the U.P. had ridiculed him for that reason, but it was now accepting him.⁹ Mr. Swartz was bitterly resentful of these reported remarks.

Mr. Sonny Leon, leader of the Labour Party, was angry too, because the Minister had refused passports for which he and the members of his family had applied. On 24 August the Council adjourned normal business, and nominated a 16-member delega-

⁴ Hansard 16 col. 7895.

⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 June; *Sunday Express*, 10 June; *Cape Argus*, 3 August.

⁶ *Star*, 23 April.

⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 August.

⁸ *Star*, 17 August.

⁹ See 1969 *Survey*, page 7, for the circumstances of Mr. Swartz's appointment as chairman of the Executive.

tion, representing all the political parties and the independents, to seek an immediate interview with the Ministers of the Interior and of Coloured Affairs in order to discuss these two matters.

It was announced on 28 August that the Prime Minister as well as the two Ministers mentioned would attend the discussions, but that these could not be held until 11 September (after the Council's Session was due to end). The Labour Party then moved that the Session should adjourn for the year, in protest, unless an earlier meeting could be arranged. This motion was defeated by 28 votes to 27, in favour of a Federal Party motion that the Council should adjourn until 12 September. Seven members appointed to the delegation to meet the Cabinet Ministers then withdrew from it — four from the Labour Party (including Mr. Leon), two representatives of small parties, and an independent.¹⁰

The remaining nine members met the Cabinet Ministers, as planned, on 11 September. It was reported¹¹ that the Minister of the Interior told Mr. Swartz that the *Burger* had given a misleading account of his speech, which was sincerely regretted by all those concerned. Even before the matter had been raised in the CPRC, the Minister had asked for a correction to be published.

The Prime Minister told the delegation that Mr. Leon's application for a passport would be reconsidered on its merits if he gave an undertaking to refrain from harming the interests of South Africa while he was overseas. Informed of this, Mr. Leon is reported to have said that he refused to "buy" his passport by "crawling" before the Government. Criticisms that he had voiced on overseas visits in the past had not been attacks on South Africa, but on the policies of the Nationalist Government.

On 14 September Mr. Swartz moved that the Council should adjourn until 1974. Mr. Leon said that he would have supported adjournment for "all time", since the Council could never satisfy the political aspirations and rights of the Coloured people. But he objected to a closure merely of the present Session, since 27 motions on the Order Paper had not been dealt with. Mr. Swartz's motion was carried by 28-19 votes.

STUDY OF ATTITUDES OF COLOURED PEOPLE IN JOHANNESBURG

Dr. M. L. Edelstein, the chief welfare officer of Johannesburg's Non-European Affairs Department, has completed a "Sociological Study of the Coloured Community of Johannesburg with Special Reference to Attitude Analysis". It reflects the views of a sample of 500 middle-class people, who were interviewed by trained Coloured workers. Dr. Edelstein emphasized that the

¹⁰ *Rand Daily Mail*, 29, 30, and 31 August.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 13 September.

findings were not necessarily representative of the views of Coloured people of South Africa generally, but did provide an indication of how a significant portion of the Coloured community felt about vital issues.

It is clearly impossible to give an adequate summary of the study in these pages. Very brief reference only can be made to a few major points.

More than half of those interviewed (62 per cent) said they believed that the Coloured people should form an integral part of the South African nation. Only 32 per cent thought that they should form a nation with its own identity.

Only 2 per cent wanted to be called "Black". A majority of 53 per cent wanted to be called South Africans, while 24 per cent wanted to be called "Coloured".

Generally, Dr. Edelstein found that the Coloured were drifting further and further away from the Whites; that they were becoming alienated, frustrated, and unco-operative; that their loyalty to South Africa was, in a majority of cases, doubtful; and that their relationship with Whites abounded in points and latent points of friction.

A large majority, of 81 per cent, believed that the Government's policy of separate development was increasingly alienating the Coloured from the Afrikaner. Afrikaners ranked low on the social distance scale. But when the respondents were asked later to give their opinions of members of the two White groups on the basis of their individual contact with them, the Afrikaner image improved considerably.

More than anything else, Johannesburg's Coloured people wanted political equality with Whites — a full say in the central Parliament. Although they pressed for full economic and social opportunity, a majority did not insist on residential integration.

Asked about political attitudes, 38 per cent indicated that if they had the opportunity they would vote for the Progressive Party, 16 per cent for the United Party, 13 per cent for the National Party, and 33 per cent for none of these parties. So far as the Coloured parties were concerned, 32 per cent supported the Labour Party, 9 per cent the Federal Party, and 37 per cent none of the existing parties.

The greatest general grievance was unequal pay for equal work (73 per cent), closely followed by colour bars in employment (67 per cent), inadequate educational opportunities (56 per cent), and inadequate accommodation (52 per cent).

Dr. Edelstein found that most of the immediate major grievances and problems stemmed from the implementation, rather than from the basis, of the policy of separate development. This meant that, given money and effort, relations between White and Coloured could be improved considerably within the context of present political realities in South Africa (although trends were

at present moving in the opposite direction). Dr. Edelstein proposed a 12-point programme, based on his findings, to draw the Coloured people closer to the Whites. This programme was sent to the Theron Commission of Inquiry, mentioned earlier in this chapter.¹²

S.A. INDIAN COUNCIL

The S.A. Indian Council met on several occasions during the year, discussing and making official representations on such matters as the shortage of housing, particularly in Durban and Johannesburg, the provision of industrial sites in Indian group areas, the need for more beaches and inland holiday resorts for Indians, employment opportunities for school-leavers, and restrictions on travel through the Transkei. No party-political groupings have emerged within the Council.

The Council continues to consist of 25 nominated members, but according to the Minister of Indian Affairs,¹ after the term of office of the present members expires on 31 August 1974 there will be 30 members, half of them elected.² In the absence of voters' rolls, elections will be conducted through a system of electoral colleges constituted on a regional basis.

The chairman of the Council's executive committee, Mr. A. M. Rajab, died on 7 October.

INDIAN POLITICAL PARTIES

According to the *Rand Daily Mail* of 5 September, a new Indian political party, called the People's Democratic Party, has been formed in the Transvaal. It is led by Mr. S. A. Mayet. He said that it opposed all racially exclusive movements, but because of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act was obliged to confine its membership to Indians. It rejected all forms of political totalitarianism, and would strive for the equal participation of all people in the government of the country, and equal working conditions and opportunities.

Little has been reported during the year on the activities of the Natal Indian Congress. Its president, Mr. C. Sewpershad, has been banned under the Suppression of Communism Act.

BLACK COMMUNITY PROGRAMMES

At the end of May, Black Community Programmes, Durban, published *Black Review, 1972*, edited by Ben A. Khoapa. It recorded events and trends in the black community during the year. Mr. Khoapa's description of the goals of Black Community

¹² Findings re-summarized from a summary by Mr. John D'Oliveira, *Star*, 8 September.

¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 31 July.

² Enabling legislation was passed in 1972. See page 22 of last year's *Survey*.

Programmes cannot be quoted, however, because during October he was placed under a banning order.

BLACK PEOPLE'S CONVENTION

The founding of the Black People's Convention, and its aims, were described on page 28 of last year's *Survey*. Its first national congress, reported to have been attended by some 200 African, Indian, and Coloured delegates and observers, was held during December 1972 at Hammanskraal, near Pretoria.

The main theme of the speeches was that blacks were becoming ever more determined to chart their own future and find solutions to their own problems. Opposition was expressed to dialogue between South Africa and other countries, foreign investment which supported the economic system of white South Africa and exploited black workers, and multi-national sport as advocated by the Government. It was decided to write to foreign companies, asking them to withdraw their interests in South Africa and not to involve themselves in the economic development of the homelands and border areas.³

Mrs. Winnifred Kgware was unanimously elected first national president of the BPC. The other leading office-bearers then elected have been unable to continue in office. Banning orders have been served by the Government on Messrs. Chris Madibeng Mokoditsoa (elected vice-president), Siphon Buthelezi (secretary-general), and Sathasivan "Saths" Cooper (public relations officer), as well as on several other members, including the trade unionist, Mr. Drake K. Koka, Mrs. S. Moodley, and a young poet, Mr. Mathew Diseko. Mr. Mosebudi Mangena (elected national organizer) was during June charged under the Terrorism Act. His trial is described later.

Three former members of the BPC's staff in Johannesburg, Mr. Bokwe Mafuna (who had been placed under a banning order) and two office assistants, escaped from South Africa during October, without travel documents.

S.A. STUDENTS' ORGANIZATION

Events concerning this organization are dealt with under the section of this *Survey* dealing with student organizations in general.

AFRICAN LEADERS IN THE HOMELANDS

As indicated in previous years, the homeland leaders at first concerned themselves mainly with matters affecting the citizens of these areas, for example the extent of land to be made available to them, constitutional development, etc. More recently, how-

³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 December, and *Star*, 21 December 1972.

ever, a number of these leaders, notably Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, have used the platforms afforded them by virtue of their office to voice the more general opinions and aspirations of Africans. They have given a number of addresses to multi-racial audiences, which have received wide Press coverage. Examples of views expressed on particular matters are given in appropriate chapters.

COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO CERTAIN ORGANIZATIONS

APPOINTMENT OF COMMISSION

An account was given on pages 52-4 of last year's *Survey* of the appointment of a Parliamentary Select Committee to investigate the objects, activities, and financing of four organizations and their subordinate bodies, the conversion of this Committee into a Commission of Inquiry, and the terms of reference of the Commission. The membership was increased to ten Members of Parliament, six from the National Party and four from the United Party, the chairman being Mr. A. L. Schlebusch (N.P.).

The organizations to be investigated were the University Christian Movement (which subsequently disbanded), the National Union of S.A. Students (Nusas), the Christian Institute of Southern Africa, and S.A. Institute of Race Relations. The Commission was instructed to inquire into and report on:

- (a) the objects, organization, and financing of the four organizations and any related organizations, bodies, committees, or groups of persons;
- (b) the activities of the organizations, bodies, committees, or groups of persons and the direct or indirect results of those activities;
- (c) the activities of persons in or in connection with the organizations, bodies, committees, or groups of persons and the direct or indirect results of those activities;
- (d) any related matter which came to the notice of the Commission and which in its view called for inquiry;
- (e) to make recommendations if, in view of the Commission's findings, it appeared necessary to do so.

It was decided, in terms of enabling sections of the Commissions Act,¹ that the sittings of the Commission should be held in camera, and that the full evidence would not be published. If a witness so requested, his identity would not be disclosed. No information about the proceedings might be divulged by witnesses or other persons present during the inquiry.

The effect was that representatives and members of the organizations under investigation were unaware of evidence given by others relating to them or their organizations. They were unable to cross-examine witnesses or to refute any allegations that may have been made without their knowledge. Nor could they lead

¹ No. 8/1947 as amended.

their own evidence or call their own witnesses. The participation by counsel was limited to advising clients as to their legal rights. Its terms of reference empowered the Commission to inquire into the personal beliefs and conduct of anyone in any way connected with the organizations under investigation.

RECOMMENDED ESTABLISHMENT OF A PERMANENT INTERNAL SECURITY COMMISSION

On 27 February the Prime Minister tabled in the Assembly two interim reports by the Commission, both of which had been approved unanimously by the members of this body.

It was recommended, in one of the reports, that a permanent, bi-party, statutory Parliamentary Commission be established on Internal Security, to continue the work begun by the existing Commission in respect of "organizations which exist already and which may from time to time come to light". It would consist of six Members of Parliament appointed by the State President, and would be linked to the Department of the Prime Minister. Its powers of investigation and rules of procedure would be similar to those of the existing Commission. The new body would have a mandate to investigate matters affecting internal security which were referred to it by the State President. Existing and proposed legislation and administrative action in the field of internal security should be referred to it for investigation and report.

Legislation to establish such a Commission would be introduced during the current Session, the Prime Minister said.² He announced later, however,³ that for various reasons this legislation would be held over until 1974.

In the meanwhile Mr. Harry Schwarz, leader of the United Party in the Transvaal, had pointed out⁴ that this Party was not bound by the recommendations of its representatives on the Commission. "Care must be taken that machinery is not created for undesirable and unjustifiable witch-hunts", he said.

In a circular issued during March by the United Party's Division of Information and Research it was stated that if the creation of a standing committee on internal security could lead to a review of all security legislation, and an end to bannings without trial, it would be worth considering. But the United Party could not support such a commission if it were to usurp the functions of the police or of the courts.

INTERIM REPORT ON NUSAS

As mentioned in last year's *Survey*, during 1972 the Schlebusch Commission heard evidence concerning the National Union of S.A. Students from representatives of the Bureau of State Security

² Hansard 4 col. 1486.

³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 May.

⁴ *Star*, 21 March.

and other people, besides issuing subpoenas to a number of members of Nusas to appear for questioning. (Nusas had indicated that it would not submit evidence or documents unless forced to do so by law.)

In a further interim report, tabled at the same time as the first, the Commission unanimously recommended that no action should be taken against Nusas as a body, but that it had been decided "in a spirit of urgency" to name eight people as members of a group which, in a way that endangered internal security, had manoeuvred Nusas on to its present road. Their continued involvement in student politics was considered to be "extremely undesirable".

This small group of activists, it was stated, were being influenced by people outside the organization and outside South Africa. They were intensely active politically, and did not support any of the existing political parties. They were trying to bring about change which would result in a replacement of the existing order in South Africa.

Fewer than five per cent of students at English-language universities actively associated themselves with the activities of Nusas. However, from time to time the leaders created situations to activate the broad student body emotionally.

Nusas received moral and financial support from foreign individuals, organizations, political parties, and governments, the Commission stated. It tried to conceal the origin of certain overseas funds, but information indicated that most of its projects and political activities depended largely on foreign funds. In order to obtain this financial aid, Nusas presented itself as favourably as possible, while presenting South Africa in the worst possible light.

With one exception, all the top leaders of Nusas lived together during 1972 in two houses which were described in evidence as "communes".

Until the present, Nusas had remained within the law. At a congress in Grahamstown held towards the end of 1972, however, a resolution had been adopted by majority vote which indicated that, in certain circumstances, the organization would break the law. This resolution was to the effect that, in the event of the removal (by the Government) of the fundamental and lawful right of the National Union to meet together to discuss and decide on issues, and to take what, prior to the removal, was lawful action, Nusas would ignore such removal and take the consequences of such a stand. The hope was expressed that the law would remain "such that we can continue to operate within it", and it was stated that any action taken by students would be expressly and intentionally peaceful.

The Commission considered, however, that incitement to illegal action could lead to student violence.

It stated that the Nusas leaders opposed, not only the present

Government, but also the entire existing order in South Africa, including the capitalistic system, existing moral norms, and forms of authority. They rejected even liberalism as an objective, and forecast a confrontation between the white and the black population groups.

EVENTS FOLLOWING THE RELEASE OF THIS REPORT

Parliamentary debate

When he tabled this report by the Schlebusch Commission on 27 February, the Prime Minister said⁵ that the Minister of Justice had considered the cases of the eight persons named by the Commission,⁶ and concluded that they fell within the purview of the provisions of the Suppression of Communism Act. Consequently, orders of restriction would be served on all eight, effective immediately, in the interests of the country and of students and of parents who sent their children to universities.

Mr. S. J. Marais Steyn (then a leading member of the United Party⁷) said⁸ that the Opposition members of the Commission stood by the factual report that was before the Government. They could substantiate that the activists who were abusing the organization of Nusas were doing things which were dangerous to the public safety and which might tend to subvert good order in South Africa. But the Opposition members were unhappy that action was to be taken against them under the Suppression of Communism Act. Nowhere did the Commission find that the activists had been motivated by any intention of furthering the aims of communism. The United Party believed that the evidence before the Commission should have been referred to the Attorney-General for consideration and possible action. If, on the other hand, the law of South Africa was such that people could not be found guilty of crimes when they were endangering the safety of the State, legislation should be introduced to cover the situation, clearly defining the crimes with which it was meant to deal, and giving accused persons the opportunity of defending themselves before the courts. Sir De Villiers Graaff emphasised that his party was totally opposed to arbitrary bannings without recourse to the courts of law.

Mr. A. L. Schlebusch stated⁹ that when urgent action was necessary to protect internal security, there was at present no other available method than the imposition of restrictions under the Suppression of Communism Act. It was not relevant whether the persons concerned were communists: what had to be considered

⁵ Assembly Hansard 4 col. 1490.

⁶ Their names are given in a subsequent chapter.

⁷ As mentioned earlier, he subsequently crossed the floor, joining the National Party.

⁸ Hansard 4 cols. 1509-13.

⁹ Cols. 1567-73.

objectively was whether their actions furthered the aims of communism. Mr. Schlebusch invited the Opposition to co-operate in exploring whether a better method of dealing with such persons could not be found.

“Counter-report” by Nusas

Nusas issued a “counter-report”, rebutting certain allegations that had been made by the Commission. *Inter alia*, it denied that the organization was dominated by a small “clique”. Policies, it stated, were decided upon in a democratic way by majority vote among representatives of universities who attended annual congresses. The leaders were bound to carry out the decisions thus made.

The Commission had sought to show that “changing the existing structure” and “revolution” were the same. It had failed to note that, time and time again, Nusas had reiterated its condemnation of violence. Nusas, it was declared, had never been dictated to or influenced by persons overseas, as the Commission had alleged, nor had it ever been supported by any foreign government. It had never presented a different policy overseas from that which had been expounded locally.

It had been stated by the Commission that Nusas leaders did not support any existing political party, but worked for drastic change in the existing order. In fact, at least nine Nusas executives and national council members had either been employed full-time by the Progressive Party, or had been closely associated with it.

A full explanation was given of a financial transaction which the Commission had considered to be suspicious.

Nusas submitted that the banning orders on the eight leaders had been imposed because of the Commission’s failure to find any evidence which could stand the test of a court of law.

Further banning orders, and protests

It was announced on 2 March that eight leading members of the (black) S.A. Students’ Organization (Saso) and the Black People’s Convention had been placed under orders of restriction. (These organizations had not been under investigation by the Commission.)

In a statement made on the same day,¹⁰ Sir De Villiers Graaff called for united protest against the banning orders, demanding that the people concerned be brought immediately before courts of law instead. The bannings, he continued, had again demonstrated the Government’s contempt for the rule of law.

Forceful statements of protest were issued by a large number

¹⁰ *Sunday Express*, 4 March, and circular issued by the United Party’s Division of Information and Research.

of organizations, including the Institute of Race Relations,¹¹ and at the English-language universities. Students and others strongly criticised the United Party for having served on the Commission, and deprecated the fact that the members who did serve had not issued a minority report. They should have known, it was argued, that the report submitted would lead to banning orders. Sections of the Press repeatedly urged the U.P. to withdraw from the Commission.

DECISION BY MEMBERS OF THE CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE AND THE S.A. COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

During the weekend of 2-4 March, the pending investigation of the Christian Institute of Southern Africa was discussed by its Board of Management, a large majority of the members of which were present. A number of board and executive staff members stated that they could not in conscience participate in the proceedings of the Commission of Inquiry.

After discussion a resolution was passed by 17 votes, with four abstentions, its terms being communicated to the Commission.¹² These were:

- (a) "that the recent action taken against student leaders by way of arbitrary banning orders confirms our initial impression that the thinking behind the appointment of the Parliamentary Select Committee is calculated to permit punitive measures being taken under the guise of democratic procedure;
- (b) "that we reaffirm our conviction that the investigation of any organization should be undertaken through a judicial commission which can ensure impartiality, the right of defence to accusations made, the right to face one's accusers, and the upholding of the due process of law;
- (c) "that we fully support those of the board and staff executive who decide that in conscience they cannot co-operate with a Commission of Inquiry which they consider by its constitution and mandate to be a denial of the democratic process and judicial procedure;
- (d) "that, while we confidently affirm that we have nothing to hide, we also affirm that there is much to preserve by way of our Christian heritage of fairness and the evidencing of justice, which such a Parliamentary Commission palpably erodes".

A number of the leading members decided to refuse to give evidence if called upon so to do. Others reserved judgment. (The penalties for refusal are up to R100, or six months.)

When the Commission was first appointed, the S.A. Council of Churches offered to give evidence on behalf of the organizations to be investigated.

¹¹ See *Race Relations News*, March.

¹² *Sunday Times*, 11 March; *Star*, 13 March.

At a meeting of the executive of the Council on 7 and 8 March, however, a statement was issued calling on the Government to revoke the restriction orders served on the Nusas and Saso leaders in favour of the normal process of law, as only in that way could the innocence or guilt of these persons concerned be established. It was claimed that the decision to ban the leaders unwittingly furthered the aims of communism, as it did not allow political idealism to operate openly within existing structures, but created a spirit of bitter frustration and eventually drove people to acts of political desperation.¹³ The secretary of the Commission of Inquiry was informed that, in the light of this statement, the Council's offer to give evidence was withdrawn.

DECISIONS BY THE INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

Resolution of the General Purposes Committee

As mentioned in last year's *Survey*, when the Prime Minister announced during February 1972 that a Select Committee was to be appointed to investigate the affairs of the four organizations, all of these organizations except the UCM sent telegrams to the Prime Minister urging that, if the Government wished their activities to be examined, a Judicial Commission be constituted rather than a Select Committee of Parliamentarians. Nevertheless, when these representations were rejected, the executive committee of the Institute of Race Relations decided that the Institute, as an organization, would give evidence. A delegation was nominated to do so.

The Institute's General Purposes Committee met on 15 March, shortly after the student leaders had been banned. (This committee is composed almost entirely of members of the Executive Committee who are able to attend monthly meetings, which are held in Johannesburg.) By 17 votes to 2, the G.P.C. passed the following resolution:¹⁴

1. "After studying the interim report of the Commission of Inquiry into Nusas, the S.A. Institute of Race Relations remains convinced that its original attitude as expressed in its telegram to the Prime Minister was correct, namely that the rules of procedure followed by a Parliamentary committee or commission of enquiry make it a totally unsuitable vehicle for a task of this nature and that a judicial commission should have been appointed.
2. "The Institute is strongly opposed to "urgent action" being recommended on the basis of evidence given in secret, untested by cross-examination, against people not told of the precise nature of the charges against them.

¹³ *Star*, 27 March.

¹⁴ R.R. 38/1973.

3. "The Institute is gravely concerned that people have as a result of banning orders been condemned without due process of law. It again strongly urges Parliament and the Government to regain generally recognized procedures under the rule of law.
4. "However, as its affairs will bear full examination, the Institute as a body will not refuse to give evidence if required to do so before the Commission. If any members of its Executive Committee or of its staff who are called upon to appear before the Commission feel unable to do so for reasons of conscience, their decision will be respected.
5. "The Institute urges that if the Commission is to continue with its work, it should sit in public and that witnesses be given the right of leading their own evidence and of testing any evidence given against them by cross-examination either themselves or through counsel. It very specifically asks, too, that all the evidence given in the enquiry be made public. It also supports the plea made by a number of witnesses that, in the interests of justice, they be allowed to disclose what transpired when they appeared before the Commission."

Repercussions within the Institute

The two members who disagreed with the General Purposes Committee's resolution did so on the ground that the bannings had introduced a new factor in the situation, and that the Institute as a body should, in consequence, rescind its decision to give evidence voluntarily if called upon to do so. Both members thereupon resigned from the Institute's Executive Committee. A third member resigned later. One of these persons resigned, too, from the Institute itself.

Some members pressed for more radical action, considering that the Institute should refuse to give any evidence, and that the G.P.C. should have offered support, rather than respect, for persons who, for reasons of conscience, might decide to refuse to testify, even if subpoenaed. (Several prominent members had announced publicly that this would be their decision.)

The Director called a meeting of the Institute's senior staff at head office to discuss the issue. Thereafter, a statement was issued reading, "While fully respecting those of our colleagues and the members of the Executive Committee who will feel constrained to give evidence . . . nine of the twelve senior staff at head office have decided to refuse to testify if called."

By majority vote, four of the Institute's five regional committees dissociated themselves from the resolution of the G.P.C., calling, *inter alia*, on the Institute to refuse to co-operate voluntarily with the Commission. It was requested that a special meeting of the Institute's Council (the governing body) be convened to de-

cide upon the Institute's course of action. The required number of members signed a formal requisition.

Resolution of the Institute's Council

The special Council meeting was held on 16 May. Just under half of the members (who are scattered throughout South Africa and in other countries) were able to be present. After debating the various points of view outlined above, the Council passed a "compromise" resolution,¹⁵ as follows:

1. "After studying the three interim reports¹⁶ of the Commission of Inquiry into Certain Organisations, the South African Institute of Race Relations remains convinced that its original attitude as expressed in its telegram to the Prime Minister was correct, namely that the rules of procedure followed by a Parliamentary committee or commission of enquiry make it a totally unsuitable vehicle for a task of this nature and that a judicial commission should have been appointed.
2. "The Institute is strongly opposed to any action being recommended on the basis of evidence given in secret, untested by cross-examination, against people not told of the precise nature of the charges against them.
3. "The Institute as a law-abiding body is gravely concerned that people have as a result of banning orders been condemned without due process of law. It again strongly urges Parliament and the Government to observe generally recognised procedures under the rule of law.
4. "The Institute also objects strongly to the totalitarian concept of security implicitly adopted by the Commission in terms of which almost all a man's beliefs, opinions and actions (including the most personal and private of his beliefs and conduct) are deemed relevant to state security.
5. "Council resolves that the Institute as a body, as it is lawfully entitled to do, will henceforth cease to co-operate voluntarily with the Commission of Inquiry into Certain Organisations and accordingly withdraws the delegation which was nominated by the South African Institute of Race Relations to appear before the Commission on behalf of the Institute.
6. "Council recognises that this resolution is in no way binding on members or affiliated organisations or servants of the Institute who decide or refuse to testify before the Commission. Council acknowledges the right of a person to make a personal decision as to whether he will give evidence or not.
7. "Council hereby instructs the Director, in whose custody all the documents of the Institute are placed, not to produce any

¹⁵ R.R. 77/1973.

¹⁶ As described later, a third interim report was issued during April.

of the Institute's documents unless subpoenaed so to do by the Commission.

8. "In the event of members of staff of the Institute being penalised for refusing to testify before the Commission after being subpoenaed, no change in their status within the Institute, by reason of that fact, shall be made until the next full Council meeting."

THIRD INTERIM REPORT OF THE COMMISSION

It was announced during March¹⁷ that the Management committee of the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre would support those members of the committee and of the staff who felt in conscience that they could not testify before the Schlebusch Commission. (Twenty-two members had stated that they would refuse to give evidence.)

This Centre, situated near Roodepoort, is owned by a trust, with the S.A. Council of Churches as the trustees. A management committee exercises the executive authority.

A third interim report of the Commission of Inquiry, tabled by the Prime Minister in the Assembly on 25 April, dealt with the activities of the Wilgespruit Centre. When presenting the report,¹⁸ the Prime Minister gave the S.A. Council of Churches "an opportunity of, say, three weeks" to clear up "the nest of iniquity" at the Centre. If the churches did not take action, he warned, the Government would have no option but to do so. Mr. Vorster gave the S.A. Council of Churches the benefit of the doubt that it did not know what was transpiring at the Centre.

Three leading office-bearers of the Council of Churches immediately sought an interview with the Prime Minister, which was granted on 27 April. They asked whether the time-limit set could be extended in order to allow the churches to deal with the matter in their own way. Mr. Vorster indicated that he was prepared to reconsider his stipulation if the churches gave serious consideration to the Personal Responsibility and Organizational Development Programme (PROD) (which included sensitivity training) that was being conducted at the Centre as one of the four main programmes there (the others being ecumenical work, an urban and industrial mission programme, and a domestic workers' project). After consultations following this interview, it was announced that all PROD programmes would be suspended immediately.

A committee consisting of members nominated by the Council of Churches and representatives of the Wilgespruit management committee was set up to investigate the activities at the Centre. It was headed by Mr. Dendy Young, a former Chief Justice of

¹⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 28 March.

¹⁸ Assembly Hansard 11 col. 5086.

Botswana and a former judge of the High Court of Rhodesia. A general invitation was issued to anyone who could provide information, favourable or unfavourable. Their evidence would be heard in public unless they otherwise wished.

The report of this committee was published during July. It exonerated the Wilgespruit Centre and its staff from the main allegations that had been made by the Schlebusch Commission.

The Commission found, for example, that the Centre was working towards radical social and political change in South Africa. By drawing prominent young people from various organizations into its PROD programme, the Centre had served as a training ground for leaders of organizations that played a part in the broader political field. Sensitivity training, which was included in the programme, was being used to brainwash students. Nusas had employed the staff of Wilgespruit in its leadership training programme. This sensitivity training could be dangerous in unqualified hands, especially to people who were not psychologically well-balanced. Many of the participants came hoping to receive help in their personal problems.

The Dendy Young committee agreed that Wilgespruit was working towards social change, but stated that it was striving by peaceful and positive action to bring about a just order of society. It considered that the rôle of the church could not be seen as a mere refuge from or comforter in social injustice. There was no evidence that sensitivity training was being misused in the training of young people, nor of political brainwashing. The training was designed as an educational method for normal adults, and not as a therapeutic procedure for people with psychological problems. Participants were adequately screened to exclude anyone undergoing psychiatric treatment. The trainers were sufficiently qualified and equipped to conduct the groups: no evidence had been given of a psychological breakdown following participation in the training.

It was pointed out that since 1970 Nusas had not used sensitivity training as part of its leadership programme.

The committee recommended that the PROD programme be restarted, but that it should in future restrict its activities to Christian, educational, and social service groups. Various safeguards were suggested to ensure that trainers in organizations using this method were adequately equipped.

A serious allegation made by the Schlebusch Commission was that highly controversial liturgies had been used at Wilgespruit, which ran counter to accepted values and to the normal conception of religion and religious practice. The Dendy Young committee completely exonerated the Wilgespruit authorities from responsibility for the use of these liturgies. Mr. John Rees, general secretary of the S.A. Council of Churches, stated in the issue of *Kairos* for May that the only instance of their use had been by

the University Christian Movement in 1971, when this organization had been allowed to hold a conference at Wilgespruit. As a direct result, the churches had withdrawn their support of the U.C.M., and this in a large measure contributed to its demise the following year.

A second section of the Dendy Young report dealt with the Wilgespruit Centre as a whole, and its other programmes. It found that these were consonant with the declared aims and objects of the Centre. There may have been times when those in charge had failed to exercise sufficient control, but the occasional absence of full control was neither more nor less than would be found in any voluntary organization.

The main recommendations of the Dendy Young committee were:

- (a) that a summit meeting of member churches of the S.A. Council of Churches and the management committee of the Centre be arranged to work out ways of extending the churches' role in the Centre's activities, and to amend the Centre's constitution, making its aims and objects more explicit and clarify areas of responsibility;
- (b) that the finance committee of the Council of Churches should act also as finance committee for the centre;
- (c) that an administrator be appointed as soon as possible for the Centre, and that all senior staff appointments be made jointly by the Council of Churches and the management committee of the Centre;
- (d) that the management committee continue to evaluate its activities and programmes from time to time, particularly in the light of its declared object of promoting ecumenical Christianity;
- (e) that new terms and conditions should be drafted for churches, organizations, and groups making use of Wilgespruit's conference and residential facilities.

The Dendy Young committee's report was accepted by the S.A. Council of Churches at its meeting on 2 August.

It was announced during August¹⁹ that the PROD programme, excluding its sensitivity training aspect, would be resumed. Three registered psychiatrists from Britain and the United States were to come to the Centre to train sensitivity instructors and to run courses in counselling, the approach to education, and organization and development.

On 20 September Mr. Eoin O'Leary, the director of the PROD programme, was served with a deportation order by the Department of the Interior (he is not a South African citizen).

At a meeting held on 26 November, the S.A. Council of

¹⁹ *Sunday Express*, 12 August.

Churches noted "the long involvement and commitment of the churches to the work of the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre" and desired that this continue in the future. The Centre was encouraged to continue its contribution to the educational programmes of the churches. It was decided to amend the constitution of the centre to allow greater participation and involvement by the churches in the affairs of the centre.

A three-man committee was elected to clarify areas of responsibility, make the aims and objects of the centre more explicit, determine proportional representation of the churches on the management committee, and clarify questions of ownership and the powers and duties of the trustees (the S.A.C.C.).

COMMITTEES OF THE COMMISSION

Government Proclamation No. 138 of 6 June provided that the Schibusch Commission might appoint, from its members, one or more committees to hear evidence and addresses in respect of any particular matter on behalf of the Commission. The Chairman or the Vice-Chairman of the Commission must be a member of such a committee. In terms of Government Notice 980 of the same date, Mr. L. le Grange was appointed as Vice-Chairman.

The Commission then appointed two committees, headed by Mr. A. L. Schibusch and Mr. Le Grange, to hear evidence, respectively, in regard to the Christian Institute and the Institute of Race Relations. Each committee consisted of five Members of Parliament, three representing the National Party and two representing the United Party.

One of the United Party members, Mr. S. J. Marais Steyn, subsequently resigned from this party, joining the National Party instead. The Prime Minister offered to increase the size of the commission to allow the United Party to nominate another member, but this offer was not accepted.

INVESTIGATION OF THE S.A. INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

The committee headed by Mr. Le Grange began an investigation of the S.A. Institute of Race Relations as soon as Parliament had been prorogued. The full list of witnesses was not made public. Subpoenas were, however, served on eleven persons, including the Director, Mr. F. J. van Wyk, and the previous Director, Dr. Quintin Whyte. All of these appeared before the committee, but four of them then refused to testify: they were Mrs. I. Kleinschmidt, Mr. Peter Randall, Mr. Clive Nettleton, and Mr. Dudley Horner. All stated that they would have co-operated with an open judicial inquiry. Their refusals to testify were, by majority vote, referred to the Attorney-General. United Party members of the commission had urged that a decision on reference to the Attorney-General be deferred pending the completion of the Commission's report, but this course of action was opposed by the

National Party members. The committee's decision was, again by majority vote, ratified at a meeting of the full commission.

On 17 October, members of the committee of the Commission visited the offices of the Institute of Race Relations to make an informal inspection *in loco*. Students of the University of the Witwatersrand staged a demonstration at the Institute's building.

PROSECUTIONS THAT FOLLOWED

Mrs. I. Kleinschmidt was found guilty of refusing to take the oath or give affirmed evidence when she appeared in the Pretoria Regional Court on 19 September, and was sentenced to a fine of R50 or 25 days. The magistrate said that deliberate acts against the law could not be defended as acts of conscience.

Mrs. Kleinschmidt appealed against this judgment, the appeal being based on a claim that the chairman of the committee, Mr. Louis le Grange, M.P., was not invested with the full powers of the chairman of the commission as meant in the Commissions Act; that he could not, therefore, require a witness to take the oath before him; and that a refusal to do so was, thus, not an offence.

This appeal was dismissed by Mr. Justice Bekker, the Acting Judge President of the Transvaal, and Mr. Justice Claassen. On 28 November they found that there was no ambiguity in the Act, read with the regulations of the commission concerned. The Act did not define the word "chairman". The judges agreed with the submission by the State that the word should be given its ordinary dictionary meaning. They found that Mr. le Grange was the duly appointed chairman of the commission at the time when he required Mrs. Kleinschmidt to testify, and that her refusal amounted to an offence.

Mrs. Kleinschmidt elected to go to jail rather than pay the fine imposed as an alternative. However, an unidentified person paid the fine before she was admitted to prison.

Two officials of the Institute of Race Relations who had refused to testify, Mr. Dudley Horner and Mr. Clive Nettleton, were charged on 17 October. Their case was postponed pending the outcome of Mrs. Kleinschmidt's appeal. It was then again postponed, until 21 January 1974.

INVESTIGATION OF THE CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

An investigation of the Christian Institute was undertaken by the committee headed by Mr. Schlebusch. Again, the full list of witnesses was not published. Of at least ten persons subpoenaed, nine refused to testify: they were Dr. C. F. Beyers Naudé (Director of the Christian Institute), the Rev. Brian Brown, Mrs. D. Cleminshaw, Mr. Horst Kleinschmidt, the Rev. Theo Kotze, the Rev.

Roelf Meyer, the Rev. James Moulder, Mr. Peter Randall, and the Rev. Danie van Zyl.

Dr. Naudé had planned to leave South Africa on 25 September (the day after he refused to testify) to visit churches in Europe which gave financial support to his institute. On arrival at the airport he realized that his passport had expired. When he explained his predicament to officials, he was handed a letter from the Secretary for the Interior, notifying him that the passport had been withdrawn.

Dr. Naudé then enquired whether it would be in order for the Rev. Brian Brown to go overseas in his stead, but was told by the Secretary for the Interior that the passports of all Christian Institute members who had refused to give evidence were to be withdrawn (such action had been taken earlier against Messrs. Randall and Kleinschmidt).

PROSECUTIONS OF MEMBERS OF THE CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE

The Rev. Dr. Naudé, the Rev. Brian Brown, the Rev. Roelf Meyer appeared in the Pretoria Regional Court on 13 November on charges of refusing to take the oath or testify before the Commission. In his evidence, Dr. Naudé described the reasons for the formation of the Christian Institute in 1963,²⁰ and its aim of uniting Christians on an individual basis and making Christianity more of a living force, *inter alia*, promoting co-operation between members of all the various groups in South Africa. It was commonly known, he said, that the Government opposed the policies of this Institute. A Commission of politicians could not, thus, be unprejudiced, he submitted. Moreover, the Commission had deviated from normal legal procedures. There was nothing of importance that the Government did not already know about the organization, which worked openly.

Dr. Naudé was found guilty as charged, and fined R50 (or one month) and was given a three months' conditionally suspended prison sentence. Leave to appeal was granted. The trials of other members of the Christian Institute were postponed until early in 1974.

On 28 November, Dr. Naudé, Mr. Peter Randall, and the Rev. Danie van Zyl were charged under the Suppression of Communism Act for allegedly having published certain statements by the banned former Nusas leader, Mr. Paul Pretorius. The case was to be heard early in 1974.

²⁰ See 1963 *Survey*, page 6.

ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED WITH RACE RELATIONS

THE CHURCHES

Ecumenical moves

As mentioned in previous issues of this *Survey*, a Church Unity Commission has been meeting at intervals over some years to lay the groundwork for a possible future union of the Anglican, Methodist, United Congregational, Presbyterian, Bantu Presbyterian and Tsonga Presbyterian Churches. According to the issue of *EcuNews* for 9 February, this Commission completed a draft "Declaration of Intent to Unite". The next step was for each church to consider this. Comments on the draft were requested.

A church has been established in Sandton, adjoining Johannesburg, to serve all four denominations.

For the first time an African, the Rev. James J. R. Jolobe, has been appointed as Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa. The Rev. J. C. Mvusi, elected president of the Methodist Church during 1972, took the chair at the church's annual conference in October.

Justice and Reconciliation

The S.A. Council of Churches has established a Division of Justice and Reconciliation to investigate questions of racial justice, particularly within the churches themselves. It is composed of black and white representatives of member-churches.

Discussions with the World Council of Churches

EcuNews Bulletin for 29 January stated that the World Council of Churches (WCC) reported that grants had been made from a special fund to combat racism to organizations in five continents, to be used for humanitarian, and not military, purposes. Organizations in Southern Africa that had received grants were:

- Luthuli Memorial Foundation—R1 750
- Mozambique Institute of Frelimo—R17 500
- Pan-African Congress—R1 750
- South West Africa People's Organization—R14 000
- National Union for the Total Independence of Angola—
R4 200
- People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola—R7 000
- Revolutionary Government of Angola-in-Exile—R7 000.

The WCC reported, too,¹ that it had issued lists of more than 1 000 corporations or firms in the United States, Britain, European countries, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand that were directly involved in investment or trade in Southern Africa. It announced that it had sold its holdings in these bodies, amounting to about \$1.5 million.

Previous issues of this *Survey* report the opposition of churches in South Africa to both these decisions. The Prime Minister announced during 1971 that he would not allow any affiliation fees or other funds to be sent to the WCC from South Africa.

A meeting of the central committee of the WCC was held in Geneva during August. Member-churches in South Africa decided to send representatives, who would have observer-status, with the right to speak but not to vote. The S.A. Council of Churches stated² that the churches concerned had agreed on three main areas which would form the basis of their representations:

- (a) the rejection of violence and terror in all forms as a means to political change and of maintaining oppression;
- (b) the need for continuing dialogue with the WCC;
- (c) a commitment to combat racism, injustice, and oppression by all means consistent with the Gospel.

The delegation from South Africa was composed of five white and six black members. One of them was Mr. John Rees, secretary-general of the S.A. Council of Churches. He is reported to have said, before leaving,³ "The S.A. Council of Churches is opposed to violence in all its forms, and this includes the violence of our Government in its handling of blacks in this country. But we are equally against the type of violence perpetrated by terrorists".

Mr. Rees added, the report stated, that he believed the WCC was being naïve about the ultimate destination of some of the grants it made to certain organizations. It should be ensured that the funds were used for the purpose for which they were intended—for humanitarian, health, and educational projects. In a formal statement issued earlier⁴ the (Anglican) Church of the Province of South Africa had expressed a similar view — that the WCC's representation of the special fund as being simply for humanitarian purposes was unsatisfactory, and some would say even dishonest.

Mr. Rees pointed out that much larger grants than those distributed from the WCC's special fund to combat racialism had been made to South African agencies from the WCC's division of inter-church aid and refugee world service. Over the past ten years, probably about R3½-million had been contributed towards

¹ Above-quoted report as supplemented in *The Star*, 25 August.

² *Star*, 26 July.

³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 August.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 30 June.

the building of churches, theological seminaries, and mission hospitals, and towards the salaries of church, health, and agricultural officers.

The central committee of the WCC discussed the work and future mandate of the Programme to Combat Racism. According to various Press reports of 25 to 29 August, the director of the Programme pointed out that racism and social injustice were not confined to certain countries or continents, but were world problems. In a study document presented to the committee reference was made to the existence of oppressive social and political structures in Asian countries as well as in Southern Africa, and to discrimination by Eastern European and other post-revolutionary governments against those who dissented from official doctrines. Strong objection was raised by Orthodox Church members to the mention of Eastern European countries, and they succeeded, by majority vote, in having the relevant paragraph deleted from the document. But a number of speakers warned that failure to pursue the Eastern situation would draw into question the WCC's integrity and credibility. Dr. Alex L. Boraine from South Africa registered his dismay at the deletion of this paragraph, and pleaded that the WCC should be consistent.

The central committee accepted recommendations in the report that a continuing study be made of the relation of Christians to violence, and of appropriate initiatives to stimulate and assist churches in more courageous non-violent action in support of the oppressed. Dr. Boraine is reported to have expressed appreciation of the emphasis placed on non-violent action. "We are agonising in South Africa," he said, "and it is certainly no easy decision that has been taken by the churches we seek to represent. And in that kind of agony, the helpful study that has been proposed is going to be of inestimable value to us".

Statement issued by the S.A. Council of Churches in October

On 5 October, the executive of the S.A. Council of Churches issued the following statement to the Press:

"The executive discussed at considerable length and with a deep sense of urgency many of the situations facing the church in South Africa at present, as well as issues involving the total life of the country.

"Detailed discussions centred around the question of the issue and withdrawal of passports and the refusal of visas, the impact of the Schibusch commission, the situation among students in S.A. and police action in the recent Carletonville shootings.

"The executive viewed recent actions of the Government, especially the withdrawal of the passport of Dr. Beyers Naudé, in a serious light and noted a request contained in an urgent telegram from the Netherlands Council of Churches that the SACC inter-

cede on Dr. Naudé's behalf. It was felt that these actions by the Government would lead to growing tension between church and State in South Africa.

"However, it was also felt that there was a communications gap between the parties involved in this tension and that they often operated from different premises.

"In an attempt to bridge this gap the executive decided to seek an interview for leaders of the churches with the Honourable the Prime Minister and members of his Cabinet as soon as possible to convey to them the views and feeling of the council on the above-mentioned issues and on many disturbing elements emerging within the life of South Africa. The executive also felt it necessary to discover at first hand the premises on which the Government was taking its actions.

"The executive further decided that it should communicate the deep concern felt by churches in the council to opposition political parties in South Africa.

"In addition, the executive felt that an urgent meeting of the leaders of the various churches in South Africa should be summoned to discuss the many matters requiring serious attention touched on at the executive meetings. Steps are immediately being taken to arrange meetings with all the parties mentioned in this statement."

Manifesto by the Christian Institute

During June, the Christian Institute of Southern Africa released its manifesto of Christian principles, which had been under preparation for about a year. Christians in South Africa were called upon to obey God rather than man, and to reject racism, apartheid, and Christian nationalism even if this meant civil disobedience or passive resistance. Guidelines were suggested for action in bringing about Christian change in the fields of opportunity, fellowship, sharing, caring, authority, responsibility to oppose and suggest, and the existing South African society. The proposals would open the way for the establishment of confessing communities.

African Independent Churches

As mentioned on page 31 of last year's *Survey*, in 1965 the Christian Institute helped to found the African Independent Churches' Association (AICA), but the latter became autonomous from the beginning of 1973. According to *EcuNews Bulletin* for 25 May and 7 September, two splinter groups have broken away from it, the Reformed Independent Churches Association (RICA) and the African Independent Churches Movement (AICM). It is being suggested that the three should form a federation. Together they represent about one-third of the African independent

churches in South Africa, and have more than a million members. It was widely reported, later in the year, that AICA was in serious financial difficulties, and there were allegations of mismanagement. According to *EcuNews* for 5 October, the General Synod of the Bantu Presbyterian Church had appointed a commission to inquire into the affairs of the AICA.

Subsequently, on 28 November, it was announced that the president of the AICA could not be traced and had been deposed. All the members of the staff were being dismissed because there were no funds to pay their salaries.

In a doctoral thesis, Dr. Martin West of the School of African Studies at the University of Cape Town predicted that the increase in the membership of independent churches would continue at the expense of support for established mission churches in the African community. The main reason he advanced was the appeal of the prophetic healing services held by the independent churches.⁵

The Dutch Reformed Churches

A wide-ranging series of 15 resolutions dealing with race attitudes and relations was discussed at a meeting of the Reformed Ecumenical Synod held in Sydney during August 1972. They were published in full in South Africa late that year. The resolutions were accepted, by majorities of delegates in one or two cases, but were advisory until they had been considered by the synods of the respective member-churches.

Leaders of two South African Dutch Reformed Churches were present — the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk and the Gereformeerde Kerk. It was widely stated early in 1973 that they had accepted 14 of the 15 resolutions, rejecting only one that dealt with racially mixed marriages. Later, argument developed over whether another resolution dealing with mixed worship had been accepted. The Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk was not present, as it is not a member of the ecumenical movement.

Among the resolutions that were accepted by the South Africans was the final one, reading, "Recognising that the real problem of race relations in member churches of the Reformed Ecumenical Synod lies not so much in the area of the acceptance but in that of the application of the above principles, Synod urges its member churches:

- (a) to put forward renewed efforts to live wholly in accord with biblical norms;
- (b) to reject every form of racial discrimination and racism;
- (c) to reject every attempt to maintain racial supremacy by military, economic, or any other means;
- (d) to reject the subtle forms of racial discrimination found in

⁵ *Star*, 8 and 9 March.

many countries to-day with respect to housing, employment, education, law enforcement, etc.;

- (e) to pray for themselves and for one another that God may give wisdom and faithfulness in every circumstance."

The resolution rejected by the D.R.C. delegates read, "Holy Scripture does not give a judgment about racially mixed marriages; contracting a marriage is primarily a personal and family concern. Church and state should refrain from prohibiting racially mixed marriages. . . ."

The resolution about which there subsequently was argument contained a sentence reading, "Even though in different churches different indigenous groups may exist, no person may be excluded from common worship on the grounds of race or colour". During April a committee of the NG Kerk known as the Broad Moderature issued a statement⁶ to the effect that the final wording of this resolution, as amended in Sydney, did not give sufficient recognition to the South African Church's arrangement of separate congregations for various racial groups. Considerable Press controversy followed, the apparent broad conclusion being summed up by Professor Willem de Klerk in *Die Transvaler* on 25 April, when he said "In exceptional cases and where it is necessary there can be no objections to the attendance by Non-Whites at church services for Whites".

The resolutions as a whole will be considered by the NG Kerk at its next synod in Cape Town during 1974. During January, the Gereformeerde Kerk referred them to a special commission which will report to its next synod, not due until 1976.⁷ At a synod held during April⁸ the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk unanimously rejected mixed worship.

THE S.A. INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

At the 43rd annual meeting of the Institute, held in Johannesburg during January, Mr. Duchesne C. Grice delivered his Presidential address, entitled *The Approaching Crisis: Land and Population in the Transvaal and Natal*. The annual Hoernlé Memorial Lecture was given in August by Mr. Alan Pifer, President of the Carnegie Corporation of New York. His subject was *The Higher Education of Blacks in the United States*.¹

Part of the Council meeting in January was devoted to a consideration of the situation in South West Africa, the following addresses being given:

South West Africa/Namibia: A Review of the International Dispute, by Professor John Dugard (RR. 4/1973), with a lead-in paper by Professor Marinus Wiechers (RR. 5/1973).

⁶ e.g. *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 April.

⁷ *Star*, 25 January.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 28 April.

¹ These addresses have been published by the Institute.

The Internal Situation in South West Africa, by Chief Clemens Kapuuo (RR. 12/1973), with a lead-in paper by Advocate Bryan O'Linn (RR. 13/1973).

Die Arbeidsituasie² in Suid-Wes Afrika, by Miss Rauha Voipio (RR. 2/1973), with a lead-in paper by Mr. John Kane-Berman (RR. 10/1973).

A one-and-a-half day conference on "Closing the Wage Gap" was held to follow the Council meeting, arranged jointly by the S.A. Institute of Personnel Management and the Institute of Race Relations. Dr. Arnt Spandau spoke on *The National Income in South Africa: its Growth and Distribution* (RR. 3/1973), comment being led by Professor Sheila T. van der Horst (RR. 11/1973). This was followed by a symposium on "Patterns of Progress", dealing with characteristics and trends evident in wage negotiations in South Africa, the participants being Mr. J. H. Thomas, Mr. B. Nicholson, and Dr. L. Cortis.

Mr. D. A. Etheredge gave a paper entitled *Wages, Productivity, and Opportunity* (RR. 1/1973), comment being led by Mr. J. A. Horner. Finally, there was a panel discussion on "Labour Relations and the Future of Trade Unions". The members of the panel were Mr. J. H. Liebenberg, Mr. R. Webb, and Mr. R. V. Sutton. Chairmen during the proceedings were Mr. D. C. Grice and Mr. S. R. Back.

The Institute of Race Relations has published *The Road Ahead*, which is an up-dated statement of its standpoint and policy. Further publications produced during the year are listed in its Annual Report.

Other work of the Institute is mentioned in relevant chapters of this *Survey*.

ABE BAILEY INSTITUTE OF INTER-RACIAL STUDIES

The Abe Bailey Institute of Inter-Racial Studies held its annual research workshop on "The responsibility of organized labour in South Africa". It continues to hold regular seminars, bringing together research scholars in various fields and a cross-section of the community of various language, racial, political, and religious groups.

Among the research grants made during the year was one for a major work on the socio-cultural and political history of the Coloured people. The Institute is engaged in a study of social and occupational mobility among the various population groups in South Africa.

SPRO-CAS

The Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society (Sprocas) has published its tenth commission report, entitled *South*

² The Labour Situation.

Africa's Political Alternatives, and a comprehensive book called *A Taste of Power*, by Peter Randall, drawing together the major conclusions and recommendations contained in the ten reports.

The study project, sponsored jointly by the S.A. Council of Churches and the Christian Institute of Southern Africa, comes to an end at the close of 1973. Its director, Mr. Randall, has launched a Programme for Social Change, which will take over the publishing role of Spro-cas, and plans to develop research and action programmes, and promote communication and co-operation among groups and individuals who become members.

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

The Black Sash continues to run Advice Offices for Africans in Johannesburg and Cape Town (the latter in co-operation with the Institute of Race Relations); and has opened a similar office in Durban. Another has been opened in Grahamstown, with the help of the Institute of Race Relations and Rhodes University.

It continues, too, to hold protest demonstrations to keep members of the public aware of matters for concern. During 1973 demonstrations have been held against the breaking up of African families, against continued bannings and restrictions imposed by the Government, and against the Gatherings and Demonstrations Bill.

The National Council of Women of S.A. has interested itself, among other things, in family life, schooling and recreation for children in places of safety, and the supply of text books to African pupils. Various local branches have undertaken such activities as organizing home industries at the Limehill re-settlement area for Africans, assisting with welfare work at the Dimbasa re-settlement area, running literacy classes, and establishing a library for Coloured people and Africans.

OTHER ORGANIZATIONS³

The South Africa Foundation was founded some 13 years ago "to promote international understanding of South Africa, her achievements, her problems, and her potential, and by so doing to advance the welfare of all her peoples." Its trustees include many of the country's leading professional, business, and academic leaders. Until recently it was an all-white body, but at a meeting in March it was decided that its Council "should give early consideration to the nomination as trustees of suitably qualified persons from all or any of the racial or ethnic groups of South Africa". It was announced in June that eleven prominent Africans, Coloured, and Indians had accepted invitations to become trustees.

The South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (Sabra), assisted

³ Voluntary organizations concerned with education, welfare, etc. are referred to in subsequent chapters.

by the Department of National Education, has continued to arrange congresses for white high school pupils at which officials and Afrikaner academics give addresses on aspects of the Government's racial policies, stressing the task of young people in promoting separate development. It also arranged five congresses on national development for high school pupils in various African homelands.

At a multi-disciplinary conference held in Grahamstown early in 1973 an African Studies Research Association was established. The chairman of the first committee is Professor C. Webb of the University of Natal.

South Africa Voluntary Service has branches among students at all the English-medium "white" universities. Members run tutorial schemes for Africans, and spend vacations and weekends working with members of local African communities in South Africa and neighbouring countries in building classrooms, clinics, storerooms and other projects needed locally.

Similarly, students from Afrikaans-medium universities such as Stellenbosch, Pretoria, and Potchefstroom have undertaken projects such as building classrooms for a community of Bushmen, a community centre for Coloured people, and schools for Africans. Tutorials are organised.

Medical students continue to run clinics for black people in various areas, and to spend vacations assisting at hospitals in the homelands and neighbouring countries. The voluntary work done in Swaziland and Lesotho by teams of medical personnel from the Republic has been described in previous issues of this *Survey*.⁴

CONFERENCE ON FEDERALISM⁵

A conference on federalism was convened in East London during November by Mr. Donald J. Woods, editor of the *Daily Dispatch*. There were some 45 delegates, including six African homeland leaders, representatives of various schools of thought among the Coloured and Indian communities, members of the Progressive Party, Verligte Action, and Mr. Theo Gerdener's group, and prominent academics. The editors or political commentators of at least five other newspapers attended as observers.

The purpose of the conference was to explore what common ground existed on the idea of federalism as a solution to the country's problems. The Africans had come straight from a summit conference of homeland leaders, where most of those present agreed in principle to promote the concept of a federation of black states. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi told the East London conference, however, that as he saw it, if such a federation were established the door would be open for non-black states to join. He outlined the idea of a "Federal Union of Autonomous States of Southern Africa",

⁴ e.g. 1971 *Survey* page 56.

⁵ Compiled from various Press reports between 9 and 12 November.

which would "guarantee the identity and cultural autonomy of every racial or ethnic group".

The delegates issued a declaration of consensus, which stated,⁶ "This conference of South Africans of all races affirms the need for urgent change in South Africa.

"It declares its belief in the fundamental right of each citizen, irrespective of race, creed, or colour, to live a full life with dignity, opportunity, and justice under the Rule of Law. It agrees, against a background of the realities of South Africa, that the federal form of government, embodying autonomous states free of racial exclusiveness, is most likely to create the conditions under which these rights will be achieved. In view of fears of group domination and discrimination, the right of each individual should be protected by a bill of rights entrenched in the federal constitution."

⁶ *Sunday Times*, 11 November.

THE POPULATION OF SOUTH AFRICA

SIZE AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION

Some notes on the size and distribution of the South African population were given on pages 59-60 of the 1971 *Survey* and in fact sheet RR. 11/72. On 3 January, the Department of Statistics issued a statistical news release giving the following mid-year estimates of the population in 1973:

	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Totals</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
African	7 983 000	8 234 000	16 217 000	70,6
White	1 973 000	1 985 000	3 958 000	17,2
Coloured	1 050 000	1 094 000	2 144 000	9,3
Asian	332 000	336 000	668 000	2,9
	<u>11 338 000</u>	<u>11 649 000</u>	<u>22 987 000</u>	<u>100,0</u>

The Minister of Statistics has given the following figures on the distribution of the African population based on preliminary results of the 1970 census¹:

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Common area—urban	4 368 920	29,0
—rural	3 664 280	24,4
Homelands	7 003 160	46,6
	<u>15 036 360</u>	<u>100,0</u>

These data differ from those given in the references mentioned earlier. It should also be borne in mind that some large towns inhabited by Africans are situated just within the boundaries of certain homelands. Although they are in effect dormitory suburbs of "white" cities their residents are included in the enumeration of the homeland population for census purposes.

POPULATION GROWTH AND IMMIGRATION

In a booklet prepared for the Industrial Development Corporation, Professor J. L. Sadie gave the following population projections²:

	<i>2000 A.D.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>2020 A.D.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
African	37 293 000	74	62 798 000	77
White	6 890 000	14	9 204 000	11
Coloured	4 890 000	10	7 720 000	10
Asian	1 215 000	2	1 617 000	2
	<u>50 288 000</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>81 339 000</u>	<u>100</u>

¹ Hansard 18 col. 1003, 13 June.

² J. L. Sadie. Projections of the South African population 1970-2020. Johannesburg, I.D.C., 1973. (Percentages calculated by the writer.)

The figures for Whites include an annual immigration figure of 30 000 persons per annum. Sadie points out that the white population "will be growing at an ever decreasing rate, with or without immigration though, . . . in the latter case the absolute level will remain a few percentage points higher". He also indicates that "unless birth control is going to be applied more extensively than during the last five to seven years, the prospects are that the ranks of the Coloured population are going to be very substantially swollen". In the case of the African population, Sadie's projections imply a doubling of numbers between 1970 and 1994 and another doubling between 1994 and the year 2020. He concludes that "the need for a sustained and vigorous family planning programme, which will reduce fertility more rapidly than is implied in our projections, is obvious".

Migration Statistics issued by the Department of Statistics on 11 June indicated that the net gain in White immigrants in 1972 had fallen below 30 000 per annum to 24 973 persons.

The latest Economic Development Programme produced by the Department of Planning has pointed out that over the past six years, the average level of net (White) immigration has been somewhat higher than 30 000 persons per annum and that this supply has to a large extent supplemented the White labour force. The programme estimates that the expected White growth rate of 1.54 per cent per annum in the endogenous population rises to 2.31 per cent per annum if this immigration level of 30 000 Whites is maintained over the next five years.

The question of family planning has been receiving a great deal of attention, more particularly in connection with the Black and especially the African group. The Pharmaceutical Society of South Africa has announced that oral contraceptives are to be issued free to all women, irrespective of race, provided that such women are members of a Health Department family planning clinic. This decision encountered a certain amount of controversy.³ The *Star* of 19 September reported the Minister of Health's announcement that the Government had decided to initiate, finance, and control a national family planning scheme.

VITAL STATISTICS

The Minister of Statistics said that at the latest period for which such statistics were available (1969-1971) the life expectancy of each race group was⁴:

	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
White	64,5	72,3
Coloured	48,8	56,1
Asian	59,3	63,9

Similar information for Africans was not available.

³ *Star*, 7 May; *Sunday Times*, 13 May; *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 June.

⁴ Hansard 18 cols. 1000-1001, 13 June.

ILLEGITIMACY

The Minister of Statistics reported that the number of registered illegitimate births in 1971 was⁵:

	<i>Number</i>
White	2 634
Coloured	32 220
Asian	1 928

Similar information for Africans was not available.

IMMORALITY AND MIXED MARRIAGES

The Minister of Justice said that 484 charges under section 16 of the Immorality Act were referred to Attorneys-General during 1972, and in 353 instances (73 per cent) prosecution was approved. Between 1 July 1971 and 30 June 1972 the following numbers of persons were prosecuted and convicted under this provision⁶:

	<i>Prosecutions</i>			<i>Convictions</i>		
	<i>M.</i>	<i>F.</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>M.</i>	<i>F.</i>	<i>Total</i>
White	365	17	382	184	9	193
Coloured	11	132	143	4	59	63
Asian	6	8	14	1	2	3
African	10	177	187	7	100	107
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	392	334	726	196	170	366

It is necessary, yet again, to point out that while many face the stigma of prosecution under this Act, roughly only half the prosecutions result in convictions.

A threat by the Minister of the Interior, Dr. C. Mulder, to act against South African passport holders who contravened South Africa's Immorality Act in neighbouring Black states caused a certain amount of controversy.⁷

The Commission of Inquiry into the Mental Disorders Act (commonly known as the Van Wyk Commission) has recommended that the Government investigate the use of castration as a means of treating people suffering from abnormal sex drives.⁸

A Turkish man and Indian woman were obliged to leave South Africa in order to marry,⁹ as were a White Natal farmer and his Japanese fiancée. A young White South African was refused permission to bring his Coloured wife and children into the Republic.¹⁰

POPULATION REGISTRATION

The new identity documents required by White, Coloured and Indian people were mentioned on pages 25⁷ and 28 of the 1970

⁵ Hansard 15 cols. 917-8, 25 May.

⁶ Hansard 4 cols. 222-3, 27 February.

⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 4, 5 and 8 January; *Star*, 4 and 9 January; *Sunday Times*, 7 January; *Rapport*, 7 January; *Sunday Express*, 7 January.

⁸ *Sunday Tribune*, 25 February; *Star*, 26 February.

⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 January; *Sunday Times*, 7 January and 4 February; *Star*, 23 August.

¹⁰ *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 June; *Star*, 9 and 12 July.

Survey and further information was given on page 65 of the 1972 *Survey*. The Minister of the Interior has estimated that some 2 600 000 White people hold identity cards, of whom some 440 000 have received the new documents. It will probably take three years before the new documents have been issued to all White South Africans.¹¹

Dr. Trefor Jenkins, head of the S.A. Medical Research Institute's department of sero-genetics and his deputy Dr. G. Nurse have questioned the validity of the Government's methods of determining a person's racial group.¹²

A Population Registration and Identity Documents Amendment Bill was introduced in 1973 and later promulgated as Act No. 36 of 1973. It is directed, in the main, at tightening administrative controls upon the racial classification of people classified as "Bantu". It is a measure with retrospective effect to 1953 regularising the *de facto* exercise of powers delegated to the Secretary of the Interior by the head of the Bantu Reference Bureau and his personnel. It entitles specified officials administratively to notify people who have been issued with an (African) reference book that they have been classified as members of an indicated ethnic group and also to seize any other identity documents in which their race is not reflected as "Native" or "Bantu".

¹¹ Hansard 12 col. 811, 4 May.

¹² *Sunday Tribune*, 24 June.

MEASURES FOR SECURITY AND THE CONTROL OF PERSONS

DEFENCE

Defence Amendment Act, No. 26 of 1973

In terms of the Defence Act, No. 44 of 1957 as amended, "service in defence of the Republic" means military service in time of war, or in connection with the discharge of the obligations of the Republic arising from any agreement between the Republic and any other nation.

The Amendment Act extends this definition to include service by a member of the Defence Force expressly designated by the Minister or by a person acting on the express authority of the Minister to perform any function relating to the combating of terrorism within the meaning of that term under the Terrorism Act of 1967, while such member is engaged in any activity connected with the performance of such function.

Under the Moratorium Act, No. 25 of 1963, "service" means continuous service in the Citizenship Force. The 1973 Act extends this definition to include continuous service in a commando.

When introducing the Bill, the Minister of Defence said¹ it was only fair that all members of the Defence Force who were disabled or killed on duty should be treated alike as far as pensions and other benefits were concerned.

Proposed expenditure on Defence

According to the official Estimates of Expenditure from Revenue Account for 1973-4,² a sum of R447 022 000 was allocated to Defence, which is R111 686 000 more than in the previous year, and almost 14 per cent of the total sum voted for all departments of State. A further R25 000 000 was voted in the Supplementary Estimates.³ More than half of the total sum is required for the procurement of armaments and contributions to the Defence Special Equipment Account.

The Departments of Public Works and of Community Development expect to spend more than R30-million from Loan Account⁴ on works for the Defence Department.

¹ Assembly, 19 March, Hansard 7 cols. 2931-2.

² R.P. 2/1973 page 57.

³ R.P. 6/1973.

⁴ R.P. 3/1973.

Notes on Defence equipment

The Minister of Defence announced in January⁵ that, after extensive research, the Armaments Development and Production Corporation had developed and built a vehicle able to trace and destroy landmines planted by guerrillas.

During March the Prime Minister officially opened the recently completed subterranean maritime communications headquarters at Silvermine, sunk into the slopes of Constantia Mountain. The centre is stated⁶ to be able to remain operational even in the event of a nuclear or bacteriological attack. It contains computers which collate and process a continually up-to-date picture of air and sea traffic round the coasts of Africa. In time of war, they could predict the movement of enemy ships and aircraft and plan counter-action.

On 14 September *The Star* quoted two international magazines, *Air Enthusiast* and *Flight International*, in reporting that early in 1974 South Africa was to take delivery of the first of 48 Mirage F1 fighters (successors to the Mirage III). The initial batch would be constructed in France, but later the South African Atlas Aircraft Corporation would contribute some components, undertake final assembly, and, by 1977, produce the aircraft itself under licence. The F1 is stated⁷ to be able to land and take off in half a kilometre, and to attain a speed of Mach 2.2.

The overseas magazines stated that Italy was to supply South Africa with 20 Aermacchi MB 326 K single-seat close support and operational trainers. These are improved versions of the Impala being made under licence by the Atlas Aircraft Corporation. As the S.A. Air Force had ordered more than 100 of them, preparations were being made to phase the new model on to the Impala assembly line at Atlas. The S.A. Army Air Corps was to obtain 40 Aermacchi AM 3 C reconnaissance aircraft, it was stated.

VOTE FOR SECURITY SERVICES

Included in the Prime Minister's Vote from Revenue Account for 1973-4⁸ is an amount of R9 043 000 as a contribution to the Security Services Special Account created in terms of Act 81/1969. This is R3 543 000 more than the sum voted the previous year.

GATHERINGS AND DEMONSTRATIONS ACT, NO. 52 OF 1973

Terms of the Act

The Gatherings and Demonstrations Bill was introduced in Parliament early in May on the unanimous recommendation of the

⁵ *Star*, 17 January.

⁶ *Star*, 8 March; *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 March.

⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 April.

⁸ R.P. 2/1973, page 15.

Committee on Standing Rules and Orders of the House of Assembly and the corresponding Senate Sessional Committee. Both committees were representative of both the Government and the United Party.

This measure prohibited all gatherings or demonstrations in the open air within a defined area of Cape Town. It was rendered an offence for any person:

- (a) to convene, organize, address or preside at such a prohibited gathering or demonstration, or to encourage or promote it, or by means of force or threats to cause the gathering or demonstration to be held or attendance at or participation therein to take place;
- (b) to print, publish, distribute, or in any manner circulate a notice convening, organizing, advertising, or in any manner making known such a proposed gathering or demonstration;
- (c) to attend or take part in such a gathering or demonstration;
- (d) to demonstrate in the open air in the defined area.

The maximum penalties on conviction for such offences were laid down as R300 or 6 months or both.

According to the Deputy Minister of Police,⁹ the intention of the measure was to ensure that deliberations could take place in Parliament without any disturbance in the vicinity. However, the provisions apply irrespective of whether or not Parliament is in session.

The Deputy Minister added that the area involved amounted to "hardly a square mile". It is bordered by Orange, Annandale, Mill, Buitenkant, Strand, and Long Street, and includes the Anglican Cathedral (on the steps of which demonstrations have frequently taken place) and the city campus of the University of Cape Town in Orange Street, besides the precincts of Parliament and Governmental offices.

The Act defines a "demonstration" as any demonstration by one or more persons for or against any person, cause, action, or failure to take action. A "gathering" means any assembly, concourse, or procession of any number of persons relating to or arising out of any demonstration. The words "relating to or arising out of any demonstration" were added in terms of an amendment moved by the Deputy Minister during the committee stage of the Bill in the Senate — it was reported¹⁰ that this was done as a result of representations by the Principal of the University of Cape Town, Sir Richard Luyt, in order that there should be no interference with normal university and student activities on the Orange Street campus.

The Act does not apply to bona fide divine services, funeral ceremonies or processions, official functions or processions, gather-

⁹ Assembly Hansard 14 col. 6561.

¹⁰ e.g. *Sunday Express*, 20 May; *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 and 26 May.

ings of people who come together to view a funeral or an official function or procession, nor to any gathering or procession for which the Chief Magistrate of Cape Town has granted permission in writing.

Parliamentary debate

At the second reading debate in the Assembly, Mrs. Suzman moved that the Bill be read that day six months.

During the committee stage she opposed the measure clause by clause, moving various amendments,¹¹ and continued her opposition during the third reading. She received no support from the United Party, which had agreed with the National Party on the introduction of the Bill.

Interim proclamation

Various protests, described below, were held against this Bill while it was before Parliament.

On 16 May the Minister of Justice gazetted a Government Notice, under the Riotous Assemblies Act, which was effective up to and including 30 May (on which date the new Act was gazetted). It applied to the area defined in the Act, and, therein, prohibited the assembly in any public place in the open air of any public gathering of a political nature, or which was held in protest against anything. The magistrate of Cape Town was authorized to grant exceptions.

Protests against the measure

On the morning of 15 May, members of the Black Sash, carrying placards, stood in silent protest in Government Avenue, near an entrance to Parliament.

A citizens' protest committee organized a silent demonstration at lunch-time that day on the steps of St. George's Anglican Cathedral, nearby in Wale Street. A number of people representing various organizations or coming in their private capacities joined in this demonstration, watched by a large crowd. According to various reports¹² uniformed members of the police ordered the crowd to disperse, took the names and addresses of 47 protesters, and confiscated a poster reading "We protest". Questioned in the Assembly by Mrs. Suzman,¹³ the Deputy Minister of Police said that the persons concerned were required to furnish their names for the purposes of summoning should the public prosecutor decide to do so, in terms of an Administrator's Notice of 1946. The poster was confiscated in case it was required as an exhibit. The

¹¹ e.g. Hansard 14 cols. 6463-9.

¹² e.g. *Cape Times*, 16 May.

¹³ Hansard 14 col. 890.

47 persons were, subsequently, summoned to appear in the magistrate's court.

On the following day, a number of university students carrying placards staged a protest on the steps of the Cathedral. The Divisional Inspector of Police read out a notice signed by the Chief Magistrate, temporarily banning all gatherings at this venue in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act. The police then arrested 42 students and one juvenile who did not disperse. The 42 persons appeared next day in the magistrate's court, and were released on bail of R10 each.¹⁴

On 17 May a large number of students staged a picket protest on the Orange Street campus of the university. Members of the public watched from outside. The police came several times to warn the students to disperse, and eventually arrested 21 of them. They were released on bail of R50.¹⁵

Shortly before the trial of the first group of 42 students was due, it was announced that the Attorney General had withdrawn the charges against them, and also against the remaining 21 students and the 47 members of the public.¹⁶

FOURTEEN-DAY BAN ON CERTAIN GATHERINGS IN PARTS OF THE TRANSVAAL

The death of Mr. A. E. Timol while under detention was described on page 98 of last year's *Survey*. The police alleged that he had jumped through a tenth-floor window at police headquarters in Johannesburg, where he had been taken for interrogation. At the inquest, the magistrate found that he had committed suicide, and that no-one was to blame for his death.

A multi-racial rally to commemorate his death and the deaths of 21 others while under detention was planned by certain members of the public, to be held on grounds open to the public in Vrededorp, Johannesburg, on Sunday, 21 October.

On 19 October Government Notice No. R1976 of 1973 was gazetted in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act, prohibiting for a 14-day period the assembly in any public place in the magisterial districts of the Witwatersrand, Pretoria, the Vaal Triangle, Heidelberg, and Kempton Park, of any public gathering at which any form of state or any principle or policy of the government of a state "is propagated, defended, attacked, criticised, or discussed, or which is held in protest against or in support of or in commemoration of anything".

In a statement released to the Press on the same day, the Minister of Justice said, "I deem this action expedient for the maintenance of the public peace as a result of political activities by certain individuals and organizations". He added that, in terms

¹⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 May.

¹⁵ Various newspapers of 18 May.

¹⁶ *Cape Times*, 17 August.

of the definition of a public place contained in the Riotous Assemblies Act, public gatherings which took place within the walls of a building would not be affected. Magistrates had been authorized to grant exemptions.

Students of the University of the Witwatersrand obtained permission from the university authorities for the memorial meeting to be held in the University Great Hall instead. The authorities took no action to prevent this, and the meeting was held without incident.

BANNING ORDERS ON PERSONS

The latest official list of banned persons was gazetted on 20 July, in terms of Government Notice 1229: it contained the names of 29 white and 171 black persons. Comparing this with the previous official list, published on 28 July 1972, the Press concluded that 86 names had been removed and about 50 added.

During the year under review several people have had orders renewed for third terms of five years. They include Mrs. Mary Moodley of Benoni, Mrs. Jacqueline Arenstein of Durban, and Mr. Joseph Morolong. Mr. Morolong was originally banned in 1963 after serving two years' imprisonment on Robben Island for a political offence. Since then he has been confined to his father's isolated farm in the Vryburg district. From 6 am to 6 pm he may not move more than 2½ km from his hut on the farm. During the hours of night this distance is reduced to 50 metres. He is precluded from visiting even the nearest small store.

Again, a number of ex-prisoners have been served with banning orders on their release from jail. Such orders are usually for two-year periods; but five-year orders including house arrest were issued during May to Messrs. Indris Naidoo, Reggie Vandeyar, and Shirish Nanabhai of Johannesburg after they had served ten-year sentences for sabotage.

The banning of eight white leaders of Nusas and eight black leaders of Saso is described in the chapter of this *Survey* dealing with student organizations, while the subsequent banning of further blacks connected with the Black People's Convention and the Black Community Programme has been mentioned earlier. As Saso leaders were banned, others were appointed to take over their duties: some of these substitute officials were, in turn, shortly thereafter placed under restriction orders. At the time of writing seven of the substitute leaders had been banned, including the newly-appointed Saso president, Mr. Henry Isaacs. In terms of the orders, all except one of these leaders were, *inter alia*, prohibited from taking part in the activities of Saso or the BPC.

Three of the banned Saso leaders, Jerome Modisane, Bokwe Mafuna, and Nyameko Barney Pityana, were convicted of a contravention of their banning orders. Mr. Modisane's sentence was suspended, Mr. Mafuna's sentence was partly suspended (he was

jailed for three months), and Mr. Pityana was imprisoned for 18 weeks. Mr. Mafuna disappeared soon after his release: it was reported that he had left the country illegally. Philippe le Roux of Nusas was arrested for having left Cape Town, to which area he was then restricted, and attempting to escape from South Africa without a valid passport. He was found guilty, all but six months of his sentence being conditionally suspended. The Rev. Father Cosmas Desmond was found guilty of having attended a social gathering by meeting two friends. Sentence was postponed until the end of 1974. Harry Nengwekhulu and Miss Joyce Sikakane, who were under banning orders, are reported to have escaped from the country without detection.

When Julius Mkumbuzi contravened his order for a third time, previously-suspended sentences were brought into operation and he was jailed for 18 months. Henry C. Holland and Godfrey K. Beck received short sentences for minor infringements. Mrs. Winnie Mandela and Peter Magubane, both banned persons with previous convictions, were each sentenced to 12 months for having met one another, but were released on bail pending an appeal.

The orders previously served on Mrs. Amina Cachalia and Father Cosmas Desmond were temporarily relaxed on compassionate grounds. When Sabelo S. Ntwasa qualified at the Federal Theological Seminary at Alice he was granted permission to attend church services on Sundays: he could then assist in Anglican services as a sub-deacon although he could not preach sermons.

In terms of the Suppression of Communism Act, it is illegal to print and/or publish and/or disseminate the utterances or statements of a person subject to a banning order. According to various Press reports,¹⁷ on 3 January Mr. Patrick Laurence, a reporter on *The Star*, posted to a colleague in London, from a Johannesburg street letter box, an article quoting the banned former-P.A.C. leader, Mr. Robert Sobukwe, with a covering letter stating that this was intended for possible publication in *The Observer*. The documents are stated never to have reached Mr. Laurence's colleague. The envelope was, apparently, opened by an unknown person in Britain, and the documents were then sealed in another envelope and sent to the Commissioner of the S.A. Police in South Africa. On 3 August, Mr. Laurence was found guilty of attempting to publish the utterances of a banned person, and given a sentence of 18 months, conditionally suspended for three years.

BANISHMENT OF AFRICANS

The banishment of Africans in terms of Section 5(1)(b) of the Bantu Administration Act of 1927 has been described in previous issues of this *Survey*. Between 1948 and 1966 some 156 men

¹⁷ e.g. *Star*, 3 and 6 August.

and women were banished, often to remote farms for indefinite periods. It appears that, following extensive publicity, the Government has taken no action under this Section since then. From information given by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration in reply to a question in the Assembly on 27 March,¹⁸ it would seem that the last eight of the banishment orders that were still in force were withdrawn during 1972.

REMOVAL ORDERS IN THE TRANSKEI

Under the 1960 emergency regulations for the Transkei, which are still in force, authorized chiefs there may order any African to move with his household from one place to another in the district concerned, temporarily or permanently. Mrs. Suzman asked the Deputy Minister of Police how many persons were subject to such removal orders at the end of 1972, but was told¹⁹ that chiefs were not accountable to his department.

LEGISLATION DEALING WITH CITIZENSHIP AND RESIDENCE IN THE REPUBLIC

South African Citizenship Amendment Act, No. 41 of 1973

This Act amends section 19 *bis* of the principal Act of 1949. It provides for the deprivation of South African citizenship in the case of South African citizens who have also the citizenship or nationality of another country, where it appears not to be in the public interest that such a citizen should continue to be a South African citizen.

The decision of the Minister of the Interior with regard to the deprivation of citizenship is not subject to appeal to or review by any court of law, and no person is entitled to be furnished with any reasons for such decision.

During the second reading debate, the Minister stated¹ that these provisions were aimed at drug pedlars, but conceded that their application was not limited to such persons. Both the United Party and the Progressive Party opposed the measure on the ground that the powers to be assumed by the Minister were far too wide.

Aliens Control Act, No. 40 of 1973

The Aliens Control Act rendered it illegal for anyone to employ, have business dealings with, or harbour any alien who is not in possession of a valid temporary residence permit, and other than in accordance with any conditions specified in the permit. The

¹⁸ Hansard 8 col. 534.

¹⁹ Hansard 9 col. 615.

¹ Assembly Hansard 2 cols. 711-5, 729.

conditions may include the period during which the holder may remain, the area of the Republic in which he may be, and the type of work (if any) that he is entitled to perform. Specified categories of persons may be exempted by the Minister.

These provisions withdrew the concession in regard to work permits that had previously applied in the case of white citizens of Britain, Eire, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Rhodesia, and certain other African states. Like other foreigners, those wishing to take up employment or to study at South African educational institutions must obtain permission before they enter the Republic.

The Act did not affect existing laws and regulations governing the admission of workers from southern African states who enter the country in accordance with special inter-state labour agreements.

TRAVEL DOCUMENTS

Statistics

Questioned in the Assembly on 15 February,² the Minister of the Interior said that statistics for 1972 relating to passports were not yet available. In 1971, 154 907 applications had been granted and 191 refused.

On 2 March, he stated³ that during 1972, three Whites, one Asian, and one African were granted and allowed to make use of permanent departure permits.

Some people who were refused travel documents

The withdrawal of the passports of members of the Christian Institute who refused to testify before the Schlebusch Commission is described on page 38.

Among other church workers who were affected during 1973 was pastor (Miss) R. Becher of the Methodist Church, who since 1967 had worked among the Coloured community in Cape Town. Her applications for a renewal of her temporary residence permit and for permanent residence were refused.

Two Dominican priests who had worked among Africans were refused re-entry permits after they had taken leave overseas: they were Father Peter Sanders and Father Edmund Hill. A leading Dutch theologian, Professor Hendrikus Berkhof, was invited to attend a workshop run by churchmen, most of whom were members of the three Dutch Reformed Churches, but when the authorities discovered that he was a member of the central commission of the World Council of Churches he was denied a visa. An American, Professor W. B. Keeney, was to have been seconded for two

² Hansard 2 col. 99.

³ Hansard 4 col. 268.

years to the S.A. Council of Churches, but his application for a temporary residence permit was unsuccessful. A visa granted to Miss Ann Lowell, an American church worker, was cancelled and she was deported. She had been secretary to the Rt. Rev. Colin Winter after the latter's expulsion from South West Africa in 1972. According to the Minister of the Interior,⁴ she had misrepresented the purpose of her visit, stating that it was for sightseeing, whereas in fact she wanted to involve herself in Bishop Winter's church affairs. Visas were refused, also, to two Lutheran ministers, the Rev. C. Krause and the Rev. J. Hasselhorn, who had been invited to attend a church conference in Johannesburg in October.⁵

Among members of the laity whose passports were withdrawn were Mr. Christopher Mokoditso and other Saso student leaders, and at least eight leaders of Nusas. Certain of these students were among those who were subsequently banned.

The leader of the Labour Party, Mr. Sonny Leon, applied for a renewal of his passport, and for passports for his wife, daughter, and son. All were refused. The circumstances and repercussions are mentioned on page 18. A few months after his banning order had been lifted Dr. G. M. Naicker requested passports for his wife and himself. His application, too, was rejected.

Two people who had been invited to a workshop of the Abe Bailey Institute of Inter-Racial Studies were denied visas: they were Mrs. Karin Himmelstrand of the Swedish International Development Agency and Mr. Phenius Sithole, a Rhodesian African trade union leader. (His co-delegate was admitted.) Miss Yuko Gijima from Japan, who was engaged to marry a white Natal farmer, was refused admission, as was an Australian student leader, Mr. Neil McLean.

Several medical men from overseas have been debarred from coming to or remaining in South Africa: this matter is described in the chapter of this *Survey* dealing with Health.

⁴ *Star*, 16 August.

⁵ *Sunday Express*, 30 September.

CONTROL OF MEDIA OF COMMUNICATION

PUBLICATIONS AND ENTERTAINMENTS

Publications and Entertainments Act, No. 26 of 1963 as amended

Provision was made in this measure for the establishment of a Publications Control Board, with the following functions:

- (a) to examine any locally-produced publication if a member of the public requests it to do so, and to decide whether or not the publication is undesirable¹ (a "publication" is defined to include any documents made public, illustrations, sound recordings, etc., but to exclude newspapers published by members of the Newspaper Press Union, and articles in scientific and technical journals that are bona fide intended for the advancement of knowledge);
- (b) to examine imported publications or other goods, and to decide whether or not these are indecent, obscene, or on any ground objectionable;
- (c) to view cinematograph films intended for public exhibition and to decide whether or not they are undesirable in their entirety, or should be cut, or should be approved subject to exhibition only to persons of a particular racial or age group, or should be approved unconditionally;
- (d) to consider whether or not any public entertainment or proposed entertainment is undesirable, or whether conditions should be imposed for its arrangement.

The Board must have not fewer than nine members, all appointed by the Minister of the Interior, of whom at least six must be persons having special knowledge of art, language, literature, or the administration of justice. Two of these six persons are designated by the Minister as chairman and vice-chairman, respectively. In 1973 the Board had five full-time and seven part-time members.

The Board appoints committees to report to it on publications, films, or entertainments. Such a committee consists of a member

¹ The Act specifies that a publication or other object will be deemed undesirable, *inter alia*, if it, or any part of it, is deemed to be indecent, obscene, offensive, harmful to public morals, blasphemous, offensive to the religious convictions of any section of the population, brings any section of the population into ridicule or contempt, is harmful to the relations between any sections, or is prejudicial to the safety of the State, the general welfare, or peace and good order. It is an offence to publish, produce, distribute, or display a publication or other object that has been declared undesirable.

of the Board as chairman and at least two other persons selected from a panel of people designated by the Minister. In 1973 there were between 30 and 40 panel members. They are not required to have any special qualifications. Persons are at liberty to ask the Minister to appoint them.

The Board conducts its proceedings behind closed doors, is not required to hear evidence from interested parties, and announces no reasons for its decisions. (Aggrieved persons may, however, appear before a court of law if they appeal against a decision of the Board.)

A publication can be declared undesirable on the strength of a single paragraph it contains, marked by a reader selected from the panel, who reports to the Board. The nature and intent of the work as a whole need not be considered, and Board members are not themselves required to read it.

Committees are appointed to view cinematograph films. In cases of doubt, a film may be seen by more than one committee. Their recommendations are conveyed to the Board by the chairmen.

Persons who are aggrieved by a decision of the Board in regard to a publication or entertainment may, on payment of the prescribed fee, appeal within 30 days to the Supreme Court, which may vary or set aside the Board's decision. Further appeal lies to the Appellate Division. So far as cinematograph films are concerned, however, appeal lies only to the Minister of the Interior.

Further provisions enacted in 1973

Sections 26 to 28 inclusive of the General Laws Amendment Act, No. 62 of 1973, incorporated further provisions in the Publications and Entertainments Act. When introducing the Bill in the Assembly² the Minister said that doubt existed as to whether the Board might review, and, if necessary, alter its past decisions. The Minister was, consequently, to be empowered to direct the Board to review a decision it had previously made: he would do so if justifiable grounds existed, for example if circumstances had altered. When the Board received such a direction, it would invite any person who had a direct financial interest in the publication, object, entertainment, or film concerned to submit written representations.

The Board would not be asked to review any matters which had been decided by the courts (or by the Minister in the case of films), or in respect of which an appeal was pending, or matters which it had already reviewed.

Some decisions by the Board and appeals therefrom

Replying to questions in the Assembly on 15 February,³ the

² 6 June, Hansard 17 cols. 8325-6.

³ Hansard 2 cols. 96-7.

Minister said that during 1972 the Board banned 910 publications and 13 other objects. One appeal only was heard by the Supreme Court: it was against the prohibition of the issue of the magazine *Scope* for 5 May.

(*Scope* made another appeal in 1973. This was its eighth successful appeal against the banning of individual issues. A decision by the Board to ban all subsequent issues was also set aside during 1972⁴).

One of the books that was banned in 1973 was a collection of poems by two local black poets, James Mathews and Gladys Thomas, published by Spro-cas under the title *Cry Rage*.

During July, the Board ordered the closure of Pact's⁵ production of the play *Three Months Gone* in Johannesburg, after it had run for 35 performances, and with only five performances still due. No reason was given. There was considerable public protest.

In reply to another question,⁶ the Minister said in the Assembly that during 1972 the Board had made the following decisions in regard to full-length feature cinematograph films:

233 were approved unconditionally;

359 were approved subject to exhibition only to persons of a particular race or class;

285 were approved subject to the excision of specified portions;

79 were prohibited.

He said⁷ that in the same year 55 film distributors had appealed to him against decisions of the Board. He altered these decisions in 15 cases.

Answering another question, the Minister of Justice stated⁸ that between 1 July 1971 and 30 June 1972, 37 persons were charged with contraventions of the Publications and Entertainments Act. Of these, 29 were convicted.

Inter-Departmental Committee of Inquiry

The appointment and composition of an Inter-Departmental Committee of Inquiry into the application of the Publications and Entertainments Act were described on page 82 of last year's *Survey*. Its recommendations were published in *Government Gazette* No. 3743 of 22 December 1972.

Very briefly, it considered that the Act should be administered by the Minister of National Education instead of the Minister of the Interior. The Publications Control Board should be reduced in size, and its functions should be changed to those of organiza-

⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 August.

⁵ The Performing Arts Council of the Transvaal.

⁶ 9 March, Hansard 5 col. 388.

⁷ 19 February, Hansard 3, col. 133.

⁸ 6 April, Hansard 9 col. 615.

tion, co-ordination, review, and advice. In the main, decisions should be made by committees, but the Board should retain power to review and alter these. A committee appointed to consider a particular matter should be as knowledgeable as possible about it.

The membership of the panel from which committees were appointed should be changed frequently, so that this body of persons would adequately reflect the changing norms of society. Every year, the Minister should extend an open invitation to interested parties to suggest names of suitable members.

The Board should have power to advise any person intending to produce a publication or film or to arrange an entertainment whether or not it was likely to be deemed undesirable.

Provision should be made for a speedier consideration of imported publications at customs warehouses, if necessary by one panel member who would submit to the Board only those considered doubtful. There should be increased and more thorough checks by customs or police officials on people entering the Republic.

The inter-departmental committee considered that appeals against decisions of committees of panel members or of the Board should be made to the Board. Should this body not agree to vary a decision, the aggrieved person could, as at present, appeal to a court of law or (in the case of a cinematograph film) to the Minister. The existing practice is that appeals to the Supreme Court may be heard by one judge. The committee recommended that they should be heard by three judges, who might call for expert evidence, or, alternatively, by a judge and two assessors. The latter should be experts, and would have a deliberative vote in addition to their advisory capacity.

Commission of Inquiry

A draft Amendment Bill was published by the Government in May. It incorporated many of the inter-departmental committee's recommendations, but differed in one important respect, providing that the right of appeal to courts of law should be abolished.

Before its second reading, this Bill was referred to a Parliamentary Select Committee consisting of the Deputy Minister of the Interior as chairman (Mr. J. T. Kruger), eight other members of the National Party, and four members of the United Party.

There was widespread opposition to the proposal that the right of appeal to the courts should be revoked. It came from the English Press and various other mainly English-language organizations, but also from Afrikaans-language bodies and persons, for example the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns, the Johannesburg Afrikaanse Skrywerskring, the executive of the Rapportryerskorps Federation, and newspapers such as the *Burger*, the *Vaderland*, and *Rapport*.

At the end of the Parliamentary Session the Select Committee was converted into a Commission of Inquiry, in terms of Government Notice 1219 of 13 July. It heard evidence from members of the Board and panel, considered a large number of memoranda, then invited widely representative persons to give evidence — people representative of the arts, the performing arts, film distributors and societies, writers, publishers, churches, cultural bodies, and interested State Departments. Members of the commission attended a sitting of the Board, and visited the customs house in Cape Town to ascertain how imported material was examined.

The evidence heard up to the time that the Select Committee was converted into a commission was published by the Government Printer in September. Considerable Press publicity was given to this. On 5 October, the Deputy Minister of the Interior stated⁹ that some of the evidence had been over-emphasized by the Press. Comment on the evidence, he said, might result in prejudicing, influencing, or anticipating the findings of the commission. For this reason, it had been recommended to the State President that, by proclamation, he should make regulations as envisaged in Section 1 of the Commissions Act of 1947.

Such regulations were gazetted in terms of Proclamation 233 of 5 October. They rendered it an offence for anyone to publish in any manner or to communicate to any other person any proceedings of the commission or any information furnished to the commission. It was also rendered an offence to insult or to disparage any member of the commission or to prejudice, influence, or anticipate the proceedings or findings of the commission. The maximum penalty for a contravention of these provisions was laid down as R200 or 6 months' imprisonment.

THE PRESS

Newspapers published by members of the S.A. Newspaper Press Union were excluded from the definition of a "publication" for the purposes of the Publications and Entertainments Act because in 1962 the Press Union drew up its own Press Code. Individual proprietors may decide whether or not to accept it. Some refused or accepted under protest.

A Board of Reference is provided for, composed of two managerial nominees under the chairmanship of a retired judge. Its function is to try to ensure that newspaper reports are accurate and not offensive to decency. Editors or journalists who are considered to have infringed the code may be reprimanded by the Board, and such reprimand will be published in other papers.

The final clause of the code states, "While the Press retains its traditional right of criticism, comment should take cognisance

⁹ e.g. *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 October.

of the complex racial problems of South Africa, the general good and the safety of the country and its peoples.”

Although newspapers are not censored, there are a number of laws which prohibit them from reporting on certain matters or from inciting racial unrest, for example the Official Secrets Act, the Suppression of Communism Act, the Defence Act, the Prisons Act, the Riotous Assemblies Act, and the Bantu Administration Act. The common law provides that libellous statements may not be published.

In a speech given at a seminar on journalism in February, Mr. Harry Oppenheimer pointed out¹ that the Afrikaans Press, which was formed and is largely controlled by the National Party, had the major objective of keeping this party in power. The easiest way to do this had always been to play on the sectional sentiments of Afrikaans-speaking people. In recent years, however, when it appeared that the grip of the Afrikaans section on political power was quite unshakable, the pro-Government Press had moved from uncritical support of the party to a more independent position in which, while continuing to support the party's principles with conviction, criticism in regard to methods and details was regarded as permissible.

The English-language Press gave broad support to the Opposition, Mr. Oppenheimer said, but felt no obligation to give unqualified approval of Opposition methods or tactics. It was more conscious than was the Afrikaans Press of developments and opinions in the world outside, and of the fact that the opinions of white South Africans were not necessarily those of all South Africans. Thus, the views it expressed were not universally popular. The English Press, with its much greater freedom and liveliness, was often charged with sensationalism and irresponsibility. “Perhaps in some cases that might occasionally be true, but I don't believe it to be true as a whole. . . . The South African Press is not perfect. What human institution is? But on the whole I think we are well served”.

In the Senate on 2 March Senator Dr. J. H. Look (N.P.) introduced a Private Member's Motion,² “That this House places on record its appreciation of the service rendered to the South African public by the Press in general, but nevertheless expresses its concern at the biased reporting and comment of a certain section of the Press in regard to racial matters, because such reporting endangers peace and security in South Africa”.

During the debate the Minister of the Interior said³ that if the English-language Press wished to attack and to criticise the Government, this was no more than their right. It was, however, essential that reports should be fair and correct. There rested a

¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 3 February.

² *Senate Hansard* 2 col. 648.

³ *Cols.* 702-22.

duty on all newspapers to ensure that they did not publish anything that could lead to friction between the various race groups, or that endangered State security, or that damaged the country's image abroad. The Government would take a fresh look at legislation affecting newspapers to see whether it should be amended to curb abuse of Press freedom. Nobody in South Africa wanted to curb Press freedom in any way, but then Press freedom must be linked inextricably to Press responsibility.

Speaking at a National Party congress in Bloemfontein on 18 September,⁴ the Prime Minister said that he had frequently "begged, pleaded, and threatened" in regard to the need for self-censorship by newspapers, to avoid the sowing of racial hatred that could lead to uprisings. But the *Rand Daily Mail*, he stated, was apparently seeking a confrontation. As an example, he read out a letter it had published from an African correspondent which, he said, contained "infamous lies".

The Prime Minister announced that legislation would be introduced in 1974 containing a clause that would prevent newspapers from appearing on the streets if they contained racial incitement. They knew when a statement was libellous and could not be published. The promotion of racial incitement should be treated in the same way.

In an interview with a Dutch newspaper, Mr. Vorster said⁵ that he had given the English Press until January to put their house in order. If they did not do so, he would not hesitate to impose a publication ban of one or more days.

TELEVISION

Full-scale TV broadcasts are scheduled to start in South Africa from January 1976, in colour, and at first on a single channel, using English and Afrikaans alternatively and equally. In a Press interview on 17 July, the S.A.B.C.'s director of information and public relations, Mr. Theo Greyling, said that the provision of special programmes for Africans was being investigated. An administrative centre was being built in Johannesburg, and courses of training were being conducted for operational and production workers.

The Minister of Economic Affairs announced in January⁶ that, because of special conditions in South Africa, it was desirable that TV sets should be manufactured locally. In view of the limited scope of the Republic's market, the Cabinet had decided that an economic industry could be developed only if the number of manufacturers was limited.

Five firms were selected to manufacture sets. They were informed later that they would have to establish the undertakings in border industrial areas.

⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 19 September.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 2 October.

⁶ Assembly Hansard 1, Question cols. 8-10.

JUSTICE

EXPENDITURE ON JUSTICE, POLICE, AND PRISONS

According to the official estimates of expenditure from Revenue Account and Loan Account for 1973-4¹ it is proposed to spend the following amounts on Justice, Police, and Prisons during that year:

	<i>Revenue Account</i>	<i>Loan Account</i>
	R	R
Justice	24 989 000	1 787 200
Police	118 980 000	6 698 250
Prisons	40 694 000	9 428 050
	184 663 000	17 913 500
Percentage of estimated expenditure on all votes	6	29

SOME CRIMINAL STATISTICS

According to the March issue of *Crime, Punishment, and Correction*, the journal of Nicro,² the daily average prison population for the year 1 July 1969 to 30 June 1970 per 100 000 population was:

Whites	86
Coloured	791
Asians	80
Africans	476
All races	425

This meant that on an average, on any day of the year, those in prison were:

- 1 in every 126 Coloured;
- 1 in every 210 Africans;
- 1 in every 1 163 Whites;
- 1 in every 1 250 Asians.

According to the annual report of the Department of Prisons for the year 1 July 1971 to 30 June 1972,³ the daily average of sentenced and unsentenced prisoners who were admitted to prison during the year was 91 253. During the year, 440 922 sentenced

¹ R.P. 2/1973 and 3/1973.

² National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Rehabilitation of Offenders.

³ R.P. 91/1972 pages 5 and 9.

prisoners were admitted to prison, as follows:

			<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
Africans	...	...	301 368	69 442	370 810
Coloured	...	...	47 928	11 264	59 192
Whites	...	...	8 585	505	9 090
Asians	...	...	1 708	122	1 830
			<hr/> 359 589	<hr/> 81 333	<hr/> 440 922

Commenting on these figures,⁴ Mrs. Helen Suzman, M.P., said that, while the size of the prison population remained a sad reflection on society, the latest statistics, as compared with those for the previous year, showed a number of satisfactory trends. There had been a drop of about 33 000, of whom more than 32 000 were blacks, in the total number of people jailed.⁵ There was a decrease of 17 800, of whom 15 800 were blacks, in the number in jail for less than one month, as well as a drop of 13 000, almost all blacks, in the number of people jailed for up to four months. "One assumes that this is largely as a result of work of the aid centres in diverting from jail Africans arrested for pass offences," she said.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

It was stated in the report of the Department of Prisons, quoted above, that on 30 June 1971 there were 41 persons in custody who had been sentenced to death. During the next twelve months a further 91 condemned prisoners were admitted.

Of the total, 56 were executed, 21 had their sentences commuted, one was re-tried, and the remaining 41 were in custody at the end of the year. (These figures, too, show a drop: there were 80 executions during the previous year.)

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT

The Prisons report⁶ indicated that the number of offenders sentenced to corporal punishment in 1971-2 decreased by 891 (16.4 per cent) compared with the previous year. The numbers of offenders receiving such punishment were:

	<i>Africans</i>	<i>Coloured</i>	<i>Whites</i>	<i>Asians</i>
21 years and over ...	2 895	405	33	3
Under 21 years ...	917	272	9	2

SOME COMMENT ON CRIME

In the Assembly on 9 March⁷ Mr. J. J. M. Stephens (U.P.) moved a Private Members motion, "That this House notes with

⁴ *Star*, 5 April.

⁵ See 1972 *Survey*, page 85.

⁶ R.P., 91/1972, page 10.

⁷ Hansard 5 cols. 2350-9.

alarm the rising crime rate, particularly as a result of the increase in gang activities, and urgently requests the Government to take special measures in this connection."

Mr. L. E. D. Winchester (U.P.) said⁸ that over a weekend in Cape Town it was nothing to read of 300 stabbings, 11 murders, and 8 rapes. Cape Town was but an echo of other similar big centres. The crime rate increase was faster than the population increase. Only 50 per cent of robberies and 20 per cent of burglaries went to court for trial. This was no reflection on the police. Crime was caused largely by lack of education, poverty, poor housing, lack of opportunity, and general frustration. Such factors had brought about contempt for the law and contempt for the police to enforce the law.

The Deputy Minister of Police⁹ described measures that the police were taking to combat crime, including the establishment of a police division at Soweto, and new stations in developing townships.

During August the University of South Africa convened a criminology conference, held in Pretoria. One of the main objectives was the establishment of a criminological institute. Nicro welcomed this move. An editorial in a subsequent issue of its journal¹⁰ stated that, through extensive research, such an institute could create a more accurate picture of the nature and the extent of the crime problem. "Until we have valuable and reliable knowledge on the extent, causes, and consequences of crime, our efforts at its control and prevention are — what has been called — 'a shot in the dark'."

CRIMINAL PROCEDURE AMENDMENT BILL

This lengthy measure (350 clauses) was an attempt to overhaul and streamline South Africa's criminal procedure system. The General Council of the Bar, while welcoming some of the suggested changes, stated that others were fundamental and involved radical departures from long-accepted principles. Serious criticisms were made, too, by the Association of Law Societies and other bodies and individuals.

The second reading of the Bill was moved by the Minister of Justice in the Assembly on 10 April. On behalf of the United Party,¹¹ Mr. M. L. Mitchell moved that "the Order for the second reading of the . . . Bill be discharged and the subject of the Bill be referred to a Select Committee for inquiry and report, the Committee to have power to take evidence and call for papers and to have leave to bring up an amended Bill". Mrs. Helen

⁸ Cols. 2378-81.

⁹ Col. 2391.

¹⁰ *Rand Daily Mail* report, 8 August.

¹¹ Hansard 10 cols. 4476-95.

Suzman (Progressive Party) moved¹² that the Bill be read "this day six months".

The Bill reached the committee stage, during which it was considerably amended. Some fourteen amendments were moved by the Minister himself. This stage of the measure had not been concluded when Parliament adjourned.

SOUTH AFRICAN LAW COMMISSION ACT, NO. 19 OF 1973

This Act provides for the establishment of a South African Law Commission to do research with reference to all branches of the law of the Republic and to study and to investigate all such branches of the law, in order to make recommendations for the development, improvement, modernization, or reform thereof. The Commission will consist of the following members, appointed by the State President:

- (a) two judges of the Supreme Court, as chairman and vice-chairman respectively;
- (b) not less than two but not more than four persons who appear to the State President to be suitably qualified by the tenure of a judicial office or by experience as an advocate or attorney or as a professor of law at any university;
- (c) an officer in the service of the Department of Justice.

The State President may appoint one or more additional members if he deems it necessary for the consideration of any particular project.

The principles of the Bill received unanimous support in the Assembly.¹³

PRISONS

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 25 May,¹⁴ the Minister of Prisons gave a list of 238 prisons in the Republic and South West Africa, their names, and the average number of prisoners each accommodated.

The Transkeian Minister of Justice said during the 1973 Session of the territory's Legislative Assembly¹⁵ that sixteen prisons were being administered by his Government. The total daily average number of prisoners convicted or awaiting trial was 1 141.

Towards the end of 1972, the then president of the Methodist Church, the Rev. Stanley Pitts, and three other Methodist ministers were barred by the Department of Prisons from doing further prison ministry work.¹⁶

According to the Minister of Prisons,¹⁷ 357 inspections were

¹² Cois, 4578-87.

¹³ Hansard 2 cols. 651 *et seq.*

¹⁴ Hansard 15 cols. 926-30.

¹⁵ *Debates*, page 232.

¹⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 December 1972.

¹⁷ Assembly Hansard 17 col. 955.

carried out during 1972 into the housing, feeding, and working conditions of prisoners hired out as farm labourers.

The Minister said, earlier,¹⁸ that the fees payable by persons employing labourers from prisons varied from 15 cents to 65 cents per day, depending on factors such as the type of employment, area (rural or urban), and the employment or not of prison guards. No portion of this fee was payable to the prisoners. However, it was possible for prisoners to earn amounts varying from 50 cents to R30 per month by way of bonuses or gratuities (he did not state the nature of these).

CONDUCT OF THE POLICE

The Minister of Police did not provide information this year about policemen who were killed or wounded in the execution of their duties in 1972, nor about the number of complaints that had been received of assault against policemen committed by members of the public.

He said, however,¹⁹ that in 1972 the following numbers of members of the public were shot at and killed or wounded by the police in the execution of their duties:

	<i>Shot at and killed</i>		<i>Shot at and wounded</i>	
	<i>Adults</i>	<i>Juveniles</i>	<i>Adults</i>	<i>Juveniles</i>
Whites ...	3	—	9	1
Coloured ...	12	2	49	3
Asians ...	—	—	—	—
Africans ...	76	1	227	10

Questioned on 20 February,²⁰ the Deputy Minister of Police replied that the numbers of policemen convicted during 1972 of certain crimes of violence were:

	<i>White</i>	<i>Black</i>
Common assault	68	98
Assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm	10	26
Culpable homicide	1	2

Of those found guilty of common assault, 20 had previous convictions, in seven cases also for common assault. Seven of the men were discharged from the Force.

Of those found guilty of aggravated assault, three had previous convictions for common assault (one on two counts), one for forgery, and one for having been absent without leave. Four of the convicted men were discharged from the Force.

Of those found guilty of culpable homicide, two had previous convictions (common assault and housebreaking with intent to commit a crime, respectively). Both were discharged from the Force.

¹⁸ Assembly Hansard 3 col. 136.

¹⁹ 9 March, Assembly Hansard 5 col. 392.

²⁰ Hansard 3 cols. 141-3.

A few days later²¹ the Minister added that, of the policemen who were convicted during 1972 but had no previous convictions, the following were discharged from the Force:

<i>Convicted of:</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Black</i>
Common assault	18	21
Assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm	—	3
Culpable homicide	—	1

The report of the Controller and Auditor-General for 1971-2²² gave information about payments made that year by the Department of Police to members of the public, as follows:

<i>Compensation payments</i>	<i>R</i>
12 cases of unlawful arrest	8 290
34 cases of assault by the police	23 161
Miscellaneous payments	2 505
<i>Ex-gratia payments</i>	20 598
	R54 554

The ex-gratia payments included R5 000 to the widow of a detainee who died while in police custody, and R3 000 towards the maintenance of the family of an African who was incapacitated when shot at by the police. He took fright and was mistaken for a suspect. A disability allowance was awarded to him.

The Minister of Police was questioned about actions for damages brought against members of the Force.²³ He replied that, as at 4 February 1972, there were 108 actions pending. Two of these succeeded, the total amount paid in damages being R800, and 26 were settled out of court, a total sum of R17 986,67 being paid.

During the remainder of 1972, the Minister continued, a further 199 actions were brought against policemen. None succeeded, but 15 were settled out of court, for a sum amounting to R4 238,59. At the end of the year there were 108 actions pending.

In February, 18 policemen in Pretoria were convicted on various of 27 counts of housebreaking and theft, receiving sentences ranging from 20½ years' jail (certain sentences on individual counts to run concurrently) to fines plus suspended sentences. All were Whites except for three Africans.

An accused appearing before the Supreme Court in Cape Town claimed that he had been ill-treated by the police. According to the *Rand Daily Mail* of 19 October, the Acting Commissioner of Police said that he was appointing a senior man to investigate allegations of this nature.

²¹ 6 March, Hansard 5 col. 340.

²² R.P. 64/1972, Part II of report, page 244.

²³ Assembly Hansard 15 cols. 905-6.

LEGAL AID

The Institute of Race Relations published a report (RR. 105/1973) by Mrs. Felicia Kentridge on a Legal Aid Conference organized by Professor A. S. Mathews and held at the University of Natal, Durban, during July. Various of the papers presented, she said, described the growth and proliferation of legal aid services in the United Kingdom and United States. In contrast, the official scheme in South Africa had made very small progress.

The commencement of this scheme was described on page 79 of the *Survey* for 1971. According to information given at the conference, the Legal Aid Board from its inception had sat five times, while the Management Committee had met six times. The scheme was not widely publicised, neither its officials nor the legal profession seemed to take an energetic interest in its working, and, most important of all, the means test set was so low as to exclude practically anyone in employment.

The budget of the Legal Aid Board had been:

	<i>General</i>	<i>Special allocation for South West Africa</i>
	<i>R</i>	<i>R</i>
1970-1 ...	150 000	—
1971-2 ...	150 000	20 000
1972-3 ...	210 000	17 000
1973-4 ...	210 000	—

The Board had accepted 4 312 cases over 23 months, as follows:

	<i>White</i>	<i>Coloured</i>	<i>African</i>	<i>Total</i>
Civil cases ...	2 237	1 253	631	4 121
Criminal cases ...	128	24	39	191

(According to an article by Mr. Sieg Hannig in *The Star* of 28 April, one reason for the very small number of Africans is that most of their civil cases are conducted in special Bantu Divorce or Bantu Commissioners' Courts, where court officials, not attorneys, draft the documents and the charges are low.)

The *Rand Daily Mail* reported on 22 January that, during the period referred to above, the Board conducted 6 641 interviews which were not referred to lawyers.

In the same article, an interview with Mrs. Pauline Lipson, director of the voluntary legal aid bureau in Johannesburg, was reported. It is a registered welfare organization, operating on an annual budget of about R10 000, derived from a municipal grant together with voluntary contributions. Attorneys to whom cases are referred do not charge for their services. There is a staff of five — a part-time lawyer, social worker, and typist, and two interpreters.

With these limited resources, the voluntary bureau conducted 11 112 case interviews during 1972. Many of these cases were handled directly by the bureau, some were referred to the Govern-

ment Legal Aid Board, and 222 cases were referred to Johannesburg attorneys. Of these, 125 were for African litigants or accused, 75 for Coloured, and 22 for Whites.

Mrs. Kentridge reported that, at the University of Natal conference, there was general consensus that student legal aid clinics, which had been operating at the Universities of the Witwatersrand, Cape Town, and Stellenbosch should be established, too, at other law schools.

During its 1973 Session the Transkeian Government passed an enactment providing for the setting up of a Legal Aid Board in its territory.

DETENTIONS AND TRIALS UNDER SECURITY LAWS

NUMBER OF PEOPLE DETAINED

Questioned in the Assembly about people detained under the Security laws, the Minister of Police said¹ that during 1972, 16 people were detained under the Criminal Procedure Act (which contains the "180-day clause"²). They were held for periods ranging from 3 to 80 days, the Minister continued, none had been in solitary confinement, and all had since been charged or released.

Asked about detentions under the Terrorism Act,³ the Minister replied, "Except to confirm that a number of persons were arrested . . . during 1972, I consider it not to be in the public interest to disclose the required information." He did say, however, that eleven persons were that year charged with contraventions of the Act.⁴ Three of them had been convicted, but some cases had not yet been concluded. None of the detainees had died while in detention.

The Deputy Minister said on 6 April⁵ that six persons in the Transkei were detained during 1972 under Proclamation 400 of 1960. Five of them were released without charges having been laid, and the sixth was still in detention at the end of the year.

At the Durban Legal Aid Conference, Professor S. A. Strauss criticised the total elimination of judicial control over certain forms of detention. (As reported in previous issues of this *Survey*, very many others have made similar criticisms.)

Speaking at an official function in July,⁶ the Minister of Justice stated that the situation in South Africa was not "normal". A new situation existed, unknown in terms of traditional concepts of constitutional law. "It is a situation which, without a doubt, qualifies as an emergency situation and it surely justifies the provision and implementation of measures which do not in every respect meet the requirements of the so-called rule of law," he said.

PROVISION FOR DETENTION IN THE MSINGA DISTRICT

Proclamation No. 103 of 1973, gazetted on 1 May, applies to the African district of Msinga in Natal. It provides that

¹ 23 March, Hansard 7 col. 520.

² See last year's *Survey*, page 83, for the terms of these security laws.

³ Hansard 1 Question cols. 18-19.

⁴ It appears that this information was incomplete. See 1972 *Survey*, pages 96-105.

⁵ Hansard 9 col. 615.

⁶ *Star*, 27 July.

any member of the police force of or above the rank of Warrant Officer, if he has reason to suspect that any person has committed, or intends to commit, theft or a criminal offence involving violence, or that any person is withholding any information in connection with such an offence, he may arrest such person, or cause him to be arrested, with or without a warrant, and detain him or cause him to be detained for interrogation for a period not exceeding 90 days.

The Commissioner of Police may at any time order the release of a person so detained. These powers may be delegated to any person of or above the rank of Major. But no court of law shall pronounce upon the validity of any action taken in terms of the proclamation, or order the release of any person detained in terms thereof.

The Deputy Minister of Police said in the Assembly on 22 May⁷ that the KwaZulu government had requested the promulgation of this measure. Faction fighting had been taking place in the Msinga district for some 80 years. Police had found it increasingly difficult to prosecute people because witnesses were afraid to talk. In 1972 there had been 45 cases of murder, but only 18 people had been prosecuted for them. Similarly, there had been 125 cases of serious assault with 101 prosecutions; 949 huts had been burned down but only 21 persons prosecuted; and 334 head of cattle had been stolen resulting in only 26 prosecutions. The situation appeared to be in hand and no-one had yet been detained for interrogation, but trouble might well break out again. The proclamation would remain in force for as long as the KwaZulu leaders considered it to be necessary.

ACTIONS FOR DAMAGES ARISING FROM DETENTION

Questioned in the Assembly on 23 March,⁸ the Deputy Minister of Police said that no actions for damages that had been brought against the Minister and/or any member of the Police Force by persons who had been detained in terms of the Terrorism Act had been settled during 1972. Six such actions were pending, the names of the plaintiffs being:

Frank Anthony
 Mohamed Salim Essop
 Montford M. Mabuto
 Mohamed Timol
 Albert K. Tshangana
 Robert C. Wilcox

APPEALS ARISING FROM PAST TRIALS

Messrs. Essack and Moodley

The trial and conviction of Messrs. Essack, Moodley, and

⁷ Hansard 15 cols. 7231 *et seq.*

⁸ Hansard 7 col. 509.

Essop, and Mrs. Desai was described on page 100 of last year's *Survey*. All had been found guilty of charges under the Terrorism Act, and each was sentenced to five years' imprisonment. Mrs. Desai and Mr. Essop were refused leave to appeal against their convictions, but Mr. Essack and Mr. Moodley were allowed to do so. During February they were granted bail of R5 000 each, and ordered to report to the police twice daily.

Their appeal was heard by three judges on 28 September. Mr. Justice Muller found that the State had failed to prove the allegations against the two men. He upheld their appeals. Mr. Justice Trollip concurred, thus the appeal succeeded, although Mr. Justice Rumpff gave a dissenting judgment.⁹

Mr. Kadar Hassim and twelve others

As described on page 96 of last year's *Survey*, thirteen men (Indians, Coloured, and African), alleged to be members of the African People's Democratic Union of South Africa (Apdusa), were in April 1972 found guilty of various charges under the Terrorism Act. The sentences imposed on each count were to run concurrently, the total sentences to be served ranging from five to eight years. During April, the Appellate Division dismissed the appeal of these men against their conviction.

TRIALS DURING 1973

Mr. A. Moumbaris and five others

On page 105 of the 1972 *Survey* mention was made of the commencement of the trial, under the Terrorism Act, of Mr. A. Moumbaris (an Australian citizen), Mr. J. W. Hosey (a Northern Irish citizen), and four Africans from the Republic, Messrs. T. Cholo, M. J. Mpanza, P. A. Mtembu, and G. S. Sijaka.

Mr. Moumbaris, with his wife, had been arrested on the Botswana border on 19 July 1972. His wife was detained by the police for four months, but because she was pregnant, was then released and deported to France, where her parents lived. Mr. Moumbaris and the other accused, who were arrested at about the same time, were held in detention.

Their summary trial opened in the Supreme Court, Pretoria, on 14 March and, with intermissions, lasted until 20 June. The men were charged jointly under the Terrorism Act. There were 19 counts, in each of which one or more of the accused were mentioned. Five of them (excluding Mr. Hosey) were accused of having conspired with one another, and with A.N.C. members and communists overseas, including Oliver Tambo, Joe Slovo, and Dr. Yusuf Dadoo, to encourage violent revolution in the Republic. The conspiracy was stated in the indictment to have had its origins in Russia, England, and Somaliland.

⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 September.

According to the indictment and evidence given by witnesses for the State (53 of whom were called), Mr. Moumbaris was a "contact man", and undertook a series of six "courier" trips between London and South Africa, his suitcases having false bottoms. He was stated to have supplied certain Africans in the Republic with arms, ammunition, a radio, false documents, materials for secret writing, and other items. He reconnoitred the Transkeian coast to find suitable places for secret seaborne landings. He also reconnoitred the borders of Botswana and Swaziland, went to these countries to meet Africans returning after military training abroad, and helped them to cross the borders secretly into the Republic.

Two African witnesses admitted that they had undergone military training and training in subversion and propaganda in African states to the north and/or in Russia. They were arrested after returning to the Republic, and later decided to give evidence for the State. Both said that they had met the four African accused during various stages of their training abroad.

These African accused, it was stated, had undergone similar training. Afterwards they met one another in Somalia, from where they embarked in a motor yacht intending to land secretly on the Transkeian coast. In the event, the Greek crew of the yacht did not take them beyond Mombasa. They later went to Swaziland, from where Mr. Moumbaris helped them to enter the Republic. Some of the accused were stated to have planned to recruit other Africans in the Transkei and train them in guerrilla warfare.

Mr. Hosey was accused of distributing, or causing to be distributed, pamphlets containing anti-White and anti-government propaganda, and of attempting to establish contact with one or more of the accused to deliver money and documents.

On 20 June, Mr. Justice Boshoff found all six accused guilty of one or more of the charges against them. Mr. Moumbaris was found guilty, *inter alia*, of having maintained contact between people in London and the accused, and of assisting the accused. He was sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment.

The four Africans were found guilty, *inter alia*, of undergoing military training abroad, and of returning to South Africa in order to promote violent revolution. The judge found that their activities had been closer akin to treason than were those of Mr. Moumbaris. Each received a fifteen years' sentence.

Mr. Hosey, who was found to have played a very minor part in the conspiracy, received the minimum sentence provided for in the Terrorism Act — that of five years.

The two whites applied for leave to appeal, which was granted to Mr. Hosey but refused to Mr. Moumbaris. It was announced that Mr. Hosey's appeal would be heard by three judges of the Appellate Division on 27 November. The appeal was dismissed.

Mr. Mosebudi Mangena

It was mentioned in an earlier chapter that Mr. Mosebudi Mangena, said to be national organiser of the Black People's Convention (B.P.C.), was arrested during June. He was charged under the Terrorism Act. On 3 October he appeared before the Supreme Court in Grahamstown. Two African policemen are reported to have said in evidence that they met Mr. Mangena casually, for the first time, on a train travelling to Port Elizabeth. They were in plain clothes. They fell into conversation, during which Mr. Mangena said he was recruiting members for the B.P.C. He offered one of them the job of organiser in the northern Transvaal. Asked what was done with money collected by way of membership subscriptions, Mr. Mangena replied that in the first place it was used to pay salaries of B.P.C. officials. At a later stage it would be used to send young members abroad for military training, after which they would return and kill white people, homeland leaders, and policemen. The witnesses said that they reported the conversation to the Security Police in Port Elizabeth. Shortly afterwards, they returned to their duties in the northern Transvaal.

Mr. Mangena was arrested at the home of the Port Elizabeth chairman of the B.P.C., and certain documents were taken from him. He was then released, but was re-arrested later.

Counsel for the defence said he found it strange that Mr. Mangena should have disclosed incriminating information to complete strangers, and have offered a post to one of them. He asked why the original reports made by the policemen to the Security Police in Port Elizabeth were not produced in court, rather than affidavits made by them at a later stage. He was told that the original reports had been destroyed.

Mr. Acting Justice de Wet, sitting with two assessors, found Mr. Mangena guilty of participating in terrorist activities, and sentenced him to five years' imprisonment.¹⁰ Leave to appeal was sought, but was refused.

Arrests in Vereeniging

In mid-October, five African men and two women were arrested in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, and detained under the Terrorism Act.

It was reported on 28 November, however, that all except one man, Mr. Nkutsoeu Matsau, had been released. The Attorney-General had not as yet decided whether Mr. Matsau should be prosecuted.

SCORPIO

The activities of "Scorpio" were described on page 78 of last year's *Survey*. Briefly, during 1971 and 1972 there were a

¹⁰ *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 October.

number of attacks on the homes and/or property of people and organizations, mainly in Cape Town, communist slogans were painted on walls, and libellous leaflets distributed. A church hall was gutted by fire. It was stated on some of the leaflets that they had been issued by "Scorpio", and after various attacks, newspapers were informed by means of anonymous telephone calls that "Scorpio has struck again". The victims of attacks were opponents of the Government's racial policies.

In October, police arrested Mr. Desmond H. Welthagen and Mr. David A. Beelders after raiding their homes. It was reported¹¹ that in Mr. Welthagen's home the police found a number of leaflets that were blank except for the legend "Issued by Scorpio", and 100 fuse-igniters. He was charged with six counts of having issued pamphlets containing criminal libels, and one count of illegally possessing explosives. Further charges, of arson and of malicious damage to property, were withdrawn by the prosecutor, who said that they would be difficult to prove. The magistrate acquitted Mr. Welthagen on the explosives charge because, he stated, the State had not shown that the accused had not possessed a permit allowing him to have these. But he was fined R50 (or 25 days) on each of the six counts of criminal libel, also sentenced to a month's imprisonment on each count suspended for three years. The prosecutor did not proceed with an allegation that Mr. Welthagen was, in fact, Scorpio.

Mr. Beelders was fined R150 for having painted the words "Communist den" on a wall belonging to the University of Cape Town.

The Press pointed out that a number of the Scorpio crimes had not been solved. The attacks ceased for the time being, but in November there was a new, less serious, wave of vandalism in Cape Town.

¹¹ *Star*, 11 December, and *Sunday Times* and *Sunday Express*, 24 December 1972.

GUERRILLAS AND MOVEMENTS-IN-EXILE

UNITED NATIONS CONSIDERATION OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

Consideration by the UN General Assembly in 1972 of international violence and terrorism was described on page 106 of last year's *Survey*. As mentioned, it was recommended that an international convention on terrorism should be drawn up. The African and Arab blocs were adamant that any definition of international terrorism should exclude the liberation movements. A special ad hoc committee of the Assembly, representative of 35 nations, was appointed to consider the whole question.

The Committee met for nearly a month in July and August. It divided into three groups, one to try to define "international terrorism", a second to study its underlying causes, and a third to consider measures to eliminate the problem. None was able to reach any agreement.¹

INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN AFRICA

Financial assistance given by the World Council of Churches to certain liberation movements is described on page 39.

During December 1972 the U.N. General Assembly adopted by 124 votes to 2 (South Africa and Portugal), with no abstentions, a resolution sponsored by 41 African states. It called on the Secretary-General, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, to continue efforts to strengthen co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity. This was particularly necessary, it was stated, in assisting "the victims of colonialism and apartheid in southern Africa" and in disseminating information about "the present grave situation in that area".

The Portuguese Foreign Minister, Dr. R. Patricio, maintained that "the situation as concerns the two Portuguese states of Angola and Mozambique, integrated as they are in the multi-racial Portuguese nation, far from being grave, is very promising for the future socially, economically, and politically".

South Africa's Ambassador, Mr. Carl von Hirschberg, opposed the draft resolution "because of the imputations and the assertions it contains" which, South Africa believed, were "without foundation and unwarranted".²

It was announced during February³ that the incoming Labour Government in New Zealand had contributed about R4 500 to the

¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 August.

² *Ibid.*, 15 December 1972.

³ *Star*, 12 February.

UN Trust Fund to help victims of "the repressive and discriminatory practices in South Africa, Namibia, and Rhodesia". The previous government had declined to make any such grant.

The UN and OAU jointly organized a conference held in Oslo from 9-14 April. Costs were met by the Nordic countries. The object was announced as being to consider non-violent ways of ending colonialism and apartheid in Southern Africa, but, when the Norwegian Government offered to pay the travel and living costs of representatives of the liberation movements, it became clear that with their presence the conference would not confine itself to peaceful means of achieving its object. The British, American, and French governments decided not to send delegates (although representatives of non-governmental organizations in these countries attended). Delegate after delegate called for support for the armed struggle. It was reported that representatives of the liberation movements were widely accepted as the legitimate representatives of Africans in the countries of southern Africa.⁴

It was announced in May⁵ that a new All Africa Movement had been formed, with headquarters in London, constituting a broad front of the S.A. Communist Party-in-exile, the ANC-in-exile, and the Anti-Apartheid Movement. The object was to extend guerrilla activities in South Africa and Rhodesia. The movement was stated to have the backing of several communist countries and of certain left-wing elements in Britain. Among the leading figures were said to be Joe Slovo, Dr. Jusuf Dadoo, and Jack Hodgson.

Libya is reported⁶ to have made substantial financial contributions to the two Rhodesian nationalist movements-in-exile, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (Zapu) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (Zanu), and to have promised donations of arms and medicines.

According to a report published in September,⁷ Canada is to increase the non-military help it gives to guerrilla movements in Africa. Arab countries are doing so, too.

Other countries and organizations that are helping have been mentioned in previous issues of this *Survey*.

On 8 November, the General Assembly passed a lengthy resolution which, *inter alia*, reaffirmed the legitimacy of the "struggle for liberation from colonial and foreign domination and alien subjugation by all available means, including armed struggle". This paragraph was approved by 82 votes to 12, with 23 abstentions. Botswana voted in favour of it. Lesotho, Swaziland, Malawi and South Africa absented themselves from voting on this paragraph, but Lesotho voted for the resolution as a whole.⁸

⁴ *Rand Daily Mail and Star*, 11 April.

⁵ *Sunday Express*, 20 May.

⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 September.

⁷ *Star*, 26 September.

⁸ *Star*, 9 November.

ACTIVITIES IN THE CAPRIVI STRIP AND TRAINING OF SOUTH AFRICAN PERSONNEL

The Caprivi Strip, jutting out from South West Africa between Zambia and Botswana, is administered by South Africa and patrolled by S.A. policemen, white and black.

According to a Press report,¹ guerrillas from Zambia attacked a police post on the border during January, wounding six White and one Indian policemen.

At the extreme east point of the "Strip", on the Zambesi River, its border meets those of Zambia, Rhodesia, and Botswana. The villages of Kazungulu and Kasane are in Zambia and Botswana, just to the north and south, respectively, of the river. This has for long been a point of escape to the north for refugees from the Republic and South West Africa. A ferry operated by Zambians used to operate between the two villages, but it was reported² in March that the service had been suspended. S.A. police and Zambian troops were said to have been exchanging fire across the river.

It was announced in April³ that a party of South African African policemen, with a locally-employed African tracker, had been ambushed by guerrillas operating from Zambia while they were on foot patrol, well inside the borders of the "Strip". The guerrillas opened fire with machine guns, killing four policemen and the tracker. A few members of the party escaped.

During the following month several South Africans patrolling the area were injured, one seriously, when the wheel of their vehicle struck a landmine.⁴

In August, nearly 4 000 white S.A. troops were engaged in a six-day military exercise in Gazankulu, the Shangaan homeland in the northern Transvaal, which is fairly close to the Mozambique border. They temporarily recruited more than a hundred local men, nominated by the chiefs, to act as guides and trackers.

GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES IN RHODESIA

The background

As mentioned on page 109 of last year's *Survey*, there was little reported guerrilla activity in Rhodesia during most of 1972. Zapu and Zanu were said to be replanning their strategy. Heavy casualties had led to the abandonment of plans for direct armed confrontation. (The *Sunday Express* reported on 24 December 1972 that, since activities began in April 1966, at least 180 guerrillas had been killed and large numbers captured. Eighteen Rhodesian servicemen, white and black, had been killed.)

¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 January.

² *Star*, 10 March.

³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 April.

⁴ *Ibid.* 25 May.

Towards the end of 1972 the new tactics became evident. Guerrillas were no longer coming in camouflage uniforms, bearing arms and equipment, but were wearing nondescript civilian clothes, so that they could easily merge among local Africans. Their arms — lighter and more sophisticated ones — were smuggled in, in advance, and hidden in caches. They no longer sought direct confrontation, but engaged in hit and run tactics. When pursued, groups divided up, leaving a number of trails, meeting one another again some distance away. Local tribesmen were persuaded or coerced into giving assistance.

In a Press interview on 31 January¹ the Prime Minister, Mr. Ian Smith, said that the situation was more serious than his Government had realized. Previously, security forces had been concentrated near the Zambian border. But a breakdown in security had enabled guerrillas to infiltrate tribal areas in the north-eastern corner of Rhodesia, near the Mozambique border: they had been doing so for six to seven months. The border was not easily defined, and Africans habitually moved to and fro across it. The country was extremely wild and difficult to patrol. A number of local Africans had been subverted. Some had been used as porters to bring in arms and ammunition, while others had been sent across the border for training in terrorism.

There are tribal trust lands in this area and also, around the villages of Centenary and Mount Darwin, farms owned by whites, producing mainly tobacco. It would appear, from various reports, that the infiltrators were mainly Zanu members, who had come via Mozambique with the help of Frelimo fighters in the Tete area.

Security forces were reported² to have discovered several caches of arms, including automatic rifles and pistols, light machine guns, grenades, rockets, mortars, various types of land mines, and plastic explosives, mainly of Chinese or Russian origin.

One of the new tactics used by infiltrators was to lay land-mines on dirt roads (or later, in the gravel on the sides of tar strip roads).

The Rhodesian security forces were stated³ to be co-operating with Portuguese troops across the Mozambique border. They had to continue guarding the Zambian border, and, as well, began patrolling the Botswana border. Various reports⁴ have indicated that guerrillas (possibly Zapu) have attempted to infiltrate Rhodesia via Botswana, and that, early in 1973, the Botswana authorities handed over about 28 Rhodesian Africans found in their territory.

Together with some six other liberation movements operating against Portuguese territories or originating in South Africa or

¹ e.g. *Star* of that date.

² e.g. *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 December 1972.

³ *Ibid.*, 23 December 1972.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 9 and 17 March.

South West Africa, Zapu and Zanu have their headquarters in the "Zambia National Liberation Secretariat" building in Lusaka, although the guerrilla bases may be in Mozambique or actually on Rhodesian soil.⁵ Further reports⁶ state that, during March, a special OAU committee with representatives from six countries visited Lusaka to try to resolve past differences between Zapu and Zanu leaders, and succeeded in obtaining an agreement for a joint political council and a joint military command. A third movement is Frolizi (Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe), formed in Lusaka in about 1971 by dissidents from Zapu and Zanu.

Landmines and attacks on farms

The initial phases of the new campaign by the guerrillas were the laying of landmines and a series of armed attacks on white farmers and their property in the Centenary area of north-east Rhodesia. The first was made on 21 December 1972 on the farmhouse of Mr. M. de Borchgrave: there was firing at night, and one of his small daughters was wounded. He and the rest of his family went to stay temporarily with a friend on a neighbouring farm. Two nights later this homestead, too, was attacked. This time, Mr. de Borchgrave and his other daughter were wounded. Next day, while security forces were searching for the guerrillas, a military vehicle set off a landmine on the farm. Four soldiers were injured, one of them, a white man, so seriously that he died soon afterwards.

There were further landmine explosions on 28 December, when three white soldiers were injured, and on 4 January, when one white and two African policemen were injured. During the manoeuvres concerned at least three guerrillas were killed and several captured, but a number escaped.

Army and Air Force leave was cancelled, police reservists (including many farmers) placed on two-hour standby, and territorial soldiers warned of likely short-term recall, which began on 6 January.

On 8 January there was an attack on the village of Mount Darwin. No-one was hurt, but a bridge was slightly damaged. On the same day, two white South African policemen were killed and two injured in a landmine explosion in the Victoria Falls area.

Closing of the border with Zambia

Next day, the Rhodesian Government announced that, in spite of a number of warnings, Zambia continued to harbour guerrillas and to allow them to operate from its territory. Until it ceased to do so, Rhodesia would close all border posts, except for exports of copper from Zambia. The Zambian Government retaliated by

⁵ *Ibid.*, 17 March.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 14 and 19 March.

closing the borders from its side and diverting copper exports. It was reported on 3 February⁷ that the border posts on the Rhodesian side were to be reopened because Mr. Smith's Government had been informed that its objects in closing them had been achieved. President Kaunda denied having made any concessions, and stated that he would consider reopening the Zambian border posts only if the Rhodesian Government began talks with African leaders who were under restriction about progress towards majority rule.⁸ (It was, however, reported subsequently⁹ that two main guerrilla camps near the southern Zambian border, between Kazungulu and Livingstone, had been removed.) Trains taking goods from S.A. to Zambia continue to cross the Victoria Falls bridge, changing locomotives halfway. The trucks are returned empty.

Between 11 January and 15 March, at least seven landmine blasts were reported, apparently in the Chirundu area of Zambia, near the point where the main road from Lusaka crosses the border into Rhodesia. It was stated that 13 Africans had been killed as a result, and 19 people injured, including women and children and a Briton. Zambia claimed that Rhodesians had laid the mines, but the Rhodesian Government firmly denied this. Several Press reports¹⁰ indicated that those responsible might, possibly, have been dissident Zambians: Zambian security men had been active in the area and had made a number of arrests.

Further attacks in the north-east, and preventive measures

On 11 January, three White Rhodesian land inspectors and eight African assistants were ambushed near Mount Darwin. Two of the Whites were murdered and the third, Mr. Gerald Hawkesworth, kidnapped. Nothing was heard of him until 5 February, when the Zanu leader, Mr. Herbert Chitepo, announced that he was being held as a prisoner-of-war in Mozambique. A little later, Zanu produced a letter from Mr. Hawkesworth to his mother, stating that he was well. On 10 October a message sent through an indirect channel again reported Mr. Hawkesworth to be well.*

The Rhodesian authorities set up roadblocks on roads in the northern part of the country. Vehicles coming from tribal areas were searched. Emergency Power (Collective Fines) Regulations were gazetted on 19 January, in terms of which such fines might be imposed on groups of Africans who failed to report the presence of guerrillas in their areas. A few days later the police seized cattle from a tribal trust farm to cover the payment of such a fine. After a clash between security forces and guerrillas in the Chiweshe tribal trust area, a little to the south of Centenary, all African schools and businesses in this area were closed by the authorities

⁷ *Sunday Times*, 4 February.

⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 February.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 9 March.

¹⁰ e.g. *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 January.

*He was released in December.

because, it was stated, they were regarded as security risks. A few weeks later similar action was taken in the Chesa African purchase area near Mount Darwin.

Security forces continued intensive ground and air patrols, and made rocket attacks on suspected guerrilla bases. It was announced from time to time that further guerrillas had been killed, wounded, or captured: their names and the numbers captured were not revealed. Casualties were suffered, too, by the security troops and police. The emergency regulations were again amended to increase from five to twenty years the maximum sentence on being found guilty of failing to report the presence of guerrillas as soon as possible. The Air Force dropped thousands of leaflets on tribal trust lands giving warning of these severe penalties.

But violence continued in the north-eastern district. On 24 January, Mrs. Ida Kleynhans was killed and her husband severely wounded when their farm near Centenary village was assailed. About ten days later there was a rifle and grenade attack on a farm a few kilometres to the east: a British visitor, Mr. L. Jellicoe, was killed and an African employee hurt. Two farm stores were looted. Mr. F. Odendaal beat off a prolonged attack on his farm and property on 24 April: as a police reservist he had adequate weapons and returned the fire of the guerrillas. On 16 May Mr. L. E. König was dragged from his home in the Mount Darwin area, shot, and killed, two of his African employees were killed, and another two abducted. Mr. L. B. Couve, who farmed nearby, was shot dead on 8 June.

Further casualties resulted from landmine explosions in the north-eastern district. An African truck driver was killed near Mount Darwin in June. During September a White woman was killed and her husband injured near Centenary, and, in another incident, a White and an African were hurt. A White South African policeman was killed in October and a companion seriously injured.

Security forces operating in the region killed or captured more guerrillas, but themselves suffered casualties. Some statistics are given later.

Attacks in other parts of Rhodesia

Violence spread to other areas. In February, Zambian troops opened fire on three White Rhodesian fishermen in a boat near Chirundu, killing one and wounding the others. At about the same time, a territorial soldier was killed and his six companions injured when their truck exploded a land mine on a road not far to the north of Salisbury.

Then there were attacks on farms in the north-western districts of Rhodesia, in the Karoi area. A farm homestead was set on fire during February. Next month, following an attack on a farm-

house and the looting of a store nearby which had a White woman in charge, there was a clash between security forces and guerrillas. Six of the latter were killed and a number (including Coloured men) captured. A White farmer on anti-terrorist duty was killed, and two others severely injured.

A further attack took place on a farm in the Wedza district to the south of Marandellas, a town on the railway line from Salisbury to Beira. The farmer, Mr. A. H. Joubert, was shot and killed, and a store on a neighbouring farm looted. Four guerrillas were reported to be in the area. Security forces tracked down two of them, killing one and wounding and capturing the other. A couple of weeks later an armed African, thought to be one of the band, was found in a bus at Enkeldoorn, about 130 km south of Salisbury. Security forces wounded and captured him.

Measures to protect farms

Farmers in isolated areas were advised by governmental officials to form district security committees which were incorporated into the national security network. Most of the men became police reservists and formed district Police Anti-terrorist Units (Patu), dividing their time between farming and patrolling, and while their husbands were on duty their wives did the farm work. The women mustered for field reserve training in the use of firearms, first aid, and radio operation.

The windows of farm houses were protected with screens of chicken wire as a first line of defence against hand grenades, and sandbagged inside. Some homes were surrounded by security fences. At the height of the emergency many families slept in different rooms each night, not allowing even their own employees to know their plans. Social life was curtailed to daylight hours: people invited to dinner stayed with their hosts overnight. Farmers were in radio contact with one another and the security forces.

More and more civilians were called up for duty, men in the older age groups being employed in office duties to relieve others for field work. This gradually afforded some relief to farmers, as reservists guarded vulnerable farms at night.

Penetration into towns

In March, the authorities warned townsmen that incidents of violence could not be ruled out in urban areas. Police, Whites and Africans, patrolled the streets of Salisbury. At the end of that month two armed Coloured men, alleged to be guerrillas, were arrested in Salisbury.

Mana Pools and Victoria Falls

During May a civilian, Mr. S. Escreet, was killed when the vehicle he was driving detonated a land mine in the Mana Pools

game reserve, in the far north of Rhodesia. His companion was injured. Three months later there was another landmine explosion in this reserve, injuring two members of the security forces. Two further explosions took place shortly afterwards; no details were released. It was announced on 3 October that this popular holiday resort had been closed to the public for security reasons.

On 15 May Zambian troops opened fire on four tourists who were in a gorge below the Victoria Falls, on the Rhodesian side of the border. Two young Canadian women were killed and an American man seriously wounded.

Guerrilla action against African tribesmen

It was mentioned earlier that guerrillas penetrating through Mozambique persuaded or coerced Africans in tribal areas near the border into giving assistance.

The Rhodesian Minister of Internal Affairs told Parliament on 2 May that three Africans had been executed by guerrillas for failing to help them, three African officials had been kidnapped but escaped, eighteen Africans had their huts burned and lost all their property, at least six African stores had been looted, and a number of tribesmen had been abducted for military training.

During the next few weeks three women were killed and several others maimed, guerrillas abducted 22 Africans, 12 of them women, several more stores were robbed and one burned, and two African policemen on patrol were kidnapped.

On 6 July, 17 guerrillas raided a mission school and hospital just to the north of Mount Darwin, abducting 240 pupils, 32 members of staff including teachers, nurses, and maids, and four local African women. The raiders divided into groups making forced marches along different routes through rugged country towards the border. They were hotly pursued by security forces who killed one guerrilla and rescued 191 children from one group. During the operations a schoolgirl was accidentally shot dead by an African policeman. Over the next eleven days more children and some members of staff were rescued, while others managed to escape in small groups and make their way back. It was reported on 17 July that, by then, all the children, teachers, and nurses had escaped or been rescued, but the guerrillas still held three African women maids and four local African women.

During this period, a party of African teachers from a small school set out in a truck to do shopping. The truck detonated a landmine, and two of the teachers were killed and six seriously injured. Another African vehicle driver was killed in a landmine explosion.

On 12 September guerrillas made a night raid on kraals, kidnapping about 96 people, mainly teenagers but including some adult men and women. They were split into four groups and force-marched by night towards the border. Security forces rescued

about 59 from one group and arrested their captors. Some 21 others were rescued later in small groups or succeeded in escaping. One of the boys said that the men and boys were to have been sent to Tanzania for military training. The girls were told that they would be sent to Lusaka.

The bodies of several Africans who had been murdered were found, and several women and girls were raped. On 30 September another school near Mount Darwin was raided. The African headmaster was murdered, his wife and the pupils being forced to watch.

Further amendments to the Emergency Powers (Maintenance of Law and Order) Regulations were gazetted in May, empowering the authorities to evacuate African tribesmen from the northern border area and to seize or destroy any property that might be used by guerrillas. The Minister of Information stated that people in this area could not lead normal lives because of the degree of intimidation to which they were being subjected. After screening, all those not suspected of crimes would be resettled in an area that was better watered than their present one.

Numbers killed, injured, or abducted

According to Press estimates and information given by Mr. Ian Smith, between December 1972 and 26 November, 179 guerrillas had been shot and killed or died of wounds. The number captured has not been disclosed.

Press estimates of casualties amongst Rhodesian civilians and members of the security forces (which include South African policemen) are:

- 43 civilians (including 14 whites) were murdered, died in action, or were killed in landmine blasts (the total number injured is not known);
- 26 members of the security forces were killed and 60 wounded;
- an unknown number of African civilians were abducted.

Trials of guerrillas and those assisting them

Between February and early August, at least thirteen African and one Coloured guerrillas were sentenced to death in Rhodesian courts. Of these, eleven were executed. One of the sentences was later commuted to life imprisonment. Two Coloured men were each jailed for 25 years, and two Africans each for 30 years, for entering the country as trained terrorists and for bearing arms.

A number of tribesmen received jail sentences for helping guerrillas to bring weapons of war into the country (one sentence of 18 years was reported) or for failing to report the presence in their areas of guerrillas (twelve men convicted of this offence in February were each sentenced to 3½ years' hard labour).

GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES IN MOZAMBIQUE

The general background

Guerrilla activity continues in the Niassa area in the extreme north-west of Mozambique adjoining Lake Malawi and the Tanzanian border, near Vila Cabral; in the Cabo Delgado area in the extreme north-east, adjoining the Tanzanian border and the sea; and in the Tete area which protrudes between Rhodesia, Zambia, and Malawi, where the Cabora Bassa dam is being built. The Nyaja tribes in the Niassa area and the Makonde people in the Cabo Delgado area both have close kinsmen living across the international borders and there is constant movement across these borders, hence it is comparatively easy for guerrillas to infiltrate. Moreover, in these remote areas Portuguese administration was never firmly established. Social development schemes are in recent years being accelerated, but for many years these were neglected, and tribesmen appear to have been fairly easily persuaded that they would be better off if the Portuguese left. Hence, many of them support the guerrillas — others have been coerced into doing so.

In the Tete area, too, the tribes, principally the Chewas, have close kinsmen across the international borders.¹

The Frelimo movement (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) began in the towns among educated Africans, thus it probably has considerable support there, but this is clandestine because of strict security police surveillance. Africans who have joined the security forces come mainly from the central and southern parts of the country, and have no tribal affiliations in the war zones.

Coremo (the Mozambique Revolutionary Committee) is a breakaway group from Frelimo, which operates mainly in the Tete area.

In recent months there has been a fourth front; Frelimo guerrillas coming from Zambia via the Tete district have penetrated further south, to the Vila Pery and Beira districts.

Portugal maintains about 60 000 troops in Mozambique, some 58 per cent of them Africans.² According to various reports³ quoting the Portuguese military command, during 1972 they killed 1 428 guerrillas, as against a monthly average of 18 Portuguese soldiers killed and 29 seriously wounded, mainly through mine blasts. About 300 guerrillas were captured or surrendered. During the first six months of 1973, 823 guerrillas were killed or seriously wounded and 82 were captured or surrendered.

It was stated that since the war began in 1964, the guerrillas had killed 689 civilians (nearly all Africans) and injured nearly

¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 February.

² *Ibid.*

³ e.g. *Star*, 29 January and 5 July; *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 February and 17 July.

2 000. An estimated 6 500 people had been abducted to join the fighting forces or to act as bearers. Many were murdered because they refused to assist the guerrillas, and others killed or maimed by the explosion of landmines. In order to protect tribesmen in threatened areas and to prevent them from assisting guerrillas the Portuguese authorities have moved many of them into large protected villages. Leaflets warning against subversion have been scattered from the air, and similar warnings given through loudspeakers in the aircraft.

In the Tete, Vila Pery, and Beira areas the bush has been cleared or thinned along main roads and the railway lines. Armoured rail cars patrol the line, and troops the main roads, to search for land mines. River crossings are guarded by troops in their camouflage uniforms.

Niassa area

There has been considerably less fighting in this area during 1973. It was reported in October⁴ that, five months previously, a group of adults and children had been kidnapped from a village near Vila Cabral and marched to Tanzania. The five children in the group, aged from six to eleven years, were sent to a school where there were numbers of others who had been abducted by Frelimo. After some time, however, they escaped and made their way back to Mozambique through thick bush country. An army patrol found them wandering there.

Cabo Delgado area

Hit and run tactics have been continued, but in the Cabo Delgado area there are reported to have been six or more major attacks as well. One, in May, was on a village being built at Nangade to accommodate Makonde tribesmen. There were, apparently, no casualties from the mortar and rocket firing, but the building operations were impeded by the mining of roads to the coast and ambushing of supply convoys.⁵

An isolated Portuguese military post at Nazombe, 20 km from the Tanzanian border, was attacked by about 400 Frelimo men in June. They were repulsed and more than 50 of them killed, the Portuguese losing 10 men.⁶ During August, Frelimo bombarded a coastal town, about 110 km south of the Tanzanian border and four protected villages nearby, firing rockets, mortars, and automatic guns. They killed four people, wounded 49, and abducted 62 from one of the villages, mainly women and children.⁷ Another village, of 67 huts, was burned down in November, and 14 hostages abducted. A Frelimo leader who defected to the

⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 October.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 20 June.

⁶ *Star*, 6 June.

⁷ *Star*, 10 August.

Portuguese said that Chinese advisers in Tanzania were helping to direct these attacks.⁸

Portuguese Army Special Groups tracked down some of the guerrillas responsible for these actions, reportedly killing 100 of them. Some of the troops were wounded: details were not given.⁹

Tete area

Guerrillas have continued to lay landmines on the road through the Tete area that links Rhodesia with Malawi, blowing up trucks, and have attacked convoys with brief bursts of firing. A landmine on the Beira-Tete railway line derailed the engine and six trucks of a goods train during February. There was a more severe explosion in May: two engines and sixteen trucks were badly damaged, the two drivers and two firemen killed, and seven railwaymen injured.

In the Tete area, too, there have been frontal attacks. In March a party of guerrillas estimated to number 100 crossed from Zambia and fired on a military post 10 km from the border. They were repulsed after several hours. Two weeks earlier another outpost had been unsuccessfully attacked. During July guerrillas fired a number of rockets at Estima, the command centre for forces defending the Cabora Bassa dam project. On 14 August rockets were fired at the town of Tete but did no harm to buildings there because troops prevented the guerrillas from getting within adequate range. A counter-attack was launched, heavy Frelimo casualties being reported.¹⁰

Many other guerrillas, said to be more than 200,¹¹ have been killed by troops on patrol or attacking Frelimo camps.

Some tribesmen are reported to have fled across the border into Rhodesia to escape the warfare. Others fled to Malawi when, on 24 October, guerrillas burned down their village of about 80 huts because they had refused to provide shelter and food.

Vila Pery and Beira districts

A first group of 90 guerrillas is said to have penetrated to the south of Tete late in 1972, and by June there were estimated to be 400 of them in the Vila Pery and Beira districts. By then they had killed about 20 people, including police and government officials, mainly in ambushes along roads. The authorities admitted that these infiltrators had had success in subverting local people, and it was planned to resettle nearly 250 000 Africans scattered in homes in the bush into villages that could be guarded. Frelimo's initial plans were, apparently, to strike at the power line being built to link the hydro-electric scheme at Cabora Bassa

⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 August.

⁹ *Star*, 31 July.

¹⁰ *Star*, 15 August.

¹¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 January; *Star*, 31 July.

with the S.A. power network, to attack sugar and cotton estates, road traffic, and tourist resorts.¹²

At the time of writing the guerrillas had not penetrated as far south as the Beira-Rhodesia road and railway line. On 1 July, however, they opened fire on a light aircraft that landed at a tourist camp to the north of the Gorongosa Game Reserve (which is roughly 150 km from Beira by road). Of the four occupants of the aircraft, one was killed and two wounded. On 19 July about 90 rounds of automatic fire were shot at the main Chitengo tourist camp in the game reserve. No-one was hurt, but some buildings were damaged.

During the same month, two paratroopers were killed in an ambush along a road running to the north of the reserve, and trucks passing along this road were shot up.

Allegations of atrocities

According to Press reports during January,¹³ two Roman Catholic priests who had been in jail for some 18 months finally appeared in a military court in Lourenço Marques on charges of having made seditious statements. They had, apparently, alleged that troops had set fire to some African huts, burning at least eight Africans to death. One of the priests was reported to have been given a suspended sentence of 20 months plus a fine of about R36, and the other a sentence of 5 months plus a fine of about R123. It seems that they left Mozambique afterwards. Two more priests were in jail awaiting trial.

A British priest and three Spaniards (who had all been expelled from Mozambique) alleged¹⁴ that there had been four massacres in the Tete area. In the latest and worst, occurring towards the end of 1972, Portuguese forces had bombed a village and subsequently razed it to the ground, killing more than 400 people. One of the priests said he had seen an old man lynched and three men and a woman shot, their bodies then being burned.

The Commander-in-Chief of the Portuguese forces categorically denied these allegations.¹⁵ Out of 300 to 400 priests working in the war zones, he said, only seven had made allegations of atrocities. Over a period of 2½ years ten such occurrences had been reported, eight of which reports, on investigation, proved to be false. Two soldiers were to be tried, one for having killed two people in the Cabo Delgado area, and the other for having killed three or four in the Tete district. Some civilians inevitably suffered in the fighting, he added, for example if they were present in an enemy base that was bombed. But efforts were made to prevent this. A base from which Frelimo penetrated to the

¹² *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 June.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 17 and 27 January.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 12 July; *Star*, 13 July.

¹⁵ *Star*, 13 July.

south had recently been bombed, but 15 days beforehand the people there had been warned from an aircraft which flew low and used sky-shouting equipment and dropped thousands of leaflets. But civilian casualties resulting from such bombings were totally different from purposeful killing, which was completely contrary to official policy. The Portuguese embassy in Pretoria stated that the British priest had been expelled because of his proved complicity with Frelimo.

It was reported during the following month¹⁶ that senior army officers had been rigorously examining the allegations. Court martial action was to follow the discovery of at least one case of what appeared to have been unnecessary killing in a village in the Tete area. Some human remains had been found among charred personal possessions.

On 25 September it was announced¹⁷ that the Governor and Military Commander of the Tete district had been dismissed suddenly. He was ultimately responsible for the area, and, whether he knew of it or not, it seemed that a massacre had, in fact, taken place on 16 December 1972 at Wiliamo Village. During a hunt for guerrillas, black and white troops had shot at about 100 civilians, of whom 20 to 30 survived. No information had come to light about the 400 casualties mentioned by the priests.

It would appear that there may have been Frelimo casualties that were not attributable to enemy action. The Frelimo leader who defected to the Portuguese in July was reported¹⁸ to have said that he did so because he had received orders from his superiors in Tanzania to kill his own men if they showed signs of cowardice or disillusion.

The two priests who remained in jail were formally charged in August¹⁹ with treason and subversion. It was alleged that they had given direct help to Frelimo guerrillas, had encouraged local tribesmen to co-operate with them, and had spread false information about massacres. They would be tried in open court before a military tribunal.

It was announced on 16 November, however, that the Portuguese Government had granted an amnesty for certain classes of prisoners, which would apply to the two priests. They were repatriated to Spain.

ANGOLA

It appears that there have been no major developments in Angola during the year under review. The MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), based in Zambia, appears still to be the most active of the guerrilla movements.

¹⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 August.

¹⁷ *Star*, 25 September.

¹⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 August.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 13 August.

It operates in the south-east of the territory. In this area, as in Mozambique, the Portuguese have resettled many tribesmen in defended villages. Holden Roberto's UPA (Union of the Peoples of Angola), based in Zaire, operates in the north of the territory.

PORTUGUESE GUINEA

The guerrilla force attacking Portuguese Guinea is the PAIGC (African Party for Independence for Guinea and Cabo Verde). Its leader, Amilcar Cabral, was assassinated in January, apparently by the leader of a dissident faction. There was stated¹ to have been friction between the fighters and the intellectual leadership, and between Coloured Cape Verdeans and Africans.

In a Press interview on 25 January, the Portuguese Governor-General indicated that not many of the Africans of the Portuguese Province of Guinea supported the PAIGC. Close on half of the troops in the territory were local Africans. The government was engaged in a vigorous programme of social upliftment.

In spite of the internal difficulties within the PAIGC, it apparently continued its offensive. A Lisbon report in June² stated that there had been heavy fighting. Over a 14-day period, at least 183 guerrillas and 38 Portuguese soldiers had been killed. The guerrillas are said³ to possess Russian ground-to-air missiles with which they shot down several aircraft.

It was reported in October⁴ that the PAIGC controlled large parts of the countryside, but not the towns. In mid-1973, regional councils elected in fifteen areas set up a central PAIGC council of state, and declared this to be the new government of the country. Several states have already recognized it as such.

In a letter to the *Star*,⁵ however, the Portuguese Ambassador in South Africa quoted from a speech made by the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Dr. Rui Patricio, to the UN General Assembly. The PAIGC was established in the Republic of Guinea/Conakry, he said, and not in the Portuguese Province of Guinea. During a Press conference at the UN Headquarters Dr. Patricio had stated that the Portuguese Government would welcome a visit by a senior UN office-bearer to any part of the Portuguese Province, at any time that such an official so wished.

¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 January; *Star*, 29 January.

² *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 June.

³ *Star*, 4 July.

⁴ *Star*, 11 October, and the *Economist*, 6 October.

⁵ 23 October.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

GENERAL¹

In his New Year radio broadcast, the Prime Minister, Mr. B. J. Vorster, said that "the tempo with which (the ever-increasing menace of violence and terrorism) escalated, the moral and financial support it received from churches and other sources, the steady flow of better and more dangerous arms from communist countries it could rely upon and the unwillingness of the United Nations to deal effectively with this ever-increasing menace, is one of the legacies of 1972 that will hang like a millstone round the necks of all of us in 1973".² He later gave three major guidelines which, in his opinion, will determine the Republic's international relationships over the next twenty-five years. These were: (a) "the country would remain a member of the United Nations because this was her right, because the UN was an important international forum" . . . while not accepting "the United Nations as a world Parliament or a supranational organisation with prescriptive or executive powers" . . . "until such time as the organisation made further membership impossible"; (b) "South Africa would try to maintain and expand her material and spiritual bonds with the free Western nations in a community of mutual interest"; and (c) "South Africa would continue to seek — on the basis of her own inviolable national integrity and national sovereignty — good neighbourly co-operative relationships with states in Africa, including the states within South Africa's immediate sphere of interest".³

The Minister of Foreign Affairs said that in February 43 countries were represented in South Africa (some at consular level only), while in April, the Republic was also represented in 43 countries (again, in some instances, at consular level only) and at 4 international organisations.⁴ Among the setbacks in the field of foreign relations listed by the Minister were:⁵ (a) the break in good relations with the Malagasy Republic caused by a change of government in that country; (b) the decision to postpone the exchange of consular representatives between the Republic and Lesotho "as a result of circumstances beyond our control"; (c) an increasing swing to the left shown by elections in some parts of the world which could lead to increased pressure on South Africa; (d) the admission of China to the UN; and (e)

¹ Foreign investment in South Africa is covered in the section on "employment".

² *Star*, 2 January.

³ *Star*, 3 August.

⁴ Hansard 2 cols. 114-6, 16 February; and 9 cols. 572-4, 3 April. (Full lists of the countries and representatives were given.)

⁵ *Star*, 1 May

many resolutions aimed at encouraging the UN to bring sanctions against South Africa and to support "terrorists".

THE UNITED NATIONS

Events in the UN dealing with South West Africa (Namibia) and guerrilla movements are covered in the relevant sections of this *Survey*.

In a resolution at the end of 1972 which was adopted by 89 votes to eight, with eighteen abstentions, the General Assembly strongly condemned the policies of those North Atlantic Treaty Organisation members, and other powers, which "assist Portugal and other racist regimes in Africa and elsewhere in their suppression of people's aspirations for, and enjoyment of, human rights".⁶ A later resolution calling on governments to prevent their nationals, and corporations under their control, from taking part in the Cabora Bassa and Kunene River projects was adopted by 106 votes to six (Canada, France, Portugal, South Africa, Britain, and the United States) with 15 abstentions. This resolution declared that the projects were intended to "entrench colonialist and racist domination over the territories in Africa and are a source of international tension".⁷

From 9 to 14 April a conference "to draw up a programme of action designed to accelerate the decolonisation process and wipe out apartheid in Southern Africa" was held under UN auspices in Oslo. Britain, France, and the United States were not officially represented. The travel expenses and living allowances of 18 representatives of nine African "liberation movements" were covered by the Norwegian Government while the other Nordic countries made voluntary contributions to cover the costs of the conference. A militant line appears to have been adopted.⁸

In September the Minister of Foreign Affairs defended South Africa's membership of the UN at the National Party's Orange Free State congress.⁹

The new president of the General Assembly, Dr. Leopoldo Benites, of Ecuador, has condemned apartheid and expressed support for African guerrilla groups.¹⁰

The UN General Assembly opened its three-week political debate with attacks by Singapore, Norway, and Ireland on South Africa's apartheid policies.¹¹ Canada said that it would increase its humanitarian aid to African guerrilla movements.¹²

African countries successfully delayed the South African Foreign Minister's address to the General Assembly but the chair-

⁶ *Ibid.*, 13 December 1972.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 15 December 1972.

⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 January and 12 April; *Star*, 4 January, 11 and 16 April.

⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 September.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 19 September.

¹¹ *Star*, 25 September.

¹² *Ibid.*, 26 September.

man ruled that South Africa's membership of the world body was not affected by an Assembly rejection of her credentials.¹³ The UN special political committee decided to allow representatives of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, both banned in South Africa, to be seated without voting rights and to take part in its debates.¹⁴ This met with considerable resistance from some states.¹⁵

AFRICA

General

South African exports to African countries rose by 4 per cent to R305 600 000 in 1972, while imports from Africa rose by 19 per cent to R152 300 000, giving South Africa a favourable trade balance of R153 300 000.¹

The inaugural conference of the Southern African Students' Union was held at Roma (Lesotho) in June. Countries officially represented at the conference were: South Africa and South West Africa (Namibia) — represented by the Black South African Students' Organisation after the National Union of South African Students had withdrawn — Rhodesia, Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland. This conference firmly rejected the establishment of diplomatic relations between independent African states and the Republic. It also, however, called on the UN and the OAU to abandon economic sanctions against the "White minority fascist regimes" of Southern Africa.²

A Southern Africa Regional Tourist Council (S.A.R.T.O.C.) comprising South Africa, Portugal, Malawi, Swaziland, and Mauritius has been established.³

The Organisation of African Unity

The Secretary-General of the OAU, Mr. Nzo Ehangki, said that the UN should go to war if South Africa continued to defy its resolutions.⁴ Nigeria's Commissioner of Trade, Mr. Weneke Briggs, said that an OAU economic alliance would be an obvious weapon against white-dominated Southern Africa.⁵

Lesotho

In April Lesotho's Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, sharply criticised world powers for selling arms to white minority regimes in Southern Africa "to perpetuate racial oppression and retard political progress of the black majorities".¹ Chief Jonathan

¹³ *Star*, 5 and 6 October; *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 October.

¹⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 October.

¹⁵ *Star*, 18 October.

¹ Department of Statistics. *Bulletin of Statistics*, June 1973.

² *Rand Daily Mail*, and *Star*, 26 June.

³ Department of Information. Press Release 62/73 (K), 12 March 1973.

⁴ *Star*, 25 May.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 18 September.

¹ *Ibid.*, 30 April; *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 May

also said, "We shall not cease to give moral support and any other possible support to our fellow men in the liberation movements who are still struggling to free themselves from the yoke of colonialism and racial oppression." The South African Minister of Foreign Affairs described as a "disappointment" the fact that the exchange of consular representatives between the two countries had not been implemented.² Chief Jonathan said that apartheid stood in the way of an exchange of relations at consular level.³

A boundaries commission is apparently to be established to investigate Lesotho's claims to land in the Orange Free State and the Cape.⁴

The South African Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, later criticised the Lesotho Government and laid the blame for the further deterioration in relations between the countries at Chief Jonathan's door.⁵ (See also the section on mining.)

Swaziland

There were no new developments of importance in relations between Swaziland and South Africa.

Botswana

A joint communique issued in September by the President of Botswana, Sir Seretse Khama, and President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, which expressed "full support for the struggle the oppressed people are waging in all the unliberated areas of Africa, including Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, Namibia and Zimbabwe" caused consternation in certain Government circles in South Africa. The office of Botswana's President later issued a statement which said *inter alia*: ". . . the position taken by Sir Seretse . . . has caused hysteria in certain quarters, and given rise to speculation that Botswana has changed its policy towards its neighbours . . . It is the wish of Botswana that these (human) rights be achieved by peaceful means, but where this is not possible, the government has publicly expressed its understanding when the people concerned decide to resort to violent means . . . In Botswana's exposed and defenceless position we cannot allow ourselves to be used as a springboard for violence against the minority regimes which surround us."⁶

Rhodesia

In response to Rhodesia's closure of her border with Zambia the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, issued the following statement¹

² Hansard 12 col. 5419, 30 April.

³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 August.

⁴ *Sunday Tribune*, 13 May; *Sunday Times*, 17 June.

⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 19 September.

⁶ *Star*, 5 September; *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 September.

¹ *Star*, 19 January

"In his statement the Prime Minister of Rhodesia explained the circumstances which compelled his country, in its own interest and for the protection of the life and property of its citizens, to close its border with Zambia.

"From experience I know that Rhodesia did not seek this confrontation. Zambia, on the other hand, had done nothing on its part to prevent it or to promote good neighbourly relations and must throughout have realised that its actions and the granting of passage to, and the harbouring of, terrorists would sooner or later lead to trouble.

"Also those who encouraged it, defended it or closed their eyes to it, must bear the blame for this deteriorating state of affairs. It can only be hoped that responsible countries will make efforts, as South Africa has already in the past attempted to do, to normalise relations and endeavour to avoid further escalation.

"Although, as I have already announced, South Africa was not a party to this decision on the part of Rhodesia, and although one can expect divergent speculation as to the wisdom or otherwise of this step, South Africa will continue to treat the matter in accordance with the following basic principles which have repeatedly been stated by us.

- “* We do not interfere in the domestic affairs of other countries
- * We do not initiate boycotts and we do not reply to sanctions with counter-boycotts.
- * We are unconditionally opposed to terrorism and we shall in terms of our declared policy render assistance within our means to governments who seek it in their fight against terrorism.
- * Where and when we are directly threatened we shall at all times take all steps to protect the life and property of our people and our territorial integrity.”

The Chief of the South African Defence Force, Admiral H. H. Biermann, said that an allegation that 4 000 South African troops had crossed into Rhodesia was “devoid of any truth”.²

United Nations officials have alleged that discrepancies between South Africa's reported exports of a number of commodities and the import figures given by her trade partners indicate trade in Rhodesian goods in contravention of UN resolutions.³

The Rhodesian Prime Minister, Mr. Ian Smith, visited South Africa in June and had discussions with his South African counterpart. No official statement was released.⁴ (See also section on movements-in-exile and guerrilla fighters.)

² *Star*, 19 January.

³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 May.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 11 June.

Zambia

President Kaunda, speaking at the ceremonial opening of the Zambian Parliament, said that Zambians must regard the liberation of Southern Africa as an unfinished task in the history of decolonisation. He went on to say: "We cannot be passive observers to a situation that daily affects our people, particularly on our long borders. We have already suffered the consequences of our geographical proximity to the den of iniquity and mass exploitation".¹

On 19 January Zambian troops allegedly fired on a South African police patrol-boat on the Zambesi River. The allegation was denied by Zambia.²

In 1972 South African exports to Zambia amounted to R55 000 000. The closure of the Zambian/Rhodesian border appeared to affect trade in 1973 but South African goods continued to move into Zambia.³

Tanzania

President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania said that the concept of a pan-African army marching south to liberate white-dominated states was an absurd dream. He also opposed the idea of African guerrilla movements forming "governments-in-exile", saying, "the prestige of the freedom fighters will be gained on the battlefield, not in offices away from the fighting fronts".¹

Kenya

The South African Minister of Finance, Dr. Diederichs, attended the annual meeting of the governors of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in Nairobi in September. He was protected by a heavy guard of Kenyan security men and the Government of Kenya banned any demonstrations against him.² African and some Asian and Middle Eastern delegates staged a walkout when Dr. Diederichs addressed the meeting.³

Ivory Coast

President Felix Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast said that South Africa was an African state and there should be no confusion between South Africa and Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Angola, or Namibia. He advised strongly against war with South Africa and pleaded that African states should receive those South Africans who did not practice apartheid.⁴

¹ *Star*, 10 January.

² *Ibid.*, 20 January.

³ *Star*, 28 March; *Rand Daily Mail*, 23 May.

⁴ *Star*, 2 May; *Sunday Tribune*, 13 May.

⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 19 September; *Star*, 20 September.

⁶ *Star*, 26 September.

⁷ *Star*, 11 October.

EUROPE

United Kingdom

Britain's entry into the European Economic Community was viewed with mixed feelings in South Africa. Fears were expressed about the possible effect upon trade between the two countries.¹ In 1972 South African exports to Britain amounted to R530 900 000 (an increase over 1971 of 27 per cent) while imports from Britain were worth R590 500 000 (a decrease over 1971 of 12 per cent), giving a South African deficit of R59 600 000.²

In March the British Minister of Education and Science, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, represented the British Government when the Prime Minister, Mr. B. J. Vorster, opened the South African Astronomical Observatory at Sutherland in the Cape. Her participation at the opening of this joint British/South African venture was criticised by the British Labour Party.³

In April, Lord Macpherson of Drumochter, leader of a British trade mission to South Africa, quoted the British Prime Minister, Mr. Heath, as saying "(South Africa) is regarded as one of Britain's priority markets by the British Overseas Trade Board".⁴

The British National Union of Students and the Anti-Apartheid Movement decided to increase material aid to "liberation movements" operating in Southern Africa.⁵

The British Labour Party's special Solidarity Fund Committee on Southern Africa received further moneys from big British trade unions for the support of African "liberation movements".⁶ The party's annual conference committed a future Labour government to reduce economic links with South Africa and to give "financial and diplomatic support to the liberation movements against all white minority regimes".⁷ (See also section on foreign investment.)

France

In 1972 the value of goods exported to France increased by 49 per cent to R57 000 000 while French imports declined by 5 per cent to R99 300 000 giving a South African deficit of R42 300 000.¹

The Prime Minister said that the French elections in March were of extreme importance to South Africa.² Mr. Mitterand,

¹ *Star*, and *Vaderland*, 2 January.

² Department of Statistics. *Bulletin of Statistics*, June 1973.

³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 and 16 March.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 3 April.

⁵ *Star*, 9 July.

⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 September.

⁷ *Star*, 5 October.

¹ Department of Statistics. *Bulletin of Statistics*, June 1973.

² *Star*, 2 January.

the socialist leader, later said that if the left won these elections "France will cease all political and economic relations with countries continuing outdated colonialism or with segregationist regimes and it will back national liberation movements".³ However, the Gaullists retained power in France.

The Netherlands

South African exports to the Netherlands increased by 53 per cent to R55 800 000 in 1972, while imports from that country increased by 7 per cent to R62 400 000, leaving a trade balance unfavourable to South Africa of R6 600 000.¹

At the end of 1972 the announcement of the interim Dutch Government's intentions to participate with the British in Naval exercises in the Indian Ocean was severely criticised by socialist and religious political parties.² The South African Government refused a visa to Dr. Mharga Klompe, a former Dutch Minister of Culture, who wished to visit South Africa to persuade churches there to co-operate with efforts to have the banning order on the Franciscan priest Father Cosmas Desmond lifted. This decision was "deeply regretted" by the Dutch Roman Catholic Party.³

The incoming left-wing Dutch Government asked the South African Minister of Planning to postpone an intended visit to the Netherlands, cancelled its subsidy for emigration to the Republic and a refuelling call by two Dutch frigates at Simonstown. It does not appear at this stage that a really "hard line" on South Africa will be adopted.⁴ The Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, said that the South African Government would compensate Dutch citizens for the loss of the emigration subsidy.⁵ The Dutch Foreign Minister said his Government rejected "apartheid".⁶

Federal Republic of Germany

South Africa's exports to West Germany increased by 18 per cent to R116 600 000 in 1972, while imports from that country increased by 1 per cent to R413 000 000, leaving a South African deficit of R296 400 000.¹

There were few changes of any importance in German-South African relations, but the Bundestag focussed attention on West German investment in South Africa (see relevant section of this *Survey*).²

³ *Ibid.*, 8 February.

¹ Department of Statistics. *Bulletin of Statistics*, June 1973.

² *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 December 1972.

³ *Ibid.*, 17 January.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 12 June.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 20 September.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 19 September.

¹ Department of Statistics. *Bulletin of Statistics*, June 1973.

² *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 March.

Portugal

Separate trade figures for Portugal are not issued by the Department of Statistics. They are, presumably, included in the figures given for "Other" European countries.

The Portuguese Foreign Minister, Dr. Rui Patricio, visited South Africa in March and was entertained by the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. H. Muller, at a banquet where "a warm and sincere welcome" was extended to him. Dr. Muller referred to the "constructive and fruitful co-operation between South Africa and Portugal" on the Cabora Bassa project and the Kunene River Basin Development Scheme.¹

The Commander-in-Chief of the Portuguese forces in Mozambique, General Kaulza de Arriaga, paid a "routine courtesy" visit to South Africa in July.² Later in July the Portuguese Prime Minister, Dr. Caetano, said: "It would not only be Angola and Mozambique who would be victims of 'African independence madness' that aimed to expel the whites. It would create a threat to South Africa and Rhodesia, a threat effective and immediate because of an economic blockade of those east-coast ports vital to their subsistence — Beira and Lourenço Marques."³ The Chief of the Portuguese forces in Angola, General Joaquin da Luz Cunha, also visited South Africa.⁴

Trade with other European countries

Trade with other European countries in 1972 is tabulated below:

	<i>Italy</i> R	<i>Per-centage</i> <i>Increase</i>	<i>Switzerland</i> R	<i>Per-centage</i> <i>Increase</i>	<i>Sweden</i> R	<i>Per-centage</i> <i>Increase</i>
Imports	94 400 000	-10	62 700 000	12	43 800 000	0
Exports	77 300 000	108	7 700 000	43	12 100 000	27
Deficit	17 100 000		55 000 000		31 700 000	

	<i>Belgium</i> R	<i>Per-centage</i> <i>Increase</i>	<i>Spain</i> R	<i>Per-centage</i> <i>Increase</i>	<i>Others</i> R	<i>Per-centage</i> <i>Increase</i>
Imports	35 500 000	-7	14 200 000	1	73 400 000	0
Exports	81 600 000	43	40 700 000	175	72 800 000	60
Deficit	+46 100 000		+26 500 000		600 000	

South Africa recorded substantial trade balances with only Belgium and Spain.¹

¹ Department of Information. Press Release 49/73 (K) 5 March 1973.

² *Star*, 5 July.

³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 July.

⁴ *Star*, 25 October.

¹ Department of Statistics. *Bulletin of Statistics*, June 1973.

AUSTRALASIA

Australia

South Africa's exports to Australia increased by 15 per cent to R16 400 000 in 1972, while imports from that country increased by 14 per cent to R70 600 000, giving a South African deficit of R54 200 000.¹

The new Australian Labour Government reversed the previous government's policy of cordial relations with South Africa. The Australian Prime Minister, Mr. Gough Whitlam, stated that Australia would support a General Assembly resolution calling for intensified sanctions to be extended to South Africa.² Australia later supported Afro-Asian resolutions aimed at South Africa in the United Nations. Mr. Whitlam later said that trade sanctions could cause South Africa to renounce its racial policies.³ (See also relevant section of this *Survey* on sport.)

New Zealand

Trade figures for New Zealand are included in those for the other countries of Oceania. In 1972 South African exports to these countries increased by 47 per cent to R2 800 000, while imports declined by 58 per cent to R5 100 000, leaving South Africa with an unfavourable balance of trade of R2 300 000.⁴ The new New Zealand Government of Mr. Norman Kirk has not adopted as hard a line as that of Australia. (See, however, the section on sport.)

ASIA

Japan

South African exports to Japan increased by 42 per cent to R259 300 000 in 1972, while imports from that country declined by 9 per cent to R267 100 000, leaving South Africa with an unfavourable trade balance of R7 800 000.⁵ Japanese policy towards South Africa appears to remain somewhat ambivalent.

Iran

Lieutenant General C. A. Fraser has been appointed South Africa's Consul-General in Iran. A long-term bilateral contract for the supply of essential crude oil has been concluded. Among Iranian visitors to the Republic in recent times were the Chief of the Iranian Navy, Admiral Farjollah Rassai, the Iranian Minister of Culture, Mr. M. Pahnbod, Her Highness Princess Maryam Chafik, and the Mayor of Teheran, Dr. C. Nikpay.⁶

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Rand Daily Mail*, 6, 7, 8 and 9 December 1972, 3 and 25 January; *Star*, 22 and 23 May.

³ *Star*, 18 September.

⁴ Department of Statistics. *Bulletin of Statistics*, June 1973.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Star*, 14 May.

Other Arab countries

On 28 November, all Arab countries except Iran placed a strict embargo on oil supplies for South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia.

AMERICA

The United States

In 1972, South African exports to the US rose by 24 per cent to R147 000 000, while imports from that country declined by 1 per cent to R466 600 000, giving South Africa an unfavourable trade balance of R319 600 000.¹

The policy of the Nixon Administration towards the Republic, together with the reaction of American critics, was briefly outlined on pages 116 to 119 of the 1972 issue of this *Survey*.

There were few developments of any note in SA/US relations during 1973. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration announced that it will close its operations at the space tracking station at Hartbeeshoek near Johannesburg by 1975.²

A US military publication, *Armed Forces Journal International*, suggested that "firm, open military ties with" what was called "the 'gatekeeper' to the Atlantic and Indian oceans should be reconsidered".³

Canada

South African exports to Canada rose by 31 per cent to R50 600 000 in 1972, while imports declined by 13 per cent to R41 300 000, giving South Africa a favourable trade balance of R9 300 000.⁴

Brazil

South African exports to Brazil rose by 125 per cent to R4 500 000 in 1972, while imports rose by 62 per cent to R22 200 000 giving South Africa an unfavourable trade balance of R17 700 000.⁵

Argentina

Separate trade figures for Argentina are not given in the Department of Statistics' quarterly bulletins. An air service between Cape Town and Buenos Aires has been inaugurated.⁶

¹ Department of Statistics. *Bulletin of Statistics*, June 1973.

² *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 July.

³ *Sunday Times*, 2 September.

⁴ Department of Statistics. *Bulletin of Statistics*, June 1973.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *South African Digest*, 20 April.

GROUP AREAS, HOUSING, AND ADMINISTRATION COLOURED, INDIAN, AND WHITE POPULATION GROUPS

OCCUPATION OF LAND OR PREMISES

Proclamation R26 of 1965

As mentioned on page 303 of the 1965 *Survey*, Section 1 (4) of the Group Areas Act empowered the State President to declare by proclamation that the provisions of the Act prohibiting the occupation of land or premises by racially disqualified persons shall apply, also, to the presence of such persons in or upon land or premises (except under permit), either generally or in a specified area, for a substantial period of time or for the purpose of attending any place of public entertainment or partaking of any refreshments at a place where refreshments are served or as a member of or guest in any club.

Various proclamations, in turn replacing one another, were issued under this enabling Section in 1957, 1958, 1960, 1964, and 1965. Proclamation R81 of 1964 exempted employees.

Proclamation R26 of 1965 was to the effect that in group areas, controlled areas, and specified areas,¹ the provisions of the Act relating to the occupation of land or premises would apply also with reference to any disqualified person who at any time was present in or upon any land or premises in such areas for the purpose of attending any place of public entertainment, or partaking of any refreshments ordinarily involving the use of seating accommodation as a customer in a licensed restaurant, refreshment or tearoom or eating-house, or as a member of or a guest in any club (except as a representative or guest of the State, a provincial administration, a local authority, or a statutory body).² Maximum penalties laid down in the Act on conviction for contraventions of such a proclamation were R400 or imprisonment for two years or both.

There was much confusion about the exact meaning of this proclamation and its effects on social gatherings, entertainments, sporting events, etc. So far as sporting events were concerned, the consensus of legal opinion appeared to be that multi-racial sporting

¹ In effect, the entire Republic except for African Reserves or residential areas, Coloured people's settlements, and mission stations. There are other laws and regulations dealing with the occupation of land in such areas.

² And again, as the principal Act provides, except under permit.

contests were legal provided that the participants and spectators were specially invited and paid no admission fees, and that the event was held on private premises with the consent of the owner or lawful occupier, or on a public field that was reserved for the occasion. Permits would be needed if racially-disqualified persons were to be invited to use the club-house of a sporting club, or if liquor was to be served to Africans.³

Aurora Cricket Club in Pietermaritzburg⁴

Occasional multi-racial sporting matches were held, over the years, on the basis described above, and blacks were sometimes allowed to use private sports fields in proclaimed white areas for purposes of practice. The proclamation was not seriously challenged, however, until the year under review.

Early in 1973 the multi-racial Aurora Cricket Club was formed in Pietermaritzburg, with Indian, White, and Coloured members. They elected an Indian captain and a White vice-captain. During June the club applied to the council of the Pietermaritzburg Cricket Union for admission to the union's second league, undertaking to comply in all respects with the existing law. Members would not make use of club-houses, and, if necessary, would bring their own refreshments. Spectators invited by the Aurora Club would be confined to club members (playing or non-playing). The council of the Pietermaritzburg Cricket Union approved the application provisionally, subject to recognition of the right of senior controlling bodies within the S.A. Cricket Association to overrule this decision. No counter-directive was, however, received, thus on 11 October the Pietermaritzburg Union signified its approval. The Aurora Club took part in two pre-season friendly matches against White teams.

The Minister of Sport, Dr. Piet G. J. Koornhof, announced at a public meeting that the Government would, if necessary, take steps to prevent integrated sport from being played at club level. He invited representatives of the Aurora Club to meet him for private discussions, which eventually took place at the Minister's home on 3 October. As no agreement could be reached then or during a subsequent telephone call by the Minister, the latter ordered the gazetting of a proclamation that had already been prepared.⁵

Proclamation R228 of 1973

In Proclamation R228 of 5 October, the State President declared that the provisions of the Group Areas Act relating to the occupation of land or premises in controlled or group areas

³ In terms of the Liquor Act of 1928.

⁴ Account compiled from numerous Press reports.

⁵ At the time, Dr. Koornhof was also acting as Minister of the Interior.

"shall apply also with reference to any person who is at any time present in or upon any land or premises in the controlled area or in a group area, as the case may be, for a substantial period of time or for the purpose of attending any place of public entertainment or partaking of any refreshments as a customer at a place where refreshments are served in a licensed restaurant, refreshment or tearoom or eating-house where the partaking of refreshments ordinarily involves the use of seating accommodation, or as a member of or guest in any club (save as a representative or guest of the State, a provincial administration, a local authority or a statutory body) as if his presence constituted occupation of such land or premises."

Repercussions

Again, the exact implications of this proclamation were not clear. The Aurora Club decided to challenge it, and to continue with arrangements to play its first league match on 6 October. In the event this was called off because of rain, but a match was played the following week. Members of the police arrived and took the names and addresses of players and of some Indian spectators. A police docket was then submitted to the office of the Attorney-General in Pietermaritzburg. According to a Press report,⁶ this docket was returned to the police for further investigation. Meanwhile, the Aurora Club continued to take part in league matches.

At the time of writing, the terms of the proclamation have not been interpreted clearly in any public document.

FAMILIES MOVED IN TERMS OF THE GROUP AREAS ACT

In reply to questions in the Assembly on 21 February,¹ the Minister of Community Development said that the following numbers of families, who had become disqualified occupants in terms of Group Areas Act proclamations, had been moved to alternative accommodation during 1972:²

	<i>White</i>	<i>Coloured</i>	<i>Indian</i>	<i>Chinese</i>
Transvaal	2	423	795	—
Natal	68	61	389	—
Free State	—	118	—	—
Cape	10	3 495	216	3
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	80	4 097	1 400	3

⁶ *Sunday Times*, 21 October.

¹ Hansard 3 col. 162.

² Africans are not included because their right of residence is dealt with under other legislation.

Overall statistics, including the above, were:

Families moved from the inception of the Act to 31 December 1972:

	<i>White</i>	<i>Coloured</i>	<i>Indian</i>	<i>Chinese</i>
Transvaal	414	7 579	7 375	—
Natal	780	1 519	19 154	—
Free State	—	1 017	—	—
Cape	319	34 770	1 165	71
	1 513	44 885	27 694	71

Still to be moved at 31 December 1972:

	<i>White</i>	<i>Coloured</i>	<i>Indian</i>	<i>Chinese</i>
Transvaal	29	2 009	2 399	725
Natal	80	2 730	6 977	25
Free State	—	1 753	7	1
Cape	26	20 956	1 258	411
	135	27 448	10 641	1 162
<i>Combined totals:</i>	1 648	72 333³	38 335	1 233

(It should be noted that a considerable number of decisions in regard to group areas had still to be made.)

SHORTAGE AND PROVISION OF HOUSING

The Minister of Community Development has frequently pointed out that figures indicating the shortage of housing are not really meaningful, because there may be overlapping of names on the waiting lists kept by various authorities. Not all those needing accommodation enter their names on such lists. The statistics exclude families to be resettled under the Group Areas Act. The Minister's figures do not include Africans because housing for this population group is dealt with by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development.

As far as could be ascertained, however, the Minister said,⁴ the number of dwelling units required early in 1973 (excluding group areas removals) were 6 450 for Whites, 26 725 for Coloured families, and 13 950 for Indians.

Dwelling units made available during 1972 for those who

³ A slightly different figure, of 72 423, was given by the Minister on 21 February, Hansard 3 col. 168.

⁴ Assembly 21 February, Hansard 3 col. 163; and 13 February, Hansard 2 Col. 89.

qualified for assisted housing⁵ were:

	<i>White</i>	<i>Coloured</i>	<i>Indians</i>
Department of Community Development	922	820	657
Local authorities (with State loans)	4 147	8 840	1 384
	<hr/> 5 069	<hr/> 9 660	<hr/> 2 041

The Minister subsequently stated⁶ that the proposed number of dwelling units to be constructed in the 1973-4 financial year with funds from his department were 9 760 for Whites, 7 651 for Coloured, and 2 237 for Indians.

Asked about the amounts of money that had been allocated by his Department to certain municipalities in 1972-3 for housing purposes, the Minister gave the following figures:⁷

	<i>White</i>	<i>Coloured</i>	<i>Indian</i>
	<i>R</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>R</i>
Durban	1 008 700	727 033	4 536 151
Johannesburg ...	4 039 854	1 268 733	—
Cape Town ...	1 142 723	6 038 804	—
Port Elizabeth ...	636 093	3 786 562	—

In all cases these amounts were smaller—sometimes markedly so—than the sums for which the municipalities had applied. The Minister said one of the reasons was that his Department was aware of planning and other difficulties that would prevent the expenditure envisaged by local authorities.

The shortage of housing, particularly for Coloured people, was discussed at a National Party congress in Natal during October. The Minister is reported⁸ to have pointed out that his Department could not exceed amounts voted annually by Parliament. He admitted that the backlog for Coloured people was a matter for concern, particularly in Cape Town, Johannesburg, and Durban.

It was reported in May⁹ that General Motors (South Africa) was to lend R500 000 to the Port Elizabeth City Council for the building of 100 houses for Coloured people, of a better quality than those generally provided. If this plan were successful, it might be the forerunner of a longer-term one. In addition, R100 000 would be made available annually to help employees to buy homes or to improve them.

⁵ See 1972 *Survey* page 130, and new income limits set out below.

⁶ 6 April, Assembly Hansard 9 col. 627.

⁷ 7 May, Assembly Hansard 13 col. 826.

⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 October.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 26 May.

INCOME LIMITS FOR SUBSIDIZED HOUSING

It was officially announced in June¹⁰ that, as from 1 July, the income limits for assisted (subsidized) housing were to be raised to the following amounts:

	<i>Monthly household income</i>
<i>Economic housing</i>	
White families: no children	R320
" " 1 or 2 children	R360
" " 3 or 4 children	R420
" " more than 4 children	R460
Coloured and Indian families (irrespective of number of children)	R320
<i>Sub-economic housing (irrespective of number of children)</i>	
White families	R160
Coloured and Indian families	R 80

AMENITIES IN COLOURED AND INDIAN TOWNSHIPS

In the Assembly on 8 February¹¹ the Minister tabled standards drawn up by a Departmental committee for the provision of amenities in Coloured and Indian townships. These, he said, could be adjusted to suit local conditions. Recommendations were made in respect of the community halls, sports grounds, swimming baths, libraries, and other amenities that ought to be available, and their approximate costs.

DEPRECIATION AND APPRECIATION CONTRIBUTIONS

Replying to a question in the Assembly on 16 February,¹² the Minister said that during the financial year 1971-2 the Community Development Board paid R51 525 in depreciation contributions, received R713 in appreciation contributions, and paid four amounts, totalling R10 103, to Whites in respect of the goodwill value attaching to a business. No applications for compensation for loss of goodwill were received from Indian or Coloured persons, he said.

**REGIONAL TOWNSHIPS FOR COLOURED PEOPLE IN THE
NORTHERN PROVINCES**

In the Transvaal, there are townships for Coloured people in Johannesburg, Pretoria, and certain Reef towns, which are to be retained. Coloured group areas have been proclaimed in a number of other towns in the northern provinces, but it appears that not all of these are to be developed. Instead, a few regional town-

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 22 June.

¹¹ Hansard 1 Question cols. 26-30.

¹² Hansard 2 col. 122.

ships will be created, Coloured people from elsewhere being encouraged gradually to migrate to one or other of these.

Questioned about this matter in the Assembly on 4 June,¹³ the Minister of Planning said that the following towns had been chosen for the settlement of Coloured people on a regional basis:

Transvaal: Klerksdorp, Middelburg, Potchefstroom, Standerton, and Witbank;

Free State: Bloemfontein, Heilbron, and Welkom;

Natal: existing areas at Durban and Pietermaritzburg to be extended, extensions to areas at Estcourt and Ladysmith under consideration, establishment of a group area at Marburg/Port Shepstone receiving attention.

SOME NOTES ON GROUP AREAS AND HOUSING IN CERTAIN TOWNS

Witwatersrand generally

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 19 February¹ the Minister of Planning said that the approximate extent in hectares of land in the Witwatersrand complex that had been allocated to members of the various racial groups was:

Whites	...	...	...	...	145 033
Coloured	...	...	...	...	3 101
Indians	...	...	...	...	2 024

Johannesburg

There has for years been a severe shortage of housing for Coloured people in Johannesburg. There were 3 600 Coloured families on the City Council's waiting list in October. The shortage has been exacerbated by a large influx into the city of people from small towns and farming areas where wages are low even if jobs are procurable. Many of these people are extremely poor or even destitute. Some settled as squatters in dilapidated dwellings in Pimville or at the Avalon cemetery which were due for demolition or had been partly demolished. In January 1971 these people were ordered to leave, but did not do so.

During April, funds for a further African housing project became available, and the City Council was anxious to start building at once, at Pimville, before the Bantu Affairs Administration Board took over the control of African affairs on 1 July. The Coloured squatters were, thus, evicted, but could find nowhere else to live. Some time earlier a member of the Coloured management committee, Mr. A. Pop, had rented a large barn from the Department of Community Development, and he had allowed

¹³ Hansard 17 cols. 953-4.

¹ Hansard 3 col. 134.

homeless people to live there, spending his own money to provide certain essential services. He invited the evicted families to shelter there temporarily, free of charge, together with people he found existing in old cars or under trees. By June, there were about 150 in the barn.

Spokesmen for the City Council said² that the squatters had repeatedly been advised to apply formally for housing, but had not done so. As new accommodation became available, priority was given to those on the waiting list, who numbered between 3 000 and 4 000 families.

It became clear, however, that the City Council would have to act to ease the situation. Early in June it was decided that there would be no further evictions until alternative accommodation was available. The Council made emergency plans to build 36 prefabricated dwellings for the people in the barn. The rent would be R8,50 a month, but welfare assistance would be considered for those who could not afford to pay this amount.

Shortly afterwards, the Department of Community Development notified Mr. Pop that the barn was to be demolished. It had been leased to him for recreational purposes, but he had turned it into a slum, the officials said.

The Coloured Persons' Representative Council has repeatedly urged the authorities to investigate the highly unsatisfactory housing position on the Reef and elsewhere. During June a delegation from the National Housing Commission toured Coloured areas in Johannesburg and certain Reef towns. The chairman, Mr. J. H. van der Walt, agreed that urgent action was necessary, and said that the Commission would certainly help if the City Council submitted acceptable plans. It has been decided that about 2 000 new dwellings will be built annually until the shortage has been overcome.³

The Ministers of Coloured Affairs and of Community Development visited the Coloured areas in August. The former Minister is reported to have said that he had seen things that appalled him.⁴

Lenasia, the only Indian group area serving Johannesburg, was developed by the Department of Community Development, which still owns unsold land there. Until 1970 it was administered by the Transvaal Board for the Development of Peri-Urban Areas, but it was then incorporated into the Johannesburg municipal area. The streets were never properly developed, many of them becoming impassable after heavy rain, and the amenities provided were inadequate.

In April the City Engineer's Department reported that it would cost almost R7-million to provide the necessary services,

² *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 and 27 June.

³ *Star*, 21 June.

⁴ *Star*, 31 August.

plus about R450 000 a year for running and maintenance costs. The Management Committee considered that the City Council could not afford this expenditure, and that the State should help, since it had been a State decision to resettle Indians at Lenasia.⁵ After negotiations, it was decided in August that the Department of Community Development would lend the City Council R2-million towards the R4,6-million needed for roads and storm-water drains. This project would take some four to five years to complete.⁶

Mr. L. E. D. Winchester and Mr. Dave J. Marais, M.P. (U.P.), have repeatedly drawn attention to the very high prices that the Department of Community Development is charging for land at Lenasia. Mr. Marais said in June that because this was the only Indian group area serving the city, the high demand had led to a disproportionate increase in the market prices of residential stands, but besides this, religious and cultural organizations had been severely handicapped. They had no option but to buy such land as the Department offered. Furthermore, there had been long delays in making sites available to them, during which period land values had risen greatly.⁷ JISWA (The Johannesburg Indian Social Welfare Association) is a case in point. As far back as 1967 it applied for 2 787 sq. m. of land on which to build a centre to house a complex for welfare services. At that time the land would have cost about R4 000, less a 50 per cent reduction traditionally given to welfare organizations. During the next five years, repeated reminders of the application were submitted. At the end of 1972 the Department finally offered JISWA the land at its new market value of R35 486, less 50 per cent. JISWA and three other Indian community service organizations to whom similar offers were made have submitted joint representations for the prices to be reconsidered — without success at the time of writing.

Work is continuing on the building of the Oriental shopping complex in Fordsburg which will accommodate some of the Indian traders displaced in terms of group areas proclamations. It is hoped that the first phase of building will be completed by the end of 1973.

East Rand

As mentioned in previous issues of this *Survey*, Reiger Park at Boksburg was the first group area proclaimed for Coloured people on the East Rand, but it became clear that the land available there was far too small to accommodate all those from this region. Further Coloured group areas were, thus, proclaimed at

⁵ *Star*, 18 April.

⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 August.

⁷ *Star*, 8 June.

Nigel in 1971, and Withok at Brakpan in 1972. These areas will take three or four years to develop.

Meanwhile, there are many Coloured people living at Payneville, Springs, a township which has been badly neglected for years pending a decision as to its future, and where improvements to dwellings have been prohibited. It has, in consequence, degenerated into an overcrowded slum. The Town Council decided in March that those Coloured families who so wished could be accommodated temporarily in the African township of Kwa Thema, pending their ultimate resettlement at Nigel or Brakpan. Some Town Councillors opposed this decision on the ground that there was already a long waiting-list of African families needing accommodation at Kwa Thema.⁸

Actonville at Benoni remains the only group area for Indians on the East Rand. By March it was reported⁹ to have some 12 000 residents, and, according to existing plans, the Indians from Germiston, Boksburg, Springs, Elsburg, and Kempton Park still had to be resettled there. The township is stated¹⁰ to be overtraded already; the future of Indian traders from the other towns is highly uncertain (there are about 41 of them in Boksburg alone). Some Indians are trading at Reiger Park, which is hampering Coloured commercial expansion there.

Another depressed area of Springs because of the years of stagnation is Bakerton, where about 2 000 Indians live, some of the families having been there for more than fifty years. During March, three Cabinet Ministers discussed their future with municipal officials. As it was clear that it would be five years or more before the Indians could be re-accommodated at Actonville, it was decided that the removal scheme should be shelved for the time being. The Town Council announced that applications for extensions to dwellings and better facilities would again be considered, and sites for Indian traders would be sought. The Indians are still hoping that Bakerton, together perhaps with Payneville, will be proclaimed a second Indian group area for the East Rand.¹¹

Western Cape

In an address to the Cape Chamber of Commerce on 21 November 1972, Professor S. P. Cilliers of Stellenbosch University discussed certain aspects of a study he had made of Coloured housing needs in the greater Cape Town area, i.e. the Peninsula and the magisterial districts of the Strand, Somerset West, Stellenbosch, Paarl, Wellington, and Malmesbury. He took into account families on municipal waiting lists (pointing out that some local authorities did not keep such lists or had closed them, and that not all of

⁸ *Star*, 27 March and 4 April.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 2 March.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 27 March and 25 April.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 2 and 27 March.

those in need of housing had entered their names), together with families still to be moved under group areas proclamations, and families living in 47 known squatter camps or under squatter conditions. For the reasons given, his estimates were conservative ones.

Professor Cilliers calculated that the then existing housing shortage was:

	<i>Dwelling units</i>	<i>Number of people involved</i>
Peninsula	41 806	239 548
Rest of region	13 102	75 075
	54 908	314 623

The number of people involved represented 41,01 per cent of the total Coloured population of greater Cape Town. At least 14 151 of the 54 908 dwelling units were required for the re-location of households disqualified in terms of the Group Areas Act.

According to 1960-70 population growth figures, Professor Cilliers continued, by December 1980 another 40 102 dwelling units would be needed in the Peninsula and 5 822 in the rest of the region, a total of 45 924. Together with the existing shortage, 100 832 additional dwelling units would be needed by the end of 1980.

Professor Cilliers then estimated the current building rate, assuming that ten per cent of the people were in a position to build for themselves, and allowing for building plans already approved and those envisaged by local authorities but not yet approved (and there was some doubt as to whether the Mitchell's Plain scheme, mentioned below, would be undertaken). He concluded that the backlog at the end of 1973 was likely to be 54 275 — a reduction of only 1,1 per cent — but that by the end of the following year it was likely again to have increased, to 54 588. He recommended, *inter alia*, that no further removals be made under the Group Areas Act, at least until those living under squatter conditions had been re-accommodated; that consideration be given to rezoning District Six, or part thereof, for Coloured people; that high priority be given to the provision of funds and to building operations; and that the participation of private property developers, the private construction industry, and private employers be sought.

As mentioned in last year's *Survey*, tentative plans have been discussed for the development of a very large new Coloured housing scheme at Mitchell's Plain, between the existing Coloured townships on the Cape Flats and Strandfontein beach, to the east. Questioned about this in the Assembly on 8 February,¹² the

¹² Hansard 1 Question cols. 23-4, 34.

Minister of Community Development said that negotiations were still in progress in connection with the acquisition of the land. The construction of a railway line to the area had not yet been approved by the Railways Administration.

The Secretary for Community Development is reported¹³ to have stated on 2 August that the replanning of District Six (allocated to Whites) involved a total of 2 375 properties, of which the Community Development Board had thus far acquired about 1 900, at a cost of some R20-million. About 1 500 dwelling units, predominantly slums, had been demolished. Of the estimated 8 122 disqualified families living in the area (nearly all Coloured), 2 767 had been resettled. Some others appeared to have left of their own accord. The Minister said in the Assembly on 7 May¹⁴ that there were about 60 Indian traders in District Six. A trading complex was being planned to be situated in the Indian group area at Rylands (which is on the Cape Flats, beyond the Coloured areas).

On 19 February the Minister of Planning was asked what the approximate extent in hectares was of group areas in the Cape Peninsula that had been proclaimed for members of the various racial groups. He replied:¹⁵

Whites	...	...	...	...	...	43 065
Coloured	...	...	...	...	...	11 745
Indians	...	...	...	...	...	268

During the year under review, group areas for both Whites and Coloured have been proclaimed at Bot River in the Caledon District, and for Coloured people at Macassar, Ceres, Kraaifontein and an area nearby in the Stellenbosch district, and Buffelsjagts Bay in the Bredasdorp district.

Other parts of the Cape Province

In replying to the questions referred to earlier, the Minister of Planning said that the approximate extent in hectares of group areas proclaimed in Port Elizabeth for members of the various racial groups was:

Whites	...	...	...	...	...	13 207
Coloured	...	...	...	...	...	4 473
Indians	...	...	...	...	...	347

Questioned in the Assembly on 18 May,¹⁶ the Minister of Community Development said that since the commencement of the township renewal scheme in South End, Port Elizabeth, 1 540 Coloured families, 326 Asian families, and 133 White families had been moved from this suburb. There were, he said, 12 772 Coloured families living in the Coloured group areas of Port Elizabeth. The Departmental and municipal waiting lists for hous-

¹³ *Cape Argus*, 3 August.

¹⁴ Hansard 13 col. 825.

¹⁵ Hansard 3 col. 134.

¹⁶ Hansard 14 cols. 879-90.

ing for Coloured people contained 6 901 names, but this figure was really meaningless because there might be duplications, and some families entered their names on the waiting lists in a number of towns.

According to the Border regional office of the Institute of Race Relations, slow progress is being made with the provision of housing for Coloured people in East London. He reported in January that 47 new economic houses were shortly to be erected, and a new area was being developed on the Douglas Smit highway. Coloured families were being moved out of North End as houses in the Coloured areas were completed. In one section the evacuated dwellings were being offered to Indians, while in another part they were being demolished to make way for Whites. The chief problem faced by the City Council was the provision of housing for bush-dwellers, who could not afford to pay the rents of even sub-sub-economic units.

A Press report¹⁷ in June described the plight of Coloured families who had been evicted from farms in the Beaufort West area because the wage-earner was too old, or because for some reason the farm-owner no longer required the worker's services. Such people were refused accommodation in the town of Beaufort West and were not allowed to put up shanties in the countryside around it. A number of families had become indigent nomads, wandering about to avoid arrest for being illegal squatters.

During the year under review, Cathcart, Upington, Jan Kempdorp, and Louterwater (Joubertina district) have been proclaimed as areas for Whites only. White and Coloured group areas have been proclaimed in Krakeel River (Joubertina district) and at Delportshoop (Barkly West district). Areas for Coloured people have been set aside in Oudtshoorn, Knysna, Montague, George, Prieska, and Villiersdorp.

The boundaries of the group areas for Whites, Chinese, Indians, and Coloured people in Uitenhage have been altered.

Durban and other Natal towns

The Minister of Planning said that the approximate extent in hectares of group areas proclaimed in Durban by February was:

Whites	...	...	...	...	...	24 447
Indians	...	...	...	...	...	16 216
Coloured	...	...	...	...	...	3 073

Since then, additions have been made to the White areas. The Grey Street area, the future of which was undecided for a number of years, was on 27 April proclaimed an area for Indian business (including shops, offices, consulting rooms, etc.) but not

¹⁷ *Sunday Times*, 10 June.

for residence. The many Indians now living there will have to move out.

Questioned in the Assembly on 13 February about the shortage of housing in the Durban complex, the Minister of Community Development gave the following information:¹⁸

Housing provided in 1972 by:

		<i>Department of</i>	
	<i>Shortage</i>	<i>Community Development</i>	<i>Municipality</i>
Whites ...	1 032	—	203
Coloured ...	2 011	149	—
Indians ...	7 624	—	1 023

It would appear that the Minister's figures relating to the shortages were underestimates, and that the shortfall has, since, mounted with further group areas proclamations. The needs of the Coloured community were outlined in a Ministerial statement released by the Department of Information on 11 September. The Coloured population of Durban had grown from 24 000 in 1958 to 50 000 in 1973, it was stated. The reason for the abnormally large growth was an influx of people from the Transkei and other areas. This has led to a severe backlog in housing. If adequate loan funds could be made available, the Department would build 700 dwellings for Coloured families before the end of March 1975, while the municipality would provide another 1 000. These would be situated in existing Coloured housing areas. Besides this, the two authorities hoped to build about 1 500 dwellings a year in new areas at Newlands and Mariannhill until such time as the backlog had been overcome and slums eradicated.

An additional Coloured group area has been proclaimed at Pietermaritzburg, a Coloured area created at Marburg, and an Indian group area set aside at Isipingo. The planning of Newcastle has not been completed.

URBAN ROAD TRANSPORT SERVICES FOR COLOURED AND INDIAN PEOPLE

The Transport Services for Coloured Persons and Indians Act of 1972 was described on page 158 of last year's *Survey*. In towns decided upon by the Minister of Transport in consultation with the National Transport Commission, employers of adult Coloured and/or Indian people (other than domestic servants) may be required to pay contributions not exceeding 20 cents per employee a week which will be used to subsidize road transport services.

¹⁸ Hansard 2 col. 88.

The Act was brought into effect as from 14 August 1972 in respect of Coloured persons, excluding farm workers, employed in the magisterial districts of the Cape, Bellville, Wynberg, Simons-town, and Stellenbosch, the maximum rate being decided upon.

In a Press statement made on 15 March, the Minister of Transport said that two bus services in the greater Cape Town area, which served the new Coloured area of Ocean View, were to be subsidized as from 11 March. One of them operated between Ocean View and Simonstown, a distance of about 17 km. The operator had applied for permission to increase the fare for the maximum distance from 44 to 48 cents per return trip, and the Local Road Transportation Board had approved the request. But even under the previous tariffs the Coloured workers had to pay an unreasonably high proportion of their wages for transport. The fares would, thus, be subsidized, the amount payable being reduced to 30 cents per return trip. Secondly, there would be a subsidy of 2 cents per return trip on the bus service between Ocean View and the Fish Hoek area (the distance and fares were not stated).

The provisions of the Act were brought into operation in respect of Coloured employees in Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, and Despatch as from 1 January, and in Johannesburg as from 26 February.¹⁹

COLOURED LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Legislation of 1962 provided for the establishment of, initially, advisory bodies in the Coloured and Indian group areas of towns, which may, in time, develop into separate local authorities. In provinces other than Natal, advisory consultative committees are first nominated by the Administrator of the province concerned. These are later replaced by management committees, initially nominated, but later including some elected members. They may then be granted certain executive powers. In Natal, these bodies are called local affairs committees, which evolve along similar lines. At a subsequent stage, all the members of the committees are elected by local citizens.

The Minister of Coloured Relations said in the Assembly on 28 February²⁰ that 63 Coloured consultative committees, 25 management committees, and two local affairs committees had by then been constituted. All the management committees had elected as well as nominated members: 24 were in towns of the Cape Province and one in Johannesburg. The local affairs committee in Pietermaritzburg also had some elected members.

The President of the Senate, Senator J. de Klerk, opened the 1973 session of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council on

¹⁹ Government Notices 2240 of 1972 and 230 of 1973.

²⁰ Hansard 4 col. 253.

2 August. In his speech²¹ he indicated that five further local government bodies had been created since February. From 1 June, the 54 existing consultative committees in the Cape had been elevated to management committee status, he said. Active steps were being taken towards converting all fully-nominated management committees throughout the country into partly elected committees, with the elected members in the majority. Voters' rolls were being prepared. Increased powers were to be granted to the management committees.

In terms of Government Notice R964 of 8 June, the Executive Committee of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council became responsible for the nomination of nominated members of consultative and management committees in the Transvaal and Free State.

INDIAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

According to information given by the Minister of Indian Affairs in the Assembly on 1 March²² and to various Press reports since, the following Indian local government bodies exist:

- 2 fully elected town boards, in Verulam and Isipingo;
- 18 local affairs committees in Natal, most of them partly elected;
- 5 management committees, one in the Cape and four in the Transvaal, the committee at Lenasia being fully elected;
- 15 consultative committees, three in the Cape and twelve in the Transvaal.

²¹ *Cape Argus*, 3 August.

²² Hansard 4 cols. 263-4.

URBAN AFRICAN ADMINISTRATION

BANTU AFFAIRS ADMINISTRATION BOARDS

The terms of the Bantu Affairs Administration Act were described on page 132 *et seq* of the 1971 *Survey*. The Bantu Affairs Administration Boards constituted in terms of the Act have jurisdiction in both urban and rural parts of their respective areas, and are taking over all the assets, powers, and functions of urban local authorities relating to Bantu administration.

Two Sections of the Bantu Laws Amendment Act, No. 7 of 1973, made amendments to the 1971 Act. Firstly, it was provided that where there is a large number of small local authorities in the area of one Administration Board, one or more members of the Board shall be appointed in respect of each magisterial district or part thereof in the Board's area of jurisdiction (instead of one or more in respect of each of the local authorities). These members will be selected by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development from lists of names submitted by the local authorities. (The other members, also appointed by the Minister, include persons in the full-time employment of the State and persons with knowledge of labour matters in commerce and industry and in agriculture. The Minister appoints the chairmen of the Boards.)

Previously, a Board's executive committee consisted of the chairman and a vice-chairman and one or three other members of the Board appointed by the Board. At least one of the members had to be a member selected in respect of his knowledge of the affairs of a local authority whose area was included in the Board's administration area.

In future the executive will have at least three members (besides the vice-chairman) appointed by the Board, and, if the Minister deems it necessary, one or two additional members appointed by himself. Among the vice-chairman and the three members mentioned, to be chosen by the Board, three must be Board members appointed on the ground mainly of their wide knowledge of Bantu labour matters in respect of local authority affairs, agriculture, and commerce and industry respectively. Presumably, at least one member will still be a person in the full-time employment of the State.

Twenty-two Boards have been appointed. Their areas and the dates from which they began functioning are as follows:

<i>Cape</i>		<i>Transvaal</i>	
Cape Peninsula area	1 Sept. 1973	West Rand (including Johannesburg)	1 July 1973
South-Western Cape	1 Sept. 1973	East Rand	1 July 1973
Cape Midlands	1 July 1973	Vaal Triangle	27 Sept. 1972
Eastern Cape	1 Sept. 1973	Southern Transvaal	1 July 1973
Diamond Field area	1 Aug. 1973	Central Transvaal (including Pretoria)	1 July 1973
Northern Cape	1 Aug. 1973	Northern Transvaal	1 July 1973
Karoo area	1 Sept. 1973	Highveld of Transvaal	1 July 1973
		Eastern Transvaal	1 July 1973
		Western Transvaal	27 Sept. 1972
		<i>Free State</i>	
		Central Free State	27 Sept. 1972
		Northern Free State	27 Sept. 1972
		Southern Free State	1 Aug. 1973
<i>Natal</i>			
Port Natal area	1 Aug. 1973		
Drakensberg area	1 Aug. 1973		
Northern Natal	1 Aug. 1973		

On 18 June, the Institute of Race Relations issued a Press statement (RR. 95/1973) saying that it viewed with grave misgivings the introduction of the West Rand Board which would, *inter alia*, control Bantu administration in Johannesburg. One of the reasons given was that the City Council of Johannesburg had adopted a sympathetic approach in administration of the African population, numbering more than 800 000 persons. For example, it had accepted the need to subsidize the Bantu Revenue Account to the extent of more than R1-million a year in order to provide essential medical, welfare, and recreational services, and had endeavoured to keep house rents to a minimum. But the Bantu Affairs Administration Boards were required to be entirely self-supporting financially. Another of the reasons was that the Boards included no representatives of the African people concerned.

LAWS AFFECTING AFRICANS

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr. T. N. H. Janson, announced in September¹ that he was giving priority to an improvement in the way existing legislation affecting the Bantu was being implemented. The next objective would be improved co-ordination between the different departments involved. The final objective was a review and codification of all laws affecting the Bantu people. There was no question of a change of policy, but much could be done in relation to streamlining, the cutting out of red tape, simplification, and the application of the most modern administrative techniques.

HOUSING FOR AFRICANS

In February, while the Johannesburg City Council still controlled African affairs in its area, two senior City Councillors

¹ *Star*, 18 September.

met the Deputy Minister and once again pleaded for Africans to be able to own homes at Soweto, and for the Building Societies Act to be amended so that Africans could obtain loans for building their homes. But both these pleas were rejected.²

The Deputy Minister announced that the Government regarded the provision of housing for urban Africans as a priority project. Bantu Administration Boards would be instructed to assess the number of houses needed in their areas. Consideration would be given to raising long-term loans to finance development, as the department's annual vote could not provide adequate funds.³

Later, Mr. Janson urged industrialists to assist their African employees to build houses in the homelands. The S.A. Bantu Trust was prepared to act as agent for employers and build dwellings for R350, R470, and R650 for two, three, and four-roomed houses respectively. It was prepared to guarantee that only employees of the organizations concerned would occupy these houses.⁴

SOME NOTES ON HOUSING IN VARIOUS AREAS

Johannesburg

During January Mr. Sam Moss, M.P.C., chairman of the Johannesburg municipal Non-European Affairs Committee, pointed to the severe and mounting shortage of houses in Soweto. Since 1966, he said, insufficient funds had been available to build even the additional 2 000 dwellings a year needed for the natural increase in the population. There was a backlog of some 13 000 dwellings. Many families had to "double up", and social conditions were deteriorating.⁵ The Deputy Minister announced in the Assembly during May⁶ that approval had been given for the erection of 2 400 more houses.

On 29 May the Deputy Minister indicated⁷ that about 77 per cent of the Africans in Johannesburg (including the number living in compounds or hostels) were there on a family basis.

In March, the City Council approved a plan to electrify the whole Soweto complex over a period of some eight years. Mr. Sam Moss said he was confident that the Bantu Administration Board would co-operate with the City's Electricity Department in carrying out this plan, which was essential to combat pollution caused by coal stoves, and the consequent hazard to the people's health. It was announced later that a start would be made in November with the provision of high-mast street lighting, to be financed from Bantu Services Levy Funds.⁸

² *Star*, 12 February.

³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 February.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 20 September.

⁵ *Star*, 24 January.

⁶ *Hansard* 14 col. 6966.

⁷ *Assembly Hansard* 16 col. 941.

⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 March; *Star*, 25 October.

The Transvaal Board for the Development of Peri-Urban Areas continued during the year to move families out of Alexandra township, and then demolish the houses. The Board's Manager of Bantu Administration, Mr. Coen Kotze, said in January⁹ that to qualify for alternative family housing (then being provided at Tembisa) the husband must have worked for the same employer for at least ten years, or have been resident in Alexandra township for at least fifteen years. His wife must have joined him there legally. Families were being moved to Tembisa at the rate of 150 to 200 per month.

There are a large number of women who were recruited for work on a "single" basis and then joined their husbands or married while living in Alexandra township. They do not qualify for family housing. The husbands and wives are being required to move into the men's and women's hostels, respectively, and all children of such couples must be sent to the homelands. The same applies in the case of families who do not qualify in terms of the conditions mentioned by Mr. Kotze.

The hostels were described on page 146 of last year's *Survey*. The men's hostel is full and has a waiting list, but by May only about 600 of the approximately 2 600 beds in the women's hostel were occupied, and it was being run at a high financial loss. It was announced in May¹⁰ that the authorities were considering building another hostel, with improved facilities, to house women, and converting their present one into a hostel for men. Questioned in the Assembly on 9 February,¹¹ the Deputy Minister said that as at 1 January, about 1 400 of the 2 642 men in the hostel were married, and 40 of the 500 women.

Pretoria

It has been mentioned in previous issues of this *Survey* that people of Tswana origin have been moved out of the municipal townships of Pretoria (making way for homeless people of other ethnic groups) and resettled in newer townships in part of the Tswana homeland to the north-west of the city. One of these, GaRankuwa, also houses workers employed in the border industrial area of Rosslyn. By mid-1973 there were about 8 000 family houses in the township. It is about 34 km from Pretoria by rail, but the fares are subsidized by the Government so that commuting workers pay the same amounts as do those living in the municipal townships.

The other homeland township, Mabopane, is being developed by the Pretoria City Council as agent for the S.A. Bantu Trust and the BophuthaTswana Government. Besides accommodating

⁹ *Star*, 20 and 21 January.

¹⁰ *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 May.

¹¹ Hansard 1 Question column 32.

families of people employed in Pretoria it also houses those of some of the workers in the homeland industrial area of Babelegi. By June, about 6 000 houses had been completed, with very large extensions planned. Mabopane is about 29 km north-west of Pretoria as the crow flies. Commuters to the city at present travel by bus, the journey being slow and expensive and the road inadequate. However, in terms of the Railway Construction Act, No. 71 of 1973, a rail link is to be provided. The Deputy Minister of Transport said in the Assembly¹² that the project would take about four years to complete and would cost about R62,4-million. The Provincial Administration plans to build a new road linking Mabopane with Pretoria West, crossing the main roads to Rosslyn and Brits, and to Rustenburg.

Many thousands of Africans who are desperate for jobs and homes have migrated to this region. The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said, early in 1973,¹³ that there were about 20 000 (half non-Tswana) squatting on the outskirts of Ga-Rankuwa and about 100 000 (four-fifths non-Tswana) in the Winterveld area near Mabopane. They are renting land from private African owners, and have erected make-shift huts of mud, stones, packing cases, and hessian. The sanitary facilities and water supplies are grossly inadequate. The Deputy Minister said that, in consultation with the BophuthaTswana Government, his department was trying to provide accommodation at Mabopane for those of Tswana origin who were employed in Pretoria or at Rosslyn or Babelegi, and to send to their own homelands those of other ethnic groups. A police station had been opened for the protection of law-abiding people, and schools established.

Other Transvaal towns

Boksburg is building another 100 family houses at Vosloorus, and in addition is constructing about 250 single-storey flatlets for couples without children and couples of single men or women. Each has a sitting room/kitchen, a bedroom, a bathroom with a small bath, an inside toilet, an electric stove and geyser, and a small garden plot. Four flatlets are grouped together in one unit.¹⁴

The future of Evaton is most uncertain. It is a freehold area between Johannesburg and Vanderbijlpark, not attached to any homeland. Some 2 000 Africans own property there. The Sebokeng Management Board (which managed the area until a new Bantu Administration Board took over) is reported to have refused to allow owners to build new houses or add to existing ones. Structures that are deemed unsightly are demolished. People wishing to sell their properties have been required to do so to the

¹² 11 June, Hansard 18 cols. 8780-2.

¹³ Assembly, 30 March, Hansard 8 col. 546, and *Star*, 25 April.

¹⁴ *Star*, 26 January.

Board, but no cash changes hands: the seller is leased a house in the Board's township of Sebokeng and given a few months' free rent.¹⁵

Building is progressing fast at Itsoseng, a Tswana homeland township which will house the families of people employed in fourteen Western Transvaal towns. The workers will have to become commuters, living in hostels in the towns concerned in between visits home.

The Duduza African township at Nigel is being doubled in size to rehouse people from Charterston, which is to become a Coloured group area.

The Cape Province

There have been no major housing developments during the year in Cape Town or Port Elizabeth. Some new dwellings have been provided, but not nearly enough to overcome the shortage, hence overcrowding is increasing. The situation in these cities was described in some detail on pages 149 *et seq* of last year's *Survey*.

Mdantsane, in a section of the Ciskei homeland adjoining East London, is now controlled by an African Township Council. According to a report in January from Mr. O. Joseph, the Border Regional Secretary of the Institute of Race Relations, about 20 houses were being built there a week, of which one-tenth had, by Government decision, to be allocated to families endorsed out of the Western Cape and ex-prisoners from Robben Island. Some of the remainder are made available to young men already in the township who wish to marry, the rest being used for the resettlement of families from the municipal township of Duncan Village. In January there were still 7 267 families in this village.

There is gross overcrowding in the municipal township of Queenstown, Mr. Joseph reported, since no new houses have been built for the past ten years. The whole African population is in due course to be moved to Queensdale, a township 10 to 11 km to the south, being developed by the municipality as agents for the S.A. Bantu Trust.

Natal

Building is continuing in the areas around Durban described on page 151 of last year's *Survey*, but there are still many thousands of squatters and shanty-dwellers.

Land has been defined and set aside for a KwaZulu capital at Ulundi. Since the African homelands of Natal are so scattered, a high proportion of the Africans employed in towns of that province have been settled in homeland townships fairly close at hand.

¹⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 April (Townships edition) and *Sunday Times*, 15 July.

Bloemfontein

There is a shortage of about 8 500 houses for Africans in Bloemfontein. After long negotiations the municipality has obtained permission and funds to build 2 000; but further family accommodation will be situated in the Thaba 'Nchu Reserve.

RAIL SERVICES FOR URBAN AFRICAN COMMUTERS

According to the official Estimates of Expenditure from Revenue Account for 1973-4¹⁶, an amount of R22 500 000 has been allocated for the subsidization of rail services to and from black townships (an increase of R6 200 000 over the amount voted the previous year).

These subsidies have, however, to be spread over an increasing number of services. The Minister of Transport said in the Assembly on 13 March¹⁷ that fares had been increased from 1 January in accordance with the recommendation of the Inter-departmental Committee for the Resettlement of Non-Whites that the specially reduced and subsidized third-class suburban fares in respect of resettlement areas should gradually be aligned with ordinary third-class suburban fares. Speaking during the Railway budget debate,¹⁸ Mr. W. Vause Raw (U.P.) strongly opposed this plan, saying that the increase in fares had almost led to a boycott of the service in Durban. The workers concerned were "captive passengers" of the Railways, he said. It was certainly not their choice to live so far out of town. The Railways had prevented competition from independent bus operators.

In its annual report for 1971-2,¹⁹ the Railways Administration stated that rail travel was still considered to be the most efficient means for the mass conveyance of suburban passengers at economic tariffs. However, the stage had been reached where many lines in the major population areas were being overtaxed to the extent that their capacity could be increased only by undertaking costly improvement schemes. The financing of such facilities would have to be viewed in the light of the high losses which the Railways were experiencing in respect of passenger services in general.

URBAN BANTU COUNCILS

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 13 February,²⁰ the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that 23 Urban Bantu Councils had been constituted, thirteen of them in Transvaal towns, seven in the Free State, two in the Cape, and one in Durban.

¹⁶ R.P. 2/1973 page 17.

¹⁷ Hansard 6 col. 441.

¹⁸ Assembly, 12 March, Hansard 6 col. 2430.

¹⁹ Page 18.

²⁰ Hansard 2 cols. 89-90.

Two senior Johannesburg City Councillors discussed the functioning of these councils with the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration during April, pointing out that the bodies were almost entirely restricted to a consultative and ceremonial rôle, and suggesting that certain powers be delegated to them, for example the control of the allocation of housing and business premises, health services, and roads. The Deputy Minister is reported to have agreed to appoint a committee of inquiry to investigate the transfer to the councils of certain executive powers.²¹

Mr. Janson announced on 22 October that new African advisory committees, elected by Africans, were to be created in the areas of each of the 22 Bantu Affairs Administration Boards, to work in close co-operation with these boards, keeping them in touch with the desires and needs of the people in their areas, and giving advice as to how to overcome grievances and frustrations. Africans would, thus, become more meaningfully involved in decision-making. The advisory committees would function on a regional basis, and would not replace urban Bantu councils in individual towns. Mr. Janson added that during the following week he and the members of the West Rand Bantu Affairs Administration Board would meet African leaders from this Board's area of jurisdiction, including members of urban Bantu councils, educational leaders, and representatives of homeland governments, to discuss how the new committees should be constituted and how they should function.²²

²¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 28 April.

²² *Ibid.*, 23 and 24 October.

THE PASS LAWS

NEW PROVISIONS OF THE LAW

Two Sections of the Bantu Laws Amendment Act, No. 7 of 1973, made amendments to the intricate laws and regulations, commonly known as the pass laws, that govern the movement, residence, and employment of Africans.

In terms of the Bantu (Abolition of Passes and Co-Ordination of Documents) Act of 1952, an employer of an African must register a service contract within three days, except that he does not need to do so if the contract is for a period of less than a month. This period of one month has been reduced to three days.

An amendment was made to the Bantu Labour Act, stipulating that principals who recruit Africans for employment through agents must themselves be licensed as labour agents, and will be responsible for any actions of the agents they employ to do the recruitment.

NOTES ON WOMEN IN URBAN AREAS

In the course of a speech made during September, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said that, in certain circumstances, the Government would allow employers to house key African workers and their wives together "in accommodation which would not be as costly as a house". But the children would have to remain in the homelands. The wives would be free to visit them from time to time.¹

Early in 1973, the Department of Bantu Administration introduced a document that has to be signed by African women who are recruited in the Reserves as contract workers, to work in prescribed areas as domestic servants. These women are officially employed on a "single" basis. Their employers, too, must sign the document.

On the document, the employee or workseeker has to give details about her chief, her husband, and the number, names, and ages of her children. The document states, "I, . . ., the undersigned, hereby declare that the details furnished by me are correct and I fully understand that the service contract entered into will be cancelled forthwith if any of my children/dependants join me in the prescribed area or if I fail to utilize the pre-

¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 September.

scribed accommodation". On the portion of the document that has to be signed by the employer it is stated: "I, . . . , the undersigned, being the employer of the Bantu female . . . , accept it as a specific condition of her employment that she will not be allowed to introduce any of her children/dependants into the prescribed area and that the service contract will be terminated if she:

- (a) introduces her children/dependants into the area; or
- (b) fails to reside in approved accommodation, whether it be on my own premises, hostel, or any other housing."

Interviewed by the Press, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said that the provision did not mean that children could not visit their mothers under permit (visiting permits are, apparently, sometimes issued for periods up to one month), but the children must not live permanently with their mothers if the latter are contract workers. He said that it had been discovered in February that, of about 6 000 women registered as single domestic servants in the Randburg-Sandton area, between 4 000 and 5 000 were married, and many of these had their children living with them. Mothers who were recruited on a "single" basis would have to satisfy the authorities that their children were being properly cared for during their absence.²

AID CENTRES³

On 19 February, in reply to a question in the Assembly, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration gave information about the number of Africans who were arrested during 1972 and referred to each of the aid centres then functioning, and the number of such Africans who were *not* subsequently prosecuted. His figures were as follows:

	<i>Number arrested and referred to the aid centre</i>	<i>Of these, the number not subsequently prosecuted</i>
Benoni	404	—
Bloemfontein	7 463	975
Boksburg	5 851	346
Brakpan	1 632	1 288
Cape Town	16 391	1 821
Germiston	7 983	290
Johannesburg	41 099	12 216
Kimberley	996	174
Nigel	1 089	36
Pietermaritzburg	32	8
Pretoria	6 287	280
Randfontein	1 415	139
Welkom	2 425	294
	<hr/> 93 067	<hr/> 17 867

² *Star*, 18 September; *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 and 22 September.

³ For a description of these centres see 1972 *Survey*, page 162.

Further information was given by the Deputy Minister at the end of May.⁴ During 1972, he said, 9 539 Africans reported voluntarily to aid centres besides the 93 067 who were referred there. Of the total of 102 606, 39 984 were referred to courts of law, the remaining 62 622 cases being handled by the aid centres. Employment was found for 889 people, all in towns. Another seven aid centres were being established.

In a Press statement made during August,⁵ the Deputy Minister said that officials at the aid centres went to great lengths to assist Africans caught without their reference books. Employers were telephoned, municipal records consulted, and other steps taken to establish the bona fides of the person concerned. Unfortunately, reports from aid centres in some of the major centres indicated that there were Bantu who were abusing the system.

In a further statement,⁶ the Deputy Minister emphasized that Bantu Administration Boards were being asked to exercise influx control in a humane manner, with as little red tape as possible.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE PASS LAWS

During July,⁷ the Deputy Minister announced that he would welcome suggestions to make the pass laws less irksome and to reduce friction that they caused between black and white. His aim was to simplify these laws and to increase freedom of movement. He envisaged no drastic changes, however. If influx control were abolished, "an abundance of labour will stream into the urban areas and people will be able to bid for this labour at the lowest possible price. Influx control is necessary to prevent exploitation of black labour." For this reason, suggestions submitted should be positive ones, and not merely negative criticisms of the pass laws as such.

Numbers of memoranda were submitted to the Deputy Minister by organizations and individuals with experience of the working of the pass laws. Some others refrained from doing so, because they felt that in the light of their experience, their comments could only be negative, and that, in suggesting improvements to the system, they would be condoning it.

The Institute of Race Relations was among bodies that did make recommendations and suggestions. In a memorandum RR.135/1973 it stated that it was appreciative of the Deputy Minister's understanding of the complex and overlapping nature of the relevant laws and regulations, the anomalies to which their administration gave rise, and the hardships they occa-

⁴ Hansard 16 cols, 933-4.

⁵ e.g. *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 August.

⁶ *Sunday Express*, 5 August.

⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 August.

sioned. The Institute emphasised, however, that while it confined its discussion to such changes as could be made within the existing framework of what were commonly known as the pass laws, this in no way implied acceptance, much less approval, of these laws.

BLACK SASH ADVICE OFFICES

In its Johannesburg Advice Office report for June and July, the Black Sash stated that it was preparing a memorandum to the Deputy Minister with some suggestions for making the lot of the urban African a little easier. But it had found a degree of difficulty in compiling such a memorandum. Members did not think that any alteration of the requirements to be fulfilled before permits were granted could make any difference to the fact that the democratic right of people of a certain skin colour to freedom of movement and residence within their own country was denied to them. "More courtesy and compassion shown to black people by officials . . . will, of course, be welcome", it was stated, "but the only way in which we can return to real western Christian, democratic principles of government is to remove all restrictions on the freedom of movement and residence for all our citizens and then to act with determination to solve the social problems which would inevitably arise in our cities."

In its annual report for October 1972 to September 1973 the Johannesburg Advice Office stated that during that year 4 505 people had come for advice and assistance, while many others telephoned or wrote for advice. The percentage of known successful cases was 21,04 but the actual figure was undoubtedly higher because many people did not come back to report that they had been given the permits they sought. This might be discovered later, for example when they brought others for help. The most heartrending of all the cases dealt with were those of husbands and wives who were *by law* forbidden to remain together. Similar comment was made by the Athlone Advice Office, Cape Town, in its annual report. Advice offices are now operating in Durban and Grahamstown, too, those in Cape Town and Grahamstown being run in co-operation with the Institute of Race Relations.

"FAMILY LIFE" PILGRIMAGE

Between 16 December 1972 and 14 January, six churchmen and two university lecturers made a pilgrimage on foot of about 950 km from Grahamstown to Cape Town, which they described as a confession of guilt and feeling of sorrow for having, as whites, been party to the migratory labour system and the break-up of African family life. As they went, they held services of prayer for the restoration of family life in South Africa. At

stages of their journey they were joined by prominent churchmen and others. The pilgrimage ended in a mass interdenominational and inter-racial service on Rondebosch Common, Cape Town, which was attended by an estimated 6 000 people. On this day the Witwatersrand Council of Churches arranged a token march in Johannesburg, and a widely-attended "service of concern".

The pilgrims drew up a six-point Charter for Family Life, and formulated suggestions as to how two fundamental principles might be implemented, these principles being:

- (a) the fact that the economy will always need large numbers of Africans to work in the already-established industrial areas; and
- (b) that such workers must be allowed, if they wish, to set up permanent homes with their families in those areas.

One of the pilgrims, Dr. Francis Wilson, wrote a book entitled *Migrant Labour in South Africa*, which was published by the S.A. Council of Churches and Spro-cas in 1972. Mention of Dr. Wilson's practical proposals for the gradual elimination of the migrant labour system is made in the chapter of this *Survey* dealing with employment.

TWO PROTESTS BY EMPLOYERS

Mr. Anthony Brink of Sandton had a neighbour employing a male domestic servant, who brought his two small children to stay with him. But his wife was registered in Krugersdorp. Mr. Brink nevertheless engaged her as a domestic servant so that the family could be together. After he had made three unsuccessful attempts to have the wife's position regularized, Mr. Brink was charged and convicted for employing her illegally, and was sentenced to R15 or 15 days. He elected to go to jail, in protest against the system. To his anger, however, the prison authorities released him after four days, stating that he had been granted a remission for good behaviour and that they were attaching R6, which he had left for safe-keeping, to pay the outstanding fine. In spite of this protest, the woman and her two children were sent back to Krugersdorp.⁸

Mrs. Joan Munro of Edenvale pleaded guilty to employing a woman who was not authorized to work in that area. She had stated publicly that she would go to jail rather than pay an admission of guilt or any fine imposed, but in the event she was cautioned and discharged.

⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 and 12 February; *Star*, 14 February.

GENERAL MATTERS

TAXATION

Replying to a question in the Assembly on 13 February,¹ the Minister of Finance said that in the 1971 tax year the following amounts had been paid in direct taxes:

	<i>No. liable for taxation</i>	<i>Amount of tax assessed</i>
		<i>R</i>
Whites	1 201 037	474 820 387
Coloured	129 992	5 842 172
Asians	63 242	6 321 773

Africans are taxed on a different basis, described on page 156 of the 1969 *Survey*. In the Assembly on 16 March,² the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development gave information about the total amounts paid, excluding tribal and regional levies, which are accounted for separately by Bantu Authorities:

1970-1	R14 988 602
1971-2	R16 598 080

The latter total differs slightly from figures given by the Minister on 6 April,³ which were also for the 1971-2 financial year:

<i>Amount paid in:</i>	<i>R</i>
Fixed (general tax)	7 651 296
Graded tax based on income ...	8 887 688
Hospital levies	59 096
Transkeian general levy	306 268
	16 904 348

Regional and tribal levies were likewise excluded from these figures.

The accounts for 1971-2 of six of the homeland governments were furnished during the year under review by the Controller and Auditor-General. Together, these governments collected R859 362 in local taxes and quitrents, tribal and regional levies, and a general levy in the Ciskei. At a rough guess based on the popula-

¹ Hansard 2 col. 80.

² Hansard 6 col. 449.

³ Hansard 9 col. 617.

tion figures for the various ethnic groups, an amount in the region of R1 576 000 may have been collected in all the homelands (the large Zulu and Northern Sotho groups, among others, were not included in the official figure quoted). The amount is likely to increase considerably because some homeland governments besides the Transkei and Ciskei have since imposed general levies. All taxpayers in KwaZulu and Venda, for example, will from January 1974 be required to pay R3 a year.

COLOURED CADETS

The Training Centre for Coloured Cadets at Faure in the Western Cape was described on page 181 of the 1970 *Survey*. The initial period of training has been extended from three to four months. After this, cadets who are considered to be adequately trained are placed in employment, the rest being retained at the centre for further education. A group of 230 cadets completed their initial training in December 1972. The then Commissioner for Coloured Affairs, Mr. F. L. Gaum, said at their passing-out parade that about 73 per cent of all the cadets who had completed their training were after a period of a year still employed in the permanent positions that had been found for them. Many of these young men had previously not been steady workers, he stated.⁴

COLOURED DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

It was reported in the Assembly on 9 February, on behalf of the Minister of Coloured Relations,⁵ that by the end of 1972 the Coloured Development Corporation (established in 1962) had made 366 loans to Coloured businessmen in the Republic.

On 15 June the Minister said⁶ that during the year ended 31 March 1973 the Corporation had made 50 loans to Coloured businessmen in the Republic and one in South West Africa, the total sum involved being R1 413 254. (Further instalments were paid, too, of loans granted previously.) Since the establishment of the Corporation, 58 loans amounting to R627 437 had been fully redeemed. Just under one-third of all the loans granted had been for retail businesses, the next highest numbers being for restaurant/liquor outlets, light industries, and hotels.

The Corporation has built a few "factory flats" for leasing to Coloured men. The *Financial Mail* commented on 2 February that these were suitable for light industrialists such as joiners and furniture manufacturers. The difficulty facing Coloured men wishing to establish industrial concerns was that they would have to compete on the open market with Whites who had more capital and "know-how".

⁴ *Alpha*, February.

⁵ Hansard 1 Question cols. 42-3.

⁶ Assembly Hansard 18 cols. 1023-5.

In the course of his remarks on 15 June the Minister said that in 1972-3 the Corporation or its subsidiaries established a new branch of the Superama supermarket, at Elsie's River, which was managed and staffed by Coloured people. In the planning stage or course of erection were shopping centres at five townships in the Cape, restaurants/liquor outlets at two, and a filling station. All of these would be leased to Coloured persons. Further projects in progress included a property development company and a holiday resort at Hawston.

Some of the larger projects have been developed by subsidiaries of the Corporation. Coloured men serve on the boards of these companies, and Coloured managers are being trained and appointed. The intention is that the entire shareholding and control will be taken over by members of the Coloured community.

The Minister said that by 31 March 1973, Coloured people had deposited R3 178 710 in the Spes Bona Savings and Finance Bank. The bank had made R1 264 000 available in housing loans and to enable members of this community to acquire business or industrial land.

On 7 June he stated⁷ that in the year ended 30 September 1972 the Corporation made a profit of R61 981 from its interest in the rock lobster export market. It employs Coloured fishermen, who own their boats, to handle its quota. According to the *Sunday Times* of 12 August, these men are dissatisfied because a White company is still used to pack, store, and freeze the crayfish. They are pressing for a packing unit of their own. Without this, they state, they are being deprived of the additional income which could be made from packing snoek during the off-season for rock lobster, and from turning waste crayfish (other than the tails) into fertilizer.

RURAL COLOURED AREAS

The Minister said on 26 March⁸ that during the 1971-2 financial year his department or its agencies made R309 879 available from revenue funds and R11 508 from loan funds for development schemes in Coloured rural areas. Coloured boards of management contributed R64 587.

The State-owned Pella mission farm in the Namaqualand district has been reserved as an additional area for occupation and ownership by Coloured people.⁹

According to the latest Departmental report,¹⁰ as at 31 March 1972 there were 20 Coloured rural areas, totalling 1 667 523 hectares, with 46 753 inhabitants, of whom 7 462 were registered occupiers. The first three deeds of ownership of land had been granted during the preceding year, all in the Mamre area.

⁷ Assembly Hansard 17 col. 971.

⁸ Assembly Hansard 4 col. 248.

⁹ Proclamation R141 of 22 June.

¹⁰ R.P.44/1973 pages 2 and 44.

MINING IN COLOURED AREAS

Questioned in the Assembly on 7 June,¹¹ the Minister said that the Corporation had contracted with 19 White and three Coloured companies (nominated by the Minister of Mines) to undertake prospecting for base minerals in Coloured areas. Four of the White-owned companies had commenced mining. Six companies (none of which had Coloured shareholders) were prospecting for diamonds, four of these having commenced mining operations.

During the 1972-3 financial year, the Corporation received R362 876 in respect of prospecting and mining royalties and taxes, and R16 168 was paid to Coloured Boards of Management.

AGRICULTURE IN COLOURED AREAS

In terms of Proclamation R185 of 3 August, agriculture in Coloured areas was placed under the control of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council.

A draft Bill to provide assistance to Coloured farmers (including partnerships and companies) was gazetted as General Notice 489 of 3 August. It provided for a Coloured Persons' Agricultural Assistance Board to be appointed by the member of the Representative Council's executive who was responsible for agriculture (who was referred to as the "designated member"). Two of the five members (including the chairman and vice-chairman) would be officers of the Administration of Coloured Affairs, the other three being Coloured people with knowledge of agriculture.

On the recommendation of the Board, and with the approval of the appropriate Cabinet Minister of the Republic, the designated member would be able to sell or let State land in a Coloured area, and moveable property of the State such as machinery or equipment. With similar authority, he would be able to make loans for soil conservation works, water supplies, and afforestation.*

INTER-PROVINCIAL TRAVEL BY ASIANS

The Minister of Indian Affairs said in the Assembly on 16 February¹² that during 1972 his department issued 153 permits authorizing Indians to change their places of residence from one province to another, and 20 803 authorizing temporary inter-provincial travel. It is not known how many of the latter type of permits were issued to Asians by the Department of the Interior, magistrates, and police stations.

Legislation was passed during 1973 to enable the responsible Ministers to relax these restrictions on travel. The Aliens Control Act, No. 40 of 1973, amended the Admission of Persons to the

¹¹ Hansard 17 col. 970.

¹² Hansard 2 col. 107.

*This Bill became law in December.

Republic Regulation Act of 1972. It empowered the Ministers to exempt any category of persons, for a specified or unspecified period, and either unconditionally or subject to stated conditions. However, any person belonging to the category of persons concerned may be excluded from the general exemption, and exemptions granted may be withdrawn.

When introducing the Bill at its second reading,¹³ the Deputy Minister of the Interior said that his department dealt with permits for Chinese people, while the Department of Indian Affairs did so in the case of Indians. Permits for temporary visits had been valid for 90 days, and those for employment in another province for one year. In terms of the amending measure, regulations could be made rendering it unnecessary for certain permits to be obtained. But these regulations would not affect existing restrictions on visits to the Free State, certain districts of northern Natal, and the Transkei.

The United Party supported the second reading, but Mr. L. G. Murray urged that the Government should go further, removing all the restrictions concerned from the Statute Book.¹⁴

¹³ Assembly Hansard 8 cols. 3512-3.

¹⁴ Col. 3521.

THE AFRICAN HOMELANDS

BANTU LAWS AMENDMENT ACT, NO. 7 OF 1973

Various Sections of the Bantu Laws Amendment Act were designed to speed up planning for the partial consolidation of the homelands.

1. The Bantu Trust and Land Act of 1936 as amended laid down that any area might by resolution of both Houses of Parliament be added to the released areas, within which the Trust or Africans may purchase land, as long as a total of 7 250 000 morgen (6 209 857 hectares) of released land was not exceeded.

In terms of the 1973 amendment, broad plans for the partial consolidation of the homelands would be put before Parliament. If approved, all the land to be added to the homelands in terms of these plans would become areas in which released areas could be proclaimed by the State President. The broad plans could then be implemented by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development in stages, without further recourse to Parliament.

2. The Bantu Administration Act of 1927 as amended provided that, whenever he deems it expedient in the public interest, the Minister may, without prior notice to any persons concerned and subject to such conditions as he may determine, order any tribe, portion thereof, or individual African to move from one place to another within the Republic.

The new measure specifies that a removal order may be served on a Bantu community as well as on a tribe or portion thereof. Before issuing an order, the Minister must consult with the tribe or community and the Bantu government concerned. (During the second reading debate in the Assembly, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development conceded¹ that there might be cases where a tribe or a government would not consent after consultation. Parliament, and not the Africans, would have the final say, he stated.)

It was, previously, provided that if a tribe refuses or neglects to withdraw, no removal order shall be of any force or effect until a resolution approving of the withdrawal has been adopted by both Houses of Parliament. The amending Act inserts the words "unless or" before "until". The effect is that if Parliament has approved a broad plan for con-

¹ 13 February, Hansard 2 col. 499.

solidation which involves the removal of Africans from certain areas, tribes which are subsequently ordered to leave such areas will be unable to appeal to Parliament.

Both the United Party and the Progressive Party objected very strongly to this clause, and opposed the second reading of the Bill mainly for this reason. The Deputy Minister indicated that the previous procedure had been considered too time-consuming.²

3. The new measure empowered the Minister to have an investigation made of the desirability of reserving, for African occupation or ownership, land in an urban area which is surrounded by or adjoins a scheduled³ or released area. Following the investigation, the State President may, by proclamation, reserve the land or part of it for Africans, and may provide for the constitution of a body to administer the area. Existing restrictions on the use of the land concerned, including group areas proclamations, will then fall away.

EXTENT OF LAND TO BE ADDED TO THE HOMELANDS, AND THE QUESTION OF FUTURE INDEPENDENCE

As mentioned on pages 32 and 34 of last year's *Survey*, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima stated several times in 1972 that he would not ask for independence for the Transkei until the white-owned districts he claims have been incorporated into the area under his government's control. Other homeland leaders have, since, also said that a prerequisite for independence is the allocation of adequate land.

The Prime Minister made his attitude clear in the Assembly on 25 April.⁴ "If a homeland does not want to become independent as a result of the fact that I do not want to give it more land, then that is its affair", he said. It would remain at the stage of self-government that it had attained.

During May,⁵ the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development reiterated most forcefully that the Government would not cede more land than that which was promised in 1936.

The Government plans to achieve a greater degree of consolidation of the homelands not only by adding outstanding land in released areas between existing Reserves, but also by exchanging land as between whites and blacks.

BLACK SPOTS⁶

On 16 February, in reply to a question in the Assembly,⁷ the Minister said that, since 1948, 175 788 Africans had been removed

² Col. 394.

³ "Scheduled areas" are those set aside in 1913 for African occupation.

⁴ Hansard 11 col. 4995.

⁵ Assembly, 18 May, Hansard 14 col. 6914.

⁶ "Black spots" are isolated African-owned farms, surrounded by White-owned land.

⁷ Hansard 2 col. 128.

from black spots, small scheduled areas, and outlying parts of other scheduled areas, and resettled in Bantu homelands.

Answering another question on 26 April,⁸ he stated that the following areas of land were acquired from Africans during 1972:

	Hectares		Total
	Purchased	Expropriated	
Black spot land	404	799	1 203
Outlying parts of homelands ...	14 584	—	14 584
	<u>14 988</u>	<u>799</u>	<u>15 787</u>

The compensatory land added to the homelands measured 14 579 hectares, the Minister said. (In cases where a farm is owned by a tribe, the Department must offer alternative land of at least equivalent agricultural or pastoral value, but not necessarily of equal area. Individual land-owners may sell to the Department or to whites, but only those of them who owned 17 hectares or more are entitled to buy compensatory land in a released area.)

PLANS FOR THE PARTIAL CONSOLIDATION OF THE HOMELANDS

(The Government's plans are illustrated by maps contained in the text of a booklet entitled *The African Homelands of South Africa*, published by the S.A. Institute of Race Relations in 1973.)

Transkei

The Government's intentions in so far as the Transkei is concerned were described on page 34 of last year's *Survey*.

Ciskei

See 1972 *Survey*, page 169. No details of the extent of land or population movements involved have been published, but, according to a Press report,⁹ the Department furnished the Opposition M.P. for King William's Town with a copy of a "priority programme for the consolidation of the Ciskei", stretching over a period of five years (the full plan may take two or three times as long to carry out). Priorities for 1973 were the elimination of two small black areas near to Port Elizabeth, and the resettlement of the Africans concerned on prepared ground near Keiskammahoek. Ground would be purchased for Africans south of Whittlesea, in the Queenstown area, to which the people at Goshani would be moved in 1974.

It was officially announced on 12 October¹⁰ that a com-

⁸ Hansard 11 col. 727.

⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 April.

¹⁰ Government Notice R1882 of 12 October.

mittee had been appointed to investigate whether certain small towns in or adjoining homelands should be set aside for occupation or acquisition by Africans. Among them were five in the Ciskei — Braunsweig, Frankfort (Berlin area), Keiskammahoeck, Lady Frere, and Peddie.

The newly-elected Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Mr. Lennox Sebe, said in May¹¹ that his government would work within the framework of separate development provided that the homeland was consolidated into a single territory (instead of five widely separated areas, as planned), and its land area increased fourfold.

KwaZulu

Draft plans for the consolidation of KwaZulu were described on page 171 of last year's *Survey*. As mentioned, these were discussed with representatives of the Whites and of the Africans.

In a statement issued in January,¹² all six of the KwaZulu executive councillors said that Richards Bay, all the Zululand game reserves, and all State land in Zululand, should form part of KwaZulu. If whites wanted the consolidation plan that had been officially proposed, then they should impose it unilaterally and not try to pretend that it was a negotiated settlement.

But an alternative plan was suggested. The S.A. Government should give the disputed areas, including Richards Bay, to KwaZulu, allowing white property-owners there to remain, under a black government, if they wished. The S.A. Government was invited to test its consolidation plan by a referendum among all races in Natal and KwaZulu.

Final consolidation plans, recommended by the Parliamentary Select Committee on Bantu Affairs, were released on 27 April. It was stated in an accompanying memorandum that about 28 pieces of land owned by white farmers or the State were to be added to KwaZulu with the object of rounding off boundaries or joining smaller Reserves to one another. Some 40 small isolated Reserves or outlying parts of scheduled areas would be excised: this would, in time, imply the removal of approximately 132 000 Africans (the number of Whites who would be affected was not stated). In terms of the 1936 Act, there were 57 197 ha of quota land still to be acquired in Natal. According to the plans, a net total of some 27 000 ha would be added to the African areas, leaving a balance of about 30 000 ha which would be used for future corrections and minor adjustments of boundaries. (The total area of KwaZulu at the end of 1972 is stated¹³ to have been 3 165 656 ha.)

The effect of the Select Committee's plan would be to consolidate about 44 scattered Reserves and some 144 black spots

¹¹ *Star*, 22 May.

¹² *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 and 19 January.

¹³ *Bantu*, February.

into 10 areas. Richards Bay is to remain "white", a small Reserve to the south of it being retained for the residence of Africans whose breadwinners will work in and around this growth-point.

Africans will gain the State-owned Makatini Flats in the extreme north, which it is planned to irrigate from the Jozini dam across the Pongola River. This area includes the Ndumu Game Reserve.

Townships established for Africans within KwaZulu will be administered by the homeland government, which in time may also take over some of the small "white" towns within its area. (The committee appointed to investigate the future of certain small towns, mentioned under the Ciskei, was directed to recommend whether Nqutu, Nkandhla, and Somkele should be set aside for occupation or acquisition by Africans.)

Africans will be removed from a Reserve in the north, near Paulpietersburg, and the deproclamation of various smaller Reserves will widen various "white" corridors, for example the one inland from Richards Bay, which is to be linked with Eshowe. It was stated in the official memorandum that Africans will not be moved from the excised areas until compensatory land has been acquired and the necessary services provided.

The Select Committee recommended, and the Government accepted, that no final decision be made for the time being on the future of the Upper Tugela Reserve and Drakensberg Reserves No. 1 and 2.

Chief Buthelezi stated¹⁴ that the Government's plan was meaningless in terms of the creation of a consolidated and viable State, and was totally unacceptable to the Zulu people. His government would not co-operate in the proposed removal of the many thousands of Africans who would be affected. He urged that the whole consolidation scheme be abandoned for the time being. A few days¹⁵ later, the KwaZulu Government claimed 17 "white" towns, including Richards Bay, Empangeni, Eshowe, Melmoth, Stanger, and Mtunzini, as part of its territory.

On 7 June, the Natal Provincial Council, too, rejected the consolidation proposals.

A few days earlier, on 4 June, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development moved in the Assembly that the official proposals be adopted.¹⁶ The declaration of final plans for released areas, he said, would make possible a systematic purchase of the remaining land promised in 1936, at the same time promoting the consolidation of Bantu areas. Furthermore, all those concerned would know, well in advance, what land the Government proposed to purchase in the years ahead.

¹⁴ *Rand Daily Mail and Star*, 30 April.

¹⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 May.

¹⁶ *Hansard* 17 cols. 8134-41, 8275.

It was not possible, the Minister continued, to achieve the ideal, which would be to provide one single territory for each homeland. But, within the limits of the 1936 Act, the number of scattered areas would, as far as was feasible, be reduced. Because the areas would be scattered, both White and Bantu would have to respect and acknowledge the principle of good neighbourliness, allowing transit through their territories, and reaching agreement on matters such as telegraphs, electricity, and railway lines, national roads, and the use of rivers that served both groups. The Government would spend very large sums of money in paying compensation to those who had to move, and in providing services in new areas allocated to the Bantu. It hoped to devise means of acquiring land more rapidly than had been done in the past.

Referring to the Ndumu Game Reserve, the Minister said the Government's standpoint was that it should remain a nature reserve.

In cases where mining operations were in progress on land to become a released and eventually a Bantu area, the Minister announced, concessionaries would be allowed to continue these operations on the agency basis. Their rights to land, but not their mineral rights, would in due course be taken over by a corporation or the homeland government concerned. White farmers would eventually have to leave the new released areas, but projects such as afforestation schemes, sugar plantations, etc. would where possible be maintained by the responsible authorities.

As mentioned later, the Select Committee's proposals for the consolidation of homelands in the Northern and Eastern Transvaal were presented to Parliament together with the plans for Natal. Representatives of the United Party had withdrawn from the proceedings of this committee, on the grounds that the plans submitted to it differed from those originally placed before the Bantu Affairs Commission and debated at public hearings. The Select Committee should have been given access to representations made by people affected by the changes, it was maintained. Such people should have been permitted to give evidence to the Committee. Certain farmers' associations were deeply concerned about this.¹⁷ The Chairman of the Select Committee replied¹⁸ that representations could have been made through the United Party's members of the Committee.

The United Party opposed the consolidation proposals for the same reasons as it had during 1972 rejected those for the Ciskei. Parliament was not bound by the quotas decided upon in 1936, it was maintained. Circumstances had changed. In view of the population explosion and the need for increased food production, it would be unwise to place further agricultural land in the hands of

¹⁷ Cols. 8152, 8165-6.

¹⁸ Col. 8192.

tribal people who might not farm it to the best advantage. It might be preferable to add to the homelands land in the neighbourhood of natural growth points, where employment opportunities would be available or could be created, and where home ownership rights would be granted.¹⁹

Speaking for the Progressive Party, Mrs. Helen Suzman reiterated that this party stood for the complete fulfilment of the obligations undertaken by the then government in 1936. She again stated that more land than the amount then promised was needed, to make feasible the concept of ultimate independence that had since been introduced. But she opposed the Select Committee's proposals because they involved extremely large-scale movements of people, the vast majority of them black, against the wishes of the homeland leaders, and without achieving full consolidation. She described the scheme as "a hotch-potch of excisions and additions".

In terms of the Progressive Party's policy, Mrs. Suzman said, there would be a geographic federation. The various regions would have local autonomy in certain matters, but on a non-racial basis: people would not be moved against their will. Until such time as Africans were able to move freely around the country and purchase land anywhere, the existing Reserves would be retained and augmented by the land promised in 1936.²⁰

The Select Committee's proposals for Natal and the Northern and Eastern Transvaal were adopted by 89 votes to 38.

Questioned on 30 May about the future of the Dunn people,²¹ the Minister of Coloured Relations said that they lived on land falling under the S.A. Bantu Trust which was occupied, as well, by many African squatters. After land had been acquired for the resettlement of these Africans and they had been moved, the Duns could be granted title deeds to their land.

Lebowa, Venda, Gazankulu, and South Ndebele

Draft plans for the consolidation of Lebowa, Venda, and Gazankulu, and for the creation of a South Ndebele homeland, were described on page 173 of last year's *Survey*. These were discussed at a series of meetings convened by the Bantu Affairs Commission, after which the plans were revised and considered by the Parliamentary Select Committee on Bantu Affairs.

Final proposals for the consolidation of the areas were published during April. It was stated in an accompanying memorandum that six large black spots and a number of outlying parts of existing Reserves were to be excised. Compensatory land would be made available, together with about 355 000 ha of quota land.

¹⁹ Cols. 8143-51.

²⁰ Cols. 8207-16.

²¹ Assembly Hansard 16 col. 7955.

A balance of some 187 000 ha of the Transvaal quota land promised in 1936 would remain, and would be used for the partial consolidation of BophuthaTswana. For the first time a homeland would be created for the South Ndebele people, consisting of a small area near Groblersdal at present forming part of Bophutha-Tswana.

The excisions, it was stated (including those from Swazi, described later), would imply the removal of approximately 231 000 Africans. (The number of whites who would be affected was not indicated.)

Lebowa is to lose a large Reserve in the north-west, together with three isolated areas (including Matok and Ramakgopa's locations); but its two large blocks of land are to be considerably enlarged. Its homeland will be reduced from fifteen to five separate areas. A new capital town, called Lebowa-Kgoma, is being built at Chuniespoort, to the south of Pietersburg. The University of the North is situated to the north of the capital, near Mankweng.

The plan for consolidation was rejected by the Lebowa Legislative Assembly. Several chiefs, from areas to be excised, stated that they would refuse to co-operate in the removal of their people. The Assembly demanded more land than was offered, including the "white" towns of Pietersburg, Potgietersrus, Lydenburg, Middelburg, Marble Hall, Phalaborwa, Tzaneen, Belfast, Groblersdal, Burgersfort, Witbank, and Mooketsi.²²

Venda is to lose a large black spot, and a strip of land about 5 km wide along the Rhodesian border. According to Press reports,²³ this strip is virtually uninhabited by Africans and is used as a military exercise area. But Venda will gain large areas to the west of its existing territory, including an irrigation project. In terms of the plan (which may be revised) it would be consolidated from three to two areas, separated by a strip of land falling under the Gazankulu government.

The boundaries of Gazankulu are to be altered, but it will consist of four separate areas, adjoining homelands of other groups. (There are at present five Gazankulu areas.) The Chief Minister, Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, stated in the Legislative Assembly²⁴ that the scheme was detrimental to the interests of his people and totally unacceptable. The Assembly unanimously rejected the plan. It resolved that if consolidation were to be meaningful, the "white" towns of Tzaneen, Phalaborwa, Mica, Hoedspruit, Komatipoort, and White River should be incorporated into its area.²⁵

Certain of the representations made by the governments of these homelands in the north are conflicting. When introducing

²² *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 May and 9 June.

²³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 28 April; *Star*, 27 April.

²⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, and *Star*, 16 May.

²⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 31 May.

the consolidation proposals in the House of Assembly,²⁶ the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that there could, in the future, be mutual arrangements between the various homelands to transfer land from one to another, in order to adjust boundaries. Plans for the future must be financially feasible, he stated. It would be impossible, for example, to declare a town like Pietersburg black: in terms of municipal valuations alone this would cost more than R100-million.

As mentioned earlier, the Bantu Affairs Commission's proposals were adopted by the Assembly by 89 votes to 38. At the Commission's suggestion, the future of a few small areas has not as yet been decided, for example a small Reserve near the Pongola River.

The Lebowa Cabinet appointed its own commission to inquire into the land question. The Cabinet, headed by the recently-elected Chief Minister, Mr. Cedric N. Phatudi, sought and was granted an interview with the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development. It was reported²⁷ that one of the points on which agreement was reached was that the Mabopane - Ga Rankuwa - Winterveld complex, just to the north-west of Pretoria, would not fall under the BophuthaTswana Government, as had originally been envisaged, because large numbers of Northern Sotho people lived there as well as people of Tswana origin. The area would be administered by the central government department, and people of all ethnic groups (and not only Tswana, as in the past) would have the right to own businesses and houses there.

There is reported²⁸ to be a dispute in the Bushbuckridge area of the Eastern Transvaal, where Lebowa claims some of the land that has been allocated to Gazankulu.

Gazankulu has been disputing certain decisions about land in the far Northern Transvaal. The Chief Minister, Professor H. W. E. Ntsanwisi, is said²⁹ to have announced during October that, following negotiations with the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, the "finger" of mainly Shangaan land to the east of Louis Trichardt would be allocated to Gazankulu instead of to Venda, as would the farms on which the Elim Mission and the Lemana College were situated.

The Minister met the Venda Cabinet members too, led by the Chief Minister, Chief Patrick Mphephu. They pleaded, *inter alia*, for the retention by Venda of the farm at Tshakhuma and the area around Tshikonelo, and the Minister promised to reconsider these matters.³⁰

Most of the South Ndebele people who live in homelands are

²⁶ Hansard 17 cols 8139, 8136.

²⁷ *Rand Daily Mail* Townships edition, 28 August.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 12 September.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 9 October.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 25 August.

at present scattered in those under the BophuthaTswana or the Lebowa Governments, many having become citizens of these areas. According to reports,³¹ once their own homeland has been established, such people may elect to move and to change their citizenship. Other people of this group live in black spots which are to be eliminated. There are four South Ndebele tribal authorities, headed by chiefs, who met during July to discuss the creation of a regional authority as a first step towards the eventual formation of a homeland government.

Chief A. Mampuru Makopole and his 2 000 people had lived for several generations on a farm in the Groblersdal district, which was declared to be a black spot. They were given until the end of August to move to a prepared site 60 km away in Sekhukhuneland (part of Lebowa), where more than 600 temporary galvanized homes, and tents for storage, had been provided until permanent dwellings had been built. The usual compensation would be paid. However, the people refused to move: the chief said that, while the land offered had richer agricultural potential, it was too small for all his people. Early in September police arrived and used loud speakers to inform the people that they had to move. The police are said to have dragged the chief from his old home and to have temporarily arrested him and four others. Teargas was used to disperse an angry crowd. When the arrested men were released and taken to their new homes they found that the others had been moved there too, and heard that their old homes had been bull-dozed.³²

Swazi

A tentative plan for the consolidation of Swazi, announced towards the end of 1972, was confirmed during April. According to a memorandum by the Bantu Affairs Commission, the Swazi are to lose the Nsikazi Reserve to the east of White River and Nelspruit, measuring about 70 850 ha, and the Reserve to the south of Swaziland, which is some 68 200 ha in extent. They will retain the Nkomazi Reserve on the borders of Swaziland and Mozambique, and compensatory land approximately 170 750 ha in extent will be made available, adjoining the Nkomazi Reserve and running along the north-western boundary of Swaziland.

According to an article by Mrs. Jean le May, published in *The Star* on 22 February, none of the three Swazi regional authorities was consulted before these plans were published in the Press. After seeing the report, the Nsikazi Regional Authority sent a memorandum to the Commissioner-General for their group, objecting strongly to the proposed excision of their area — the most developed of all the Swazi homelands. The official plan apparently

³¹ Official Press release 283/73 (P) of 14 September, and *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 July.

³² *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 and 8 September.

is that the three rapidly-developing dormitory towns in this Reserve should remain, as black townships in white areas, Kabokweni serving White River, Lekazi serving Nelspruit, and Matsulu serving Kaapmuiden. But there are many other daily commuters in other parts of the Reserve, working on farms, plantations, and sawmills. Many women find seasonal employment on farms. These people will be removed from the warm lowveld to a remote, mountainous area, with very cold winters, and land unsuitable for agriculture. Many of them will be unable to commute daily to their work.

The consolidation plan was adopted by the House of Assembly on 5 June, together with the plans for other homelands, described earlier.

BophuthaTswana

Provisional plans for the partial consolidation of the eight large and eleven smaller Tswana Reserves in the Transvaal and northern Cape were published in December 1972. There were various alternatives, to allow flexibility: the end result would be to consolidate the homeland into a minimum of three and a maximum of six irregularly-shaped areas.

In an interview with the Political Correspondent of *The Star* on 26 January, the Chief Minister, Chief Lucas Mangope, suggested that all the areas that are predominantly occupied by Tswana should be handed over to his government. Whites owning property in these areas would be free to remain if they were willing to live under the authority of a black government.

On 9 April the Government announced revised, "semi-final" plans for the consolidation of BophuthaTswana, on the basis of land still available in terms of the 1936 Act. These were discussed at meetings convened by the Bantu Affairs Commission in various parts of the region.

The proposals were rejected unanimously by the territory's Legislative Assembly. The Assembly produced its own plan, which would consolidate the homeland completely and double its size, taking in entire magisterial districts, a number of "white" towns, and lucrative mining areas near Rustenburg. According to *The Star* of 10 April, more than half a million whites would be affected. The "white" towns claimed by BophuthaTswana were Kuruman, Taung, Warrenton, Vryburg, Delareyville, Lichtenburg, Mafeking, Koster, Zeerust, Rustenburg, Brits, and Swartruggens.

Following the public hearings, the official plans were amended and submitted to the Parliamentary Select Committee on Bantu Affairs. For the same reasons as it had advanced previously, representatives of the United Party withdrew from the Committee's proceedings. The report of the National Party members was tabled in the Assembly on 5 June.

In terms of this plan, BophuthaTswana would consist of six

areas. It would gain about 605 000 ha of white-owned land, but 352 000 ha of its present territory would be excised, involving the removal of more than 120 000 Tswanas. Areas that it was proposed should be excised included a large Reserve to the north-west of Pretoria (to become the South Ndebele homeland), nine smaller Reserves in the Western Transvaal, and several pieces of land that protrude into white areas. Two Reserves running along the Botswana border would be linked by the purchase of white-owned farms between them. The remaining additions would be along the borders of the six large pieces of land that would constitute BophuthaTswana. The Commission made no recommendation in respect of a few relatively small areas adjoining these pieces of land, suggesting that further inquiries be made.

As the Parliamentary Session was nearing its end, the Select Committee's report was not debated in the Assembly during 1973. It was reported³³ that the Government-appointed Bantu Administration Board for the Western Transvaal was not satisfied with the proposals, preferring a plan for the complete consolidation of the homeland, with Mafeking as the capital.

It was reported in November that the Batlhaping tribe, numbering about 50 families, had been ordered to move from fertile farming land near Vryburg, where their forefathers first settled in 1889, to a far less productive area within a Reserve near Kuruman, about 210 km to the west.³⁴

Basotho Qwaqwa

Most of the Shoeshoe people live in towns, on white-owned farms, or in homelands allocated to other racial groups. Their own homeland, at Witzieshoek where the borders of the Free State, Natal, and Lesotho meet, is only 183 sq. km. In an article published in *The Star* on 16 July, Mrs. Jean le May pointed out that this is only a little bigger than the municipality of Johannesburg (yet serves close on 1.5-million people).

Until 1969, Mrs. le May reported, this area was a neglected backwater. But then a territorial authority was created, which evolved into a Legislative Assembly. Since then, Shoeshoe people have been streaming into the area at the rate of about 300 a month. Many of them have been required to leave urban areas because they are old or out of work, or are the families of men who have been forced to send them there while the men themselves remain in the towns as migrant workers, living in hostels. Others have come voluntarily, from white-owned farms. As farm labourers, they are tied to farm work, and earn as little as R5 a month, plus food. But if they can obtain permission to leave and go to their homeland, they can apply for employment as migrant contract

³³ *Ibid.*, 6 June.

³⁴ *Star*, 10 November.

workers in industry where wages are much higher, although transport costs have to be met, and there may be periods of unemployment between jobs. Another advantage is the better schooling available for their children.

Those people who can afford the rents of between R2,89 and R4 a month are housed in neat two-storey semi-detached dwellings, accommodating about 600 families in mid-1973, in the township of Phuthadithjaba. A few sub-economic homes have been built for pensioners and widows. Ex-farm workers live in corrugated iron shacks until they can afford to rent houses or build their own. They cannot be granted arable or grazing rights because of the land shortage, Mrs. le May said.

The only local industry is building or brickmaking. About 1 000 men commute daily to and from Harrismith, but most of the men work too far away to be able to come home more often than at weekends or once a month.

GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

Additional powers to be granted to Legislative Assemblies

The Bantu Laws Amendment Act, No. 7 of 1973, provided for certain additional powers to be granted to Legislative Assemblies:

- (a) these Assemblies may raise public loans, with the prior approval of the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, given in consultation with the Minister of Finance of the Republic, and on such conditions, if any, as these Ministers may determine;
- (b) the Assemblies may give financial assistance to African farmers;
- (c) they are responsible for the rehabilitation of drug addicts;
- (d) members of Assemblies will be exempt from liability for legal proceedings arising from motions, speeches, or voting by them in the Assemblies or committees thereof.

Provision was made for a High Court of Law in the Transkei. It was made clear that Bantu education, administered by the Assemblies, does not include university education.

Developments in the Transkei

During the 1973 Session of the Transkeian Assembly the Chief Minister, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, again tabled a motion (mentioned on page 179 of last year's *Survey*) asking the Republican Government to amend the Transkei Constitution Act to enable citizens living in urban areas of the Republic to have direct representation in the Legislative Assembly. It was proposed that, to make this possible, the number of elected members should be increased from 45 to 50; this would allow for one representative each from towns in the Transvaal, Free State, Natal, Western

Cape, and Eastern Cape. But the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development stated that this would be in conflict with the Republican Government's policy of separate development. It would be tantamount to creating electoral divisions outside the Assembly's area of control. There was nothing to prevent a Transkeian citizen living in a white area from standing for election to the Assembly in the electoral division from where he or his forefathers originated.¹

It was reported last year that the control of health and hospital services within its area of jurisdiction had been transferred to the Transkeian Government. In terms of Proclamation R84 of 30 March, a Department of Health was created, the number of members of the Cabinet being increased from six to seven.

Proclamation R173 of 20 July provided for the establishment of a High Court with a Chief Justice and other judges. It would have the powers of a provincial division of the Supreme Court, appeals lying to the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein. Mr. Justice G. G. A. Munnik of the Republic was appointed Chief Justice.² The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development announced on 16 February³ that four magistracies in the Transkei were being administered by African magistrates. There were eleven African assistant magistrates.

When opening the 1973 Session of the Legislative Assembly on 23 March, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development announced⁴ that, despite an approximate 60 per cent expansion of the establishments of the then six government departments between 1963 and 1973, the percentage of posts occupied by officials seconded from the Republic had dropped from some 20 per cent to below 8 per cent over the same period. Paramount Chief Mantanzima is reported⁵ to have said in October that all Whites in the Department of Education were being replaced by Africans. A similar complete change-over would take place, next, in the Department of the Interior.

At the elections for elected members held in 1968, two parties succeeded in obtaining representation, the Transkei National Independence Party (TNIP) led by Paramount Chief Matanzima, and the Democratic Party (DP) led by Mr. Knowledge Guzana. Very briefly, the TNIP endorsed the policy of separate development and the system of chieftainship. The DP considered that the homelands should be regarded merely as provinces of the Republic, that their citizens should have a voice in the government of the country as a whole, and that the chiefs would gradually have to surrender their powers to the democratic will of the

¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 April.

² *Ibid.*, 14 April.

³ *Assembly Hansard* 2 cols. 124-5.

⁴ *Debates*, page 1.

⁵ *Sunday Times*, 14 October.

people. The composition of the Assembly just previous to its dissolution on 24 October 1973 was:

	<i>Chiefs</i>	<i>Elected members</i>	<i>Total</i>
TNIP	56	30	86
DP	8	14	22
Independent ...	—	1	1
	64	45	109

New elections were held on 24 October. In one constituency, Umzimkulu, the election of two candidates had to be postponed because of the death of one of the men who was standing. In the other 43 seats the results were:

TNIP ...	25
DP ...	10
Independent ...	8

The affiliations of the chiefs, as possibly modified by recent developments, will not be known until the Legislative Assembly meets in 1974.

A meeting of the Assembly was held on 19 November to elect a Chief Minister. Paramount Chief Matanzima was re-elected with an increased majority. He received 78 votes as against 11 cast for the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Knowledge Guzana, and 10 for Mr. Curnick Ndamse.

The Ciskei

The Ciskei Constitution Proclamation was described on page 180 of last year's *Survey*.

The first elections for the elected members of the new Assembly were held during March. No political parties had emerged. Campaigns were led by Chief Justice K. M. Mabandla (a Fingo, Chief Minister of the first-stage Legislative Assembly which was created in 1971) and Mr. Lennox Sebe (a Rarabe, Minister of Agriculture in the first Assembly). Mr. Sebe's group won 13 of the 20 seats. At that stage, the attitudes of the chiefs had not been made public.

Chief Mabandla said⁶ that after the new Assembly met to elect a Cabinet, political parties might emerge. His policy was to work for an independent Ciskei, containing no white "patches", and to preserve the office of chieftainship.

Before the Assembly met, however, the chief announced the formation of a Ciskei National Party, which he was to lead. It stood, *inter alia*, for a fair and just settlement of the land question; for a society in which there would be equal treatment of all men without discrimination; and for co-operation between black states in South Africa, and their ultimate federation.

⁶ 16 March.

When the Assembly met on 21 May, Mr. Lennox Sebe was elected Chief Minister by 26 votes against 24 cast for Chief Mabandla. The chief's party decided not to nominate representatives for the other Cabinet seats, nor for the posts of Chairman or Deputy Chairman of the Assembly. These officials were all, in consequence, drawn from Mr. Sebe's group.

On the following day Mr. Sebe announced the formation of the Ciskei National Independence Party. One of its main aims was to obtain more land. It would work for the promotion of the unity of Ciskeian citizens and the preservation of friendly relations with other homeland governments and the Republic. Emphasis was placed on the need for the development of the educational system.⁷

KwaZulu

The constitution decided upon for KwaZulu was described on page 181 of the 1972 *Survey*. A date for the first general election has not been determined at the time of writing. The new constitution has, thus, not come into effect, KwaZulu remaining at the first stage of self-government, in accordance with Chapter I of the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act of 1971.

It was reported⁸ that the reason for this is that for some time the KwaZulu Executive Council refused to agree to the Republican Government's proposal that reference books should be used to identify voters, since these books (containing entries governing residence, employment, etc.) were regarded as a symbol of oppression. The Council stood out for the prior preparation of a normal voters' roll. However, it appears from a report in the *Rand Daily Mail's* Townships edition on 26 October that the Executive Council had recently decided to hold a general election, with citizenship cards being used to identify voters.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi continues in office meanwhile as the Chief Executive Councillor.

The future capital is to be sited at Ulundi. For the time being the government is operating from temporary premises in Nongoma and elsewhere.

It was announced during May⁹ that the Paramount Chief, Prince Goodwill, had dissolved his Royal Council. The Legislative Assembly passed a motion of appreciation to him for his "wisdom and graciousness" in doing so, since the council had caused "unnecessary strife between His Majesty and his Government."

During a visit overseas in December 1972, Chief Buthelezi attended a conference in Switzerland of Lay Ecumenical Associations of Europe. The Swiss churches are reported to have

⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 23 May.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Townships edition, 5 October.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 10 May.

offered him the services of a white woman secretary. However, the S.A. Government refused a visa to the woman concerned, stating it was felt that the Chief should be assisted by one of his own people.¹⁰

According to the *Rand Daily Mail* of 27 October, an opposition party called Umkhonto wa Shaka (Shaka's Spear) has been formed in KwaZulu. It is led by Chief C. Hlengwa, who resigned his post as chairman of the Legislative Assembly in order to do so. In a speech made in Johannesburg, Chief Buthelezi alleged that the new party was being financed by certain White National Party members. Chief Hlengwa denied this.

Lebowa

The Lebowa constitution, too, was described in last year's *Survey*, on page 184.

The first elections were held in April. No political parties had as yet emerged.

During the following month a first session was held of the newly-constituted legislative assembly. One of the elected members, Mr. Cedric N. Phatudi, was elected Chief Minister by 45 votes as against 40 cast for the previous Chief Minister, Chief Maurice M. Matlala (there were ten spoilt papers). Another commoner, Mr. Collins Ramusi, was elected to the Cabinet as Minister of the Interior (the other four members being chiefs). Both the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker were commoners.

Mr. Phatudi told the Press on 9 May that the land question would be one of his government's first priorities. Other priorities would be combating discriminatory practices against Lebowa citizens in white South Africa; working for adequate job opportunities for his people; and obtaining more capital and loans for development.

On 8 June Chief Matlala announced in the Legislative Assembly that he had formed the Lebowa National Party as the official opposition. It would work towards independence, in co-operation with the Government of South Africa. After a short adjournment of the Assembly, Mr. Phatudi announced the formation of his own party, the Lebowa People's Party.

It was reported on 28 November that Mr. Phatudi had been granted an interview with the Prime Minister, and had expressed his government's desire to add the portfolio of industrial development to its Cabinet, and to establish more trade and technical schools. He stressed the need for larger funds for development.

Venda

Venda received self-governing status in terms of Proclamation 12 of 26 January. Its seat of government is Sibasa, and Venda is recognized as an official language.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 6 July.

Its Legislative Assembly has 60 members, consisting of 25 chiefs, 2 headmen of community authorities, 15 members designated by chiefs acting with their councillors, and 18 elected members.

The Assembly elects a Chief Minister, who must be a chief.¹¹ He appoints to his Cabinet five other ministers, three of whom must be chiefs. The Speaker and Deputy Speaker are elected by the Assembly.

The first elections were held during August. Chief Patrick Mphphu, a conservative who had headed the previous territorial authority, had not created a political party, but an opposition party, the Venda Independence Party (VIP) had been formed under the leadership of a commoner, Mr. Baldwin Mudau (a sociologist from Johannesburg).

The VIP won 13 of the 18 seats for elected members. The attitudes of chiefs and headmen were not known until October, when they met with the elected members, as members of the new Legislative Assembly. Chief Mphphu was then elected Chief Minister by 42 votes as against 18 cast for his VIP opponent, Chief Frank Ramovha. The Speaker and Deputy Speaker were also elected from the "traditionalist" group.

Chief Mphphu said that he hoped to introduce legislation to ban the VIP. Mr. Mudau stated that even if this were done, the party would still operate in urban areas.¹²

Gazankulu

Gazankulu was declared a self-governing territory within the Republic in terms of Proclamation R14 of 26 January. Its seat of Government is Giyani, and Tsonga was recognized as an additional official language.

The Legislative Assembly consists of 68 members, 42 of them consisting of the chiefs of all the tribes in the homeland, and the headmen or other members of regional, tribal, or community authorities, designated by the regional authorities. The remaining 26 members are elected.

The Chief Minister is elected by members of the Assembly, by secret ballot. He appoints five other Cabinet Ministers, of whom not less than two or more than three must be chiefs or their deputies. The Assembly elects a chairman and deputy chairman.

The first elections were held during October. The Chief Minister of the previous governing body, Professor Hudson W.

¹¹ Some of the other homeland governments have deleted similar proviso from their constitutions.

¹² *Rand Daily Mail*, 19 October.

E. Ntsanwisi, did not need to stand because he had been designated as a member by a regional body. It was reported¹³ that a section of the Shangaan people was anxious that Mr. Christopher K. Mageza, a Johannesburg Urban Bantu Councillor, should challenge his leadership. He obtained the highest number of votes in the election. However, Mr. Mageza stated that he fully supported Professor Ntsanwisi. The latter was unanimously re-elected.

BophuthaTswana

The BophuthaTswana constitution, and Chief Lucas Mangope's election as Chief Minister, were described on page 183 of last year's *Survey*. Like certain of the other homeland leaders,¹⁴ Chief Mangope has emphasized¹⁵ that he will not negotiate for independence until the land question has been satisfactorily settled. He has added that another prerequisite must be the adequate compensation of the Tswana people for their contribution to the growth of South Africa as a whole. The development funds thus far made available to his government have been utterly inadequate, he maintains.

It was reported in May¹⁶ that BophuthaTswana has obtained a loan of R4-million from the S.A. Government for the building of its new capital at Heystekrand. The municipalities of Randfontein, Roodepoort, Krugersdorp, and Westonaria are to help with the erection of houses.¹⁷

Other homelands and ethnic groups

Thus far, Basotho Qwaqwa's Legislative Assembly has merely the limited powers of a territorial authority. The Swazi group has three regional authorities but no central body. Amongst the South Ndebele there are merely four tribal authorities.

VIEWS ON A POSSIBLE FUTURE FEDERATION OF TERRITORIES

During 1972, both Paramount Chief Matanzima and Chief Buthelezi suggested that the homelands and the independent states of Southern Africa should come together in a confederation. Chief Buthelezi has described his dream of a non-racial federation.

Both chiefs said during February¹⁸ they had agreed in principle that, for a start, their two countries should be linked in a federation, under a joint Assembly. In the Paramount Chief's view, this could be done even before either territory became completely independent. But the Minister of Bantu Administra-

¹³ *Ibid.*, 21 August.

¹⁴ In the Transkei, Ciskei, KwaZulu, Gazankulu, and Lebowa.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1 August.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Townships edition, 23 May.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 20 October.

¹⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 and 19 February.

tion and Development indicated to the Press that the assent and co-operation of the S.A. Government would be necessary.

Chief Mangope has expressed reservations about the idea of a federation with the Transkei and KwaZulu. It might, instead, be to his people's advantage to federate with Botswana, he has said. The implications would need to be examined.¹⁹

SUMMIT MEETING OF HOMELAND LEADERS

A summit meeting of homeland leaders took place in Umtata on 8 November. It was attended by all the leaders except Chief Wessels Mota of Basotho Qwaqwa, Chief Mphephu of Venda, and Mr. Cedric Phathudi of Lebowa. Mr. Phathudi was overseas, but his Minister of the Interior, Mr. Collins Ramusi, deputised for him.

No official statement was issued, but according to Press reports,²⁰ it was resolved in principle that a future federation of homelands in South Africa was vital to the unity of the black people. It was reported, however, that Chief Mangope said he still had the feeling that a federation with Botswana might be more in the interests of his homeland. Delegates then suggested that the concept be widened, to include white South Africa and neighbouring black states.

The following were stated to have been among the resolutions passed.

1. A deputation of the leaders should visit Cape Town early in 1974 to discuss with the Cabinet the amount of land to be allocated to the various homelands. The "white patches" that divided each homeland into separated areas should be abolished. Strong disapproval was expressed of the forced removal of black people from their lands.
2. When a self-governing homeland was constituted, the central government should transfer to it all the departments that usually constituted a state.
3. The sums of money allocated to homeland governments by the S.A. Government were not commensurate with the indirect taxes and services rendered by blacks to the gross national product of the country as a whole.
4. Homeland governments should be granted unfettered rights to seek financial and other assistance from agencies of the United Nations, foundations, and church bodies.
5. The homeland governments viewed any form of racial discrimination as an assault on the human dignity of black people.
6. The central Government should repeal pass laws and influx control regulations to enable blacks to sell their labour as they wished.

¹⁹ *Star*, 10 September; *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 September.

²⁰ *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 and 9 November.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi is reported to have told a crowd of Africans who gathered outside the hotel where the meeting was held that none of the architects of separate development could ever have dreamed that their policy would be used as a platform on which to build black solidarity. Paramount Chief Matanzima was stated to have said, "My dream has come true. This fascinating historic occasion . . . is the renaissance of the United Nations of black South Africa".

After the summit meeting, the representatives from the Transkei, Ciskei, KwaZulu, Gazankulu, and Lebowa went to East London to attend the conference on federalism, described on page 47.

RESETTLEMENT TOWNSHIPS

As described on page 203 of last year's *Survey* and in the chapter of this edition dealing with African housing, there are a number of modern townships in the homelands, close to centres of employment. This particular section deals exclusively with resettlement townships, remote from centres of employment, that were established some years ago to accommodate Africans endorsed out of urban areas, or landless people removed from "black spots", or those sent away from the farms of whites. This last category includes old people, and former labour tenants who have not become full-time farm workers together with their families, as well as the families of sons of farm labourers. Some of the townships also accommodate ex-prisoners from Robben Island who have not been allowed to return to towns. In the early stages, rudimentary housing and services only were available in these townships. The Department has, since, been providing housing and improved social conditions, but great poverty persists.

Three of these townships, Sada, Ilinge, and Dimbasa, are in the Ciskei. Mr. F. O. Joseph, the Regional Secretary in East London of the Institute of Race Relations, visited them in 1972 and early in 1973, and, unless otherwise stated, the accounts that follow are based on his reports.

Sada is about 32 km from Queenstown. Its official population was 13 000 towards the end of 1972, but an estimated additional 2 000 to 3 000 homeless people lived there illegally. Some 1 600 families received rations.¹ The Government had provided schools to the secondary level and some sports fields. There was, then, local employment for about 380 men and women in growing vegetables, at a brickyard, at a dressmaking concern established by the Moravian Mission, and at a handicraft centre administered by the Ciskeian Government.² The Xhosa Development Corporation

¹ See 1972 *Survey*, page 206.

² Information based, in part, on a letter from the Ministry of Bantu Administration and Development dated 20 December 1972 to the National Council of Women of S.A.

(XDC) has, since, established a small factory to manufacture carpets, which at the end of 1972 was employing 10 men and 190 women, at wages of R25 to R40 a month for men, and R15 to R35 a month for women. Unemployed people in the township then numbered 290 men and 170 women.³ (At Sada, as in the other resettlement townships, most of the able-bodied men and many of the women are forced by economic circumstances to leave their homes for long periods, entering into employment as contract workers.)

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said on 22 May⁴ that 2 485 dwellings had by then been completed.

Ilinge is about 16 km from Queenstown. Residents are reported to have built some quite good houses there, but many people still live in the original small houses provided by the Department, built partially of wood. Many are damp because the site was never properly drained. Water supplies were limited early in 1973, but new boreholes were being provided. By then, there were a few sports fields but only one shop, although another store was not far off.

The National Council of Women of S.A. reported in its *News* for September that the population of Ilinge had grown to about 12 000. The Government was operating a well-equipped clinic. Inter-Church Aid had established a small knitting concern, employing about 83 women, which was being taken over by the XDC. This Corporation was providing a handicraft centre. The N.C.W. sponsored a sewing class which had 135 members. Between 200 and 300 women were employed by the Camp Supervisor, at very low wages, to weed and clean the roadsides, and there was employment for some men on road maintenance. According to the report by the Deputy Minister, quoted above, 190 men and 50 women were unemployed at the end of 1972.

Dimbasa is further to the south, some 19 km from King William's Town. Its official population towards the end of 1972 was 7 400, but the actual figure was nearer 10 000. A few women were employed in a sewing school and a beadcraft group. The Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk was planning to start a small textile factory in a building made available by the XDC, which would eventually provide employment for about 400, and the Ciskeian Legislative Assembly was to establish a handicraft centre. The Deputy Minister stated in May that 1 248 dwellings had by then been completed. He said, in June, that 160 men and 145 women were unemployed at the end of 1972.

No recent reports are available about the Limehill complex, to the south-east of Dundee and Glencoe, adjoining the Msinga Reserve. Here, as in the Ciskei, the main problem is the lack of

³ Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Assembly 11 June, Hansard 18 cols. 987-8.

⁴ Assembly Hansard 15 col. 906.

adequate employment opportunities within reasonable distance. A much smaller resettlement village, where about 100 families live, is Vulamehlo near Nqutu. Breadwinners try to find employment as contract workers, but there is reported to be considerable unemployment and great poverty.⁵

There are other such villages where little development appears to have taken place, and about which there is no available published information. Their names and location were given in the publication *The African Homelands of South Africa*, published by the Institute of Race Relations in 1973.⁶

THE FINANCING OF DEVELOPMENT WORK IN THE HOMELANDS

No comprehensive information has been published about the amount of money to be available for development work in the homelands in 1973-4.

Homeland governments receive annual grants from the Consolidated Revenue Fund which correspond to the State's expenditure on services transferred to the control of the governments concerned during the year preceding the date of transfer. They may receive additional grants appropriated by Parliament, on the recommendation of the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development in consultation with the Minister of Finance, after these Ministers have scrutinised the estimates of expenditure that the homeland governments submit annually. At present, the Department of Bantu Administration and Development incurs additional expenditure, *inter alia*, in paying the salaries of White officials who are temporarily seconded to the service of the homeland governments. According to the official Estimates of Expenditure,¹ these amounts will be as follows during 1973-4:

	<i>From Consolidated Revenue Fund</i>	<i>Additional grants</i>	<i>Salaries of seconded personnel</i>	<i>Totals</i>
	R	R	R	R
Transkei	17 808 000	26 764 000	2 610 000	47 182 000
Ciskei	6 904 000	4 838 000	1 227 000	12 969 000
KwaZulu	20 073 000	13 703 000	2 218 000	35 994 000
Lebowa	8 188 000	7 638 000	1 182 000	17 008 000
Venda	3 417 000	1 098 000	533 000	5 048 000
Gazankulu	2 739 000	2 585 000	565 000	5 889 000
BophuthaTswana	8 177 000	6 429 000	1 649 000	16 255 000
Basotho Qwaqwa	62 000	445 000	177 000	684 000
Additional amount ²	—	1 961 000	—	1 961 000
	67 368 000	65 461 000	10 161 000	142 990 000

⁵ *Financial Mail*, 15 June.

⁶ Pages 153 *et seq.*

¹ R.P. 2/1973, Vote 16, pages 85-99.

² Supplementary Estimates, R.P. 6/1973, Vote 16.

The Department will, itself, continue to meet the expenditure in Reserves which are not yet controlled by one or other of these governments, e.g. the Swazi areas, and to cover the expenses of certain services which have thus far not been transferred to the control of homeland governments. It will, furthermore, cover central administrative costs. It is not clear from the published accounts how much will be spent in these ways.

To the amounts voted by the central government, the homeland governments add sums derived from their own resources, e.g. the proceeds of local taxes, general and tribal levies, quitrent, other rents, fines, stock rates, townships revenue, interest on investments, etc. (Amounts paid by citizens of the homelands in general and graded taxes are included in the grants from the Consolidated Revenue Fund.) The amounts derived in the ways described by all the governments are not known, but in the case of the Transkei are likely to total R9 212 000 in 1973-4.³

Reports indicate that the amounts shown in the second column of the table set out above are much smaller than the sums for which the homeland governments budgeted when preparing their estimates. Chief Mangope of BophuthaTswana, in particular, has complained about this. His government's proposed expenditure on essential development work was cut by about R11 000 000, he stated.⁴

The salaries of White seconded personnel, reflected in the table, accrue to 2 641 persons.

The Revenue Vote of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, quoted above, makes provision for the following additional items of expenditure:

- (a) R2 420 000 as an annual contribution to the S.A. Bantu Trust Fund;
- (b) R36 507 000 for the administration of health services and hospitals (to which will be added R2 816 000 derived from hospital fees, etc.);
- (c) R1 053 000 in payments to provincial administrations for the construction of access roads to African areas.

(Besides this last amount, the Department of Transport plans to spend R1 980 000 on the construction and maintenance of national roads in and around the Transkei.⁵)

The Loan Account of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development reflects the following anticipated expenditure in 1973-4:⁶

³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 and 11 April.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 29 March.

⁵ Vote 5, page 17 of Estimates, R.P. 2/1973.

⁶ R.P. 3/1973 Vote N., pages 84-5.

		<i>R</i>
Grant-in-aid to the S.A. Bantu Trust Fund		8 525 000
Development of Bantu areas by the S.A. Bantu Trust:		
	<i>R</i>	
Establishment of townships	13 997 000	
Hospital buildings	6 300 000	
University buildings	1 500 000	
Share capital for Corporations	17 126 000	
Miscellaneous	8 034 000	
	<hr/>	
	46 957 000	
Less funds available from the		
Trust's own resources	1 570 000	
	<hr/>	
	45 387 000	45 387 000
Compensation to Whites in the Trans-		
kei		<hr/>
		2 625 000
<i>Total</i>		<hr/>
		56 537 000

It is not clear, from the published Estimates, how much the Government intends to spend on land purchase during the current financial year.

Certain other government departments besides those mentioned incur expenditure in the homelands, for example, Interior, Prisons, Agricultural Technical Services, Public Works, Audit, Police, and Transport, also the S.A. Railways and Harbours and the Postal Administrations. Numbers of local authorities contribute towards the development of townships. Expenditure by the Corporations is described later.

FARMING IN THE HOMELANDS

Planning of the areas

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 20 February,⁷ the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that at the end of 1972 the following percentages of the areas of the homelands had been planned, that is, divided into arable lands, grazing camps, and residential areas:

	<i>Percentage planned</i>
Transkei	57,5
Ciskei	78,8
KwaZulu	49,1
Lebowa	65,0
Venda	77,6
Gazankulu	99,0
BophuthaTswana	54,7
Basotho Qwaqwa	100,0

⁷ Hansard 3 col. 158

Agriculture

On 27 February⁸ the Minister stated that 930 agricultural advisers were being employed by his department and the homeland governments. When opening a session of the Ciskeian Legislative Assembly on 24 May, the Prime Minister said that until recently the highest post open to Africans had been that of Agricultural Extension Officer Grade I, but that some men had, since the establishment of the Legislative Assembly, been promoted to the posts of Agricultural Officers. A few were serving as Senior Agricultural Officers.⁹ The Minister stated on 27 February that the numbers of agricultural officers in training then were:

Transkei	104
Ciskei	80
KwaZulu	117
Lebowa	110
BophuthaTswana	64

Yields of traditional crops in the homelands, as compared with those in white farming areas, continue to be very low. Some comparative figures, in the main calculated by Professors J. A. Lombard and P. J. van der Merwe,¹⁰ were quoted on pages 85-6 and 89 of the booklet *The African Homelands of South Africa*, mentioned earlier.

Citrus is being grown on various Trust farms. For the time being the estates are managed by Departmental officials, but Africans are being trained in various aspects of the work. It was stated in the issue of *Bantu* for March that 50 000 boxes of citrus were being supplied to the S.A. market annually, and about 20 000 boxes to Britain. Other fruit is grown mainly for home consumption or sale at small country markets.

Fibre-growing schemes are undertaken on Trust farms as semi-industrial undertakings to provide work for non-farming Africans. According to the latest Departmental report, for 1969,¹¹ there were then 8 510 352 ha in various homelands under sisal and about 2 414 000 ha under phormium tenax. In the Transkei the latter crop, valued in 1972 at more than R100 000 a year,¹² is to be used by a grain bag factory at Butterworth. In other areas, most of the fibre is sold to factories in white areas.

Sugar cane is a major cash crop in KwaZulu, grown on a dryland basis. A start has been made at growing it on irrigated land in a Swazi area. The S.A. Sugar Association has organized short courses for African producers, and for African extension officers in the identification of cane diseases. Recently the Asso-

⁸ Assembly Hansard 5 col. 248.

⁹ State Information Office News Release.

¹⁰ Published in the *Finance and Trade Review* of Volkskas, Ltd., June 1972.

¹¹ R.P. 41/1973.

¹² *South African Digest*, 19 January.

ciation established a R5-million fund to provide low-interest loans and help in procuring fertilizers and equipment for African, Indian, and Coloured small growers who lack access to normal credit facilities.¹³

Tea plantations in the Transkei are being extended. The tea is processed at a factory at Lambasi, then blended with imported tea by packing firms.

In 1969 there were 441 696 ha under cotton in African areas of the northern Transvaal and in KwaZulu and BophuthaTswana, the total yield that year being 161 391 kg.

According to the 1969 Departmental report, coconuts are being grown in the Ingwavuma district of northern KwaZulu, being planted together with cashew nuts in order to achieve efficient soil utilization.

Experiments with coffee-growing are in progress in various areas.

Irrigation schemes

In reply to questions in the Assembly in May,¹⁴ the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development stated that there were about 21 939 ha under irrigation in the homelands.

Among the crops grown on irrigated land are maize, wheat, groundnuts, cowpeas, potatoes, sugar, lucerne hay, legumes, sweet potatoes, vegetables, and fruit trees.

According to the issue of *Bantu* for March, during the previous year officials started a scheme of project farming, on a purely voluntary basis, on irrigation schemes. An account is opened for each farmer who joins the scheme. He receives a cash advance every month, and obtains seed and fertilizer at cost price. Private African contractors do the ploughing. The Department organizes the marketing, thereafter paying to each farmer his net profit. In a project farming scheme in Venda, it was stated, the production of wheat per hectare had been stepped up from 3,5 to 26,9 bags.

Livestock

Available recent statistics indicating the livestock in homelands of the Republic (excluding the Transkei), as contained in Departmental reports,¹⁵ are as follows:

				<i>Cattle</i>	<i>Small stock</i>
1968	...	...	...	2 233 368	2 686 858
1969	...	...	...	2 263 727	2 661 177
1970	...	...	...	2 253 052	2 988 653
1971	...	...	...	2 287 490	3 097 022

¹³ *Fiat Lux*, March.

¹⁴ Hansard 12 cols. 819-20.

¹⁵ R.P. 58/1971 and 41/1973.

In some years there were considerable losses due to drought. In order to control numbers, the Trust (or homeland governments) organizes stock auctions: according to preliminary figures, 519 sales were held in 1971, a which 38 165 cattle were sold, realizing an average of R61 per head. (The number of small stock sold was not stated.) Besides this, 88 858 head of cattle and 112 268 head of small stock were slaughtered by butchers in the homelands or by African farmers for their own consumption.

There were 77 co-operative dairy schemes in 1971, with 1 675 participants, the average gross revenue per participant being R47.

In order to promote stock improvement, approved bulls and rams are sold to African farmers at subsidized prices: 878 bulls were sold in 1971. (It was stated in the issue of *Bantu* for March 1973 that the subsidy in Venda was then 25 per cent of the current purchase price.) Some of these are bred from Trust herds, while others are bought from white breeders. However, a few African farmers are now able to supply well-bred animals to their fellow-farmers.

Co-operative shearing schemes are promoted in wool-producing areas, and farmers receive assistance in classing and marketing the wool, enabling them to increase their income.

Forestry

In May the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said in the Assembly¹⁶ that the extent of forests in the homelands was:

	<i>Hectares</i>
Covered with indigenous forest	223 669
On which commercial plantations had been established	91 993
Planted with non-commercial woodlots	24 203

Much of the forest land has been managed by the Department of Forestry on behalf of the S.A. Bantu Trust, but homeland governments are undertaking increased control. Forests in the Transkei, for example, are administered by the government of that territory.

The plantations consist mainly of conifers, used for saw-timber for building, joinery, furniture, fruit boxes, etc., and of eucalyptus used for poles, fencing and firewood. The poles are creolised. Non-commercial woodlots are planted to produce timber for fencing and firewood.

Some of the largest plantations are in parts of the Transkei, KwaZulu, and Venda. Forestry is one of the main sources of local revenue in the Transkei, yielding about R1,37-million a year.¹⁷

¹⁶ Hansard 12 cols. 819-20.

¹⁷ *South African Digest*, 19 January.

The Minister stated that early in 1973 the following mills and plants had been established in the homelands:

<i>Operated by:</i>	<i>Sawmills</i>	<i>Creosoting plants</i>
The Department	—	1
Development Corporations	4	—
Bantu Authorities or individuals: about	97	15

Further sawmills have been established in various areas by white entrepreneurs, on the "agency" basis. Much of the wood is, however, still sent to sawmills outside the African areas.

MINING IN THE HOMELANDS

In reply to questions in the Assembly on 4 May¹⁸ the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that the following numbers of prospecting and mining leases were held in the homelands:

	<i>Prospecting</i>	<i>Mining</i>
By White persons	12	8
By White-controlled companies ...	98	81
By African companies or persons ...	2	—

Six of the mining leases, and a few of the prospecting leases, had been granted in homelands of South West Africa.

During 1972, the Minister added, a sum of R313 227 accrued to the Trust from royalties and prospecting fees. He was unable to say what amount accrued to African governments.

The Minister gave details of the precious stones and ores in respect of which mining leases had been granted in each of the homelands. His information, supplemented from other sources, is set out on page 96 of the booklet *The African Homelands of South Africa*. The Minister stated that the Bantu Mining Corporation had established a stone-crushing plant in the Gazankulu area near Giyani, sand removal schemes in Gazankulu and KwaZulu, and a small tourmaline mine in KwaZulu. It was assisting an African to operate a stone crusher in Lebowa and a White man to extract limestone in BophuthaTswana.

Some years ago the BaPhokeng (Tswana) tribe in the Rustenburg district entered into an agreement with Union Corporation, Ltd., in respect of the Impala platinum mine which is situated in its area. The tribe and the S.A. Bantu Trust would receive rent for surface rights (the tribe's share is about R20 000 a year¹⁹). In addition, 13 per cent of the mine's taxable income would be paid in royalties when the mine began to make a profit. Thus far, however, the company has shown a loss for taxation purposes

¹⁸ Hansard 12 cols. 818-9.

¹⁹ *Financial Mail*, 29 June.

because capital expenditure is allowed as a cost in computing the taxable income. This high capital expenditure is likely to continue for some time. Considering the arrangement to be inequitable to the tribe, the mining company decided to make advance payments on future royalties, the tribe's share in 1973 being about R50 000. As from the beginning of 1974, however, the company will pay 10 per cent of its dividends in advance payments. Of this amount, 85 per cent (probably worth more than R600 000 a year) will be paid to the tribe, and the rest to the Trust.²⁰ As Tswana tribesmen have, traditionally, not offered themselves in large numbers for employment as mine labourers, nearly all the African underground workers employed in the Impala and other platinum mines near Rustenburg are recruited from other parts of South Africa and neighbouring territories.

The partial relaxation of the colour bar on mines in the homelands was described on page 125 of the 1971 *Survey* and page 194 of the issue for 1972.

It was reported in April²¹ that 19 African mining assistants at the Atok platinum mine in Lebowa had already passed examinations in mining regulations, drilling and blasting, and testing for gas. Where necessary, they had been taught to read and write. Others were in training. Each of the qualified men supervised his own gang of drillers and labourers, and earned between R80 and R100 a month (depending on fathomage broken), plus free food and accommodation. The wages of other African employees had been improved. A new compound had been built, with an African manager, and a village erected for workers who were married. There was a store, opened by an African, and a primary school.

The White supervisors were earning between R660 and R700 a month (about R100 more than they did previously). Safety had improved, and production increased.

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 29 May,²² the Minister of Mines said that 21 Africans were then being employed as mining assistants at the Atok mine. The only other exemption granted from the mining regulations had been to the KwaZulu Sand Company, to allow an African to be employed as manager of a sand digging concern.

The total numbers of persons employed in mining concerns in the homelands as at 31 December 1972 were 43 677 Africans and 3 351 Whites, the Minister added. It was stated in the issue of *Bantu* for June that the 57 productive mines in the homelands of the Republic and South West Africa that were operated by the private sector provided 43 029 Africans with a cash income of R10 054 711 during 1971-2 (other benefits being paid in kind).

The Bantu Mining Corporation has established seven scholar-

²⁰ *Rand Daily Mail*, 19 September.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 25 April.

²² Hansard 16 col. 935.

ships to enable Africans to study geology at a university, with a view to the employment of graduates in prospecting work.

It assisted the Bantu Education Department in introducing a course of training for geological technicians at the Mmadikoti technical college at Seshego, near Pietersburg. By mid-1973, nine young men had completed the course satisfactorily.²³

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY IN THE AFRICAN HOMELANDS

General

See also the section on the decentralisation of industries.

In February the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that 2 671 loans worth R16 527 916 had been granted by the various Bantu development corporations thus far.¹ The amounts allocated to and standing to the credit of the Bantu Investment Corporation over the last five years were²:

		<i>Allocated</i>	<i>Balance</i>
		R	R
1968/69	... ..	2 100 000	3 928 965
1969/70	... ..	4 750 000	4 261 908
1970/71	... ..	4 300 000	4 038 165
1971/72	... ..	7 530 000	3 305 886
1972/73	... ..	7 000 000	3 145 510

In its annual report for the year ended 31 March, 1972, the Bantu Investment Corporation (B.I.C.) stated that between 1959/60 and 1971/72 it had granted 1 283 loans worth R8 735 075 to African businessmen: 1 056 were original loans while 227 were for additional loans.³ Of the original loans granted, 906 were for commercial enterprises, 129 for service industries, and 21 for industries.

By the end of March 1972, the B.I.C. had erected 334 buildings for leasing to African businessmen at a cost of R2 237 258⁴ and a further 23 costing R169 394 were in the course of erection. Since 1962, when the housing loan scheme was initiated, 428 housing loans worth approximately R900 000 had been made to Africans.

The share capital of the B.I.C. as at 31 March 1972 amounted to R31 780 000, an increase of R9 730 000 in a year representing additional shares at R1,00 each taken up by the S.A. Bantu Trust. The fixed assets of B.I.C. increased by R8 365 320 to R21 105 939 between 1970/71 and 1971/72. On the other hand, deposits received from Africans at B.I.C. savings accounts decreased by

²³ *Bantu*, June.

¹ Hansard 3 col. 145, 20 February.

² Hansard 5 col. 375, 9 March.

³ This is an increase over the 1970/71 data of 151 loans and R1 203 860. These figures include South West Africa (Namibia) but since 1968, when the Xhosa Development Corporation took responsibility for the Transkei and Ciskei, exclude figures for these areas.

⁴ An increase over 1970/71 data of 21 buildings and R210 728.

R489 611 to R9 922 300 as at 31 March 1972. The corporation showed a net loss of R452 771 in 1971/72 compared with a net profit of R170 233 the previous year.

In May, Mr. Barney Dladla, the KwaZulu Minister for Community Affairs, said that there were too many strings attached to B.I.C. aid to Zulus.⁵ Criticism was also expressed in the Lebowa Legislative Assembly.⁶ B.I.C. officials later agreed to recommend to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development the Lebowa Cabinet's proposals for the formation of a Lebowa Development Corporation.⁷

In its report for the year ended 31 March 1972, the Xhosa Development Corporation (X.D.C.) which is the development agency for the Transkei and Ciskei, stated that 688 business and housing loans worth R4 798 626 had been made to African businessmen by March 1972.⁸ Employment figures directly attributable to the X.D.C.'s activities were 7 006 Africans (an increase of 1 755 over the 1970/71 figure). The issued share capital of the corporation increased by R7 700 000 to R27 700 000 by the end of March 1972.

Commercial concerns in the African homelands

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said⁹ that 496 retail trading stations previously owned by Whites in the Transkei had been taken over by official corporations or bodies, while 350¹⁰ had been taken over by African people or companies. In other African areas of the Republic official bodies had acquired 18 such businesses while African people or companies had acquired 139. Of those businesses acquired by official bodies, five were being run by Whites as training schools while Africans were managing 144.¹¹

The figures for the number of hotels or motels acquired from Whites in the Transkei given on page 197 of the 1972 issue of this *Survey* have remained constant. Hotels or motels in other African areas of the Republic have been acquired or built for Africans at Bushbuckridge, Garankuwa, Umlazi, Zwelitsha, Mount Coke, Debe Nek, Mdantsane, Khorixas, Manyeleti, and Chalumna.¹²

Information on existing commercial concerns controlled by B.I.C. was given on page 222 of the 1971 issue and pages 196-7 of the 1972 issue of this *Survey*. Similar information on the X.D.C.

⁵ *Rand Daily Mail* (Township Edition), 31 May.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 19 June.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 3 August.

⁸ An increase over the 1970/71 figures of 180 loans worth R1 511 272.

⁹ Hansard 18 cols. 999-1000, 13 June.

¹⁰ If this figure is correct it shows a startling increase over the previous year's figure of 335.

¹¹ This figure, if correct, would indicate an alarming drop of 94 in the number of businesses being managed by Africans.

¹² Hansard 12 cols. 821-2, 4 May.

was also given in those issues. In the financial year 1971/72 the X.D.C. started a project to market hides and skins, established one new wholesale warehouse at Umtata and another at Butterworth, took over a further 52 shops from Whites and handed 89 over to Africans (267 shops are now controlled by Africans while a further 228 are controlled by the corporation). The X.D.C.'s garage section consists of 19 garages, two fuel storage depots, a panel-beating undertaking, and a used car undertaking.

Industry in the African homelands

General

The Prime Minister announced that the Government was to set up machinery to enable the homelands to accept foreign aid. This announcement was welcomed by Chiefs Buthelezi and Matanzima.¹³ It was rumoured that a development bank to channel white capital into the homelands was in the process of establishment.¹⁴

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that private entrepreneurs had invested the following amounts on the agency basis in the homelands¹⁵:

<i>Homeland</i>	<i>Amount R</i>	<i>No. of jobs created</i>
Transkei	2 326 000	1 410
Ciskei	2 000	180
BophuthaTswana	17 436 000	3 984
KwaZulu	804 000	847
Basotho-Qwaqwa	86 000	109
Lebowa	2 513 000	866
Gazankulu	275 000	122
Venda	280 000	226
Swazi	78 000	114
	23 800 000	7 858

In 1970 the managing director of the B.I.C. announced a five-year plan for the financial years 1969/70 to 1973/74 in terms of which R104 000 000 would be spent on the industrial development of the homelands. Of this amount R86 000 000 would be spent in the Republic, including the Transkei, while R18 000 000 would be spent in South West Africa. The Minister said¹⁶ that in three years capital expenditure and expenditure on infrastructure under this plan amounted to R27 484 438. Some of this amount had been expended in the following ways:

¹³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 and 25 January; *Financial Mail*, 26 January.

¹⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 March.

¹⁵ Hansard 14 cols. 868-9, 15 May.

¹⁶ Hansard 5 cols. 306-310, 5 March.

	<i>KwaZulu</i>	<i>Bophutha- Tswana</i>	<i>Lebowa</i>	<i>Venda</i>	<i>Gazan- kulu</i>	<i>Swazi</i>	<i>Basotho- Qwaqwa</i>	<i>Eastern Caprivi</i>	<i>South West Africa</i>
	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Industrial undertakings ...	1 001 911	3 696 276	342 047	140 681	372 342	—	49 499	—	—
B.I.C. concerns ¹⁷	2 449 556	1 358 963	648 140	29 565	61 900	7 427	—	21 512	1 229 100
Business loans ¹⁷	1 381 888	1 743 168	587 525	80 810	70 115	86 456	70 700	22 530	68 100
Housing loans	268 547	60 535	39 818	19 908	11 500	25 408	—	—	—
African savings banks ...	199	13 444	1 046	—	630	—	—	—	9 577
	<u>5 102 101</u>	<u>6 872 386</u>	<u>1 618 576</u>	<u>270 964</u>	<u>516 487</u>	<u>119 291</u>	<u>120 199</u>	<u>44 042</u>	<u>1 306 777</u>

¹⁷ These amounts are estimated expenditure.

This expenditure had created an estimated 1 009 new African employment opportunities in KwaZulu, 73 in Basotho-Qwaqwa, 2 235 in BophuthaTswana, 343 in Lebowa, 178 in Venda, 544 in Gazankulu, 14 in Swazi areas, 5 in the Eastern Caprivi, and 768 in South West Africa.

In the three years up to the 1971/72 financial year¹⁸ the X.D.C. had spent R564 000 on the economic development of the Ciskei and R19 658 000 on the Transkei. Some of these amounts had been expended in the following ways:

	<i>Ciskei</i>	<i>Transkei</i>
	R	R
Industrial undertakings ...	2 000	4 273 000
X.D.C. concerns	22 000	6 919 000
Business loans	463 000	2 559 000
Housing loans	47 000	271 000
	<u>534 000</u>	<u>14 022 000</u>

An estimated 275 new African employment opportunities in the Ciskei and 4 718 in the Transkei had been created as a result.

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development¹⁹ gave the following information on further expenditure by the State and official agencies at various homeland growth points. In BophuthaTswana the State had spent R534 069 on the development of the industrial township at Babelegi and R83 023 on water schemes. The BophuthaTswana Government had spent a further R2 923 525 on the industrial township, R796 032 on water schemes and R44 826 on electricity while the I.D.C. had spent R747 315 on housing for key white personnel. R5 134 603 had also been spent on the erection of factories for leasing to entrepreneurs.

In KwaZulu the State had spent R2 778 336 on the industrial township at Sithebe, R108 373 on water schemes, and R392 733 on electricity. The I.D.C. had spent R324 000 on housing for key white personnel. R621 602 had been spent on the erection of factories for leasing to entrepreneurs.

The Basotho-Qwaqwa Government had spent R287 296 on development of the industrial township of Witzieshoek, R55 170 on water schemes, and R29 256 on electricity. R34 462 had also been spent on factories for leasing to entrepreneurs.

The Transkeian Government had spent R1 026 856 on water schemes while the X.D.C. had spent R621 461 on the industrial township at Butterworth, R213 023 on water schemes, R97 956 on electricity, and R3 133 653 on housing for key white personnel. R2 239 746 had been spent on factories for leasing to entrepreneurs at Butterworth. At Umtata the X.D.C. had spent R86 510 on the industrial township, R50 147 on water schemes, R12 510 on elec-

¹⁸ Hansard 15 cols. 909-910, 22 May.

¹⁹ Hansard 12 cols. 769-772, 3 May.

tricity, and R1 953 989 on housing for key white personnel. R221 196 had been spent on factories for leasing to entrepreneurs.

The B.I.C. had also spent R210 000 on housing for key white personnel.

The corporations, white agents assisted by the corporations, and African loanees were employing 289 Whites, 79 Coloured people, and 8 375 Africans.

Transkei and Ciskei

In its report for the year ended 31 March 1972, the X.D.C. stated that its construction section in the Transkei employed 776 Africans during that financial year. Under its housing scheme 641 houses had been completed and a further 650 were under construction. A cement block-making unit with a production capacity of 11 000 blocks a day, as well as a carpentry unit were also controlled by the corporation. The X.D.C.'s northern area had the following concerns under its control: bakeries at Cala, Flagstaff, and Qumbu, a cold drink bottling factory, a furniture removal business, a weaving mill, a stone quarry, a metalworks and a school furniture factory. Umtata Metal works was handed over to an African on 1 April 1972. Its southern area controlled a sweet factory, an electrical contracting concern, a cartage concern, a stone quarry, a dry cleaning business, a butchery, two phormium tenax fibre production plants, a roller mill, an advertising agency, a brewery, a handwork centre, a metalworks, a printing establishment, and a transport unit.

The following concerns had established themselves in the Transkei on the agency basis: Transkei Textiles and Plastics (a bag factory); H. Lewis and Co. (milling); Sentraal Westelike Koöp Maatskappy Beperk (milling); Transkei Industries (clothing); Chet Industries (match manufacturing); Mediterranean Woollen Mills; Hercules Shoes; Transkei Sawmills.

Butakem is establishing a tartaric acid plant at Butterworth.²⁰

In his policy speech the Chief Minister of the Transkei, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, gave estimates of employment creation for Xhosa men by institutions in the Transkei over the period 1972/73 - 1976/77. This indicated that there would be an employment potential of 15 700 Xhosa men each year over this five-year period. By 1976/77 the public sector and private building contractors would be employing some 57 163 of these male workers. (In 1971/72 these sectors were employing 36 171 Xhosa males and were expected to absorb a further 20 992 by 1976/77.) There would, consequently, be a gap between the number of entrants to the labour market and the number of employment

²⁰ *Financial Mail*, 7 September.

opportunities created in this way of some 57 508 workseekers. The Chief Minister said that his Government would have to direct its efforts towards reducing this gap. He also said that the total investment of the X.D.C. in factories amounted to R2 647 873 while investment by White agents (including X.D.C. participation) amounted to R11 620 000.²¹

The X.D.C. erected a business building in Mdantsane in the Ciskei. Provision was made in this building for two banks, a restaurant, a chemist, a furniture shop, two consulting rooms for doctors, offices for two attorneys, a conference hall, general offices, facilities for a watchmaker and for an insurance company. Buildings for leasing to African entrepreneurs had been erected in Mdantsane and Zwelitsha. At Sada the X.D.C. has a handcrafts centre and a clothing factory which manufactures women's clothing with indigenous Xhosa motifs. An undertaking manufacturing hand-knotted woollen carpets was also established there.

Other African Homelands²²

Babelegi industrial township in BophuthaTswana covers 176 ha and consists of 102 sites of which approximately 50 have railway siding facilities. By September 1972, 18 factories had been built to the specific requirements of entrepreneurs, 11 temporary and 17 permanent factory units had been erected, and eight factories were being constructed.

Sithebe industrial township in KwaZulu which is about 100 kilometres from Durban and 95 kilometres from Richard's Bay consists of 44 industrial sites varying in size from 0,8 ha to 2,1 ha. About half of these sites are to have railway siding facilities. Two industrialists have located themselves at Sithebe and employ about 100 African workers. A Swiss industrialist decided to establish a R1 000 000 plant in KwaZulu.²³

Other growth points are currently being developed at Seshego in Lebowa near Pietersburg, Letaba in Gazankulu near Tzaneen, and Basotho-Qwaqwa (Witsieshoek) where 420 employment opportunities have been created to date.

The establishment of industries on the agency basis in the homelands in areas not earmarked as growth points is also receiving attention. In these areas 1 537 employment opportunities have been created. Examples are the sawmills at Bulwer, Salique, Tate Vondo, and Bushbuckridge; brickworks at White River; a factory at Keat's Drift (part production of shoes); a mill near Burgersfort; a steel window factory and a factory which produces stationery at Madadeni; garages at Giyani and Sibasa, as well as a carpet factory at Bushbuckridge.

²¹ Debates of the Transkei Legislative Assembly, 1973, pages 165-171.

²² Information taken from the report of B.I.C. for the year ended 31 March 1972 unless otherwise stated.

²³ *Sunday Tribune*, 11 November.

EMPLOYMENT

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

In its annual economic report for the year ended June 1973 the South African Reserve Bank stated that the gross domestic product at current market prices increased by 16 per cent, compared with $11\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in 1971/72.¹ However, the *real* gross domestic product increased at about the same relatively low rate of between 4 and $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. On the other hand, the *real* gross national product increased at a rate of $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent as a result of a very significant change in terms of trade resulting from sharp increases in prices of some of the country's most important export products, particularly gold. The Reserve Bank went on to say: "With the rate of increase in the prices of imported goods declining and with the further increase in the price of gold and other export commodities during 1973, the terms of trade may be even more favourable for the calendar year 1973, and the rate of increase in the *real* national product may be substantially higher for 1973 than that of the *real* domestic product."

The mining sector's contribution at *current* prices to the gross domestic product, which had increased by more than 14 per cent in 1971/2, increased by 44 per cent in 1972/73. Agriculture's contribution also increased by 22 per cent.

Although total domestic demand had not increased substantially, a stronger revival seemed possible in the near future and the situation appeared very conducive to a further acceleration in the overall growth rate of the economy.

The Economic Development Programme has predicted that "the G.D.P. at market prices, expressed in terms of 1971 prices, will increase by R5 153 million, from R13 607 million in 1971 to R18 760 million in 1977, if an average growth rate of 5.5 per cent per annum is realised". The Government has accepted that the target rate of growth for 1972-1977 should be set at $5\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.²

The Reserve Bank reported that the balance of payments on current account showed a marked improvement from a deficit of over R400 million in 1971/72 to a surplus of nearly R270 million in 1972/73. The net inflow of capital declined from R578 million in the previous year to R235 million in 1972/73. This was

¹ The gross domestic product at market prices was provisionally valued at R13 740 million in the calendar year 1971 and R15 404 million in 1972 (S.A. Reserve Bank *Quarterly Bulletin*, September 1973).

² Department of Planning. *Economic Development Programme for the Republic of South Africa, 1972-1977*. Pretoria, the Department, December 1972.

attributable to: (a) more favourable conditions for raising capital in the domestic market; (b) large repayments of official loans; (c) a switch from foreign to local financing of international trade induced by the lower interest rates obtaining in South Africa; and (d) exchange control measures introduced by the United Kingdom. The total gold and other foreign reserves increased to an all-time record of well over R1 300 million at the end of June 1973.

The rand, which had depreciated to about 15 per cent below the level of 15 August 1971, appreciated by about 3 per cent in October 1972, by about 6 per cent with the 10 per cent devaluation of the dollar in February 1973, but depreciated again with the downward floating dollar by about 3 per cent in April and May and was then revalued by 5 per cent on 5 June 1973. This brought the average effective exchange rate to about 5 per cent below the 15 August 1971 level or to approximately its level on 31 October 1967.

In August the Minister of Finance announced sales-duty concessions by which, he said, consumers would benefit to the extent of more than R30 million per year.³

On the question of South Africa's membership of the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) the Reynders Commission has said:⁴ "It is the considered opinion of the Commission that, particularly from an export point of view, a withdrawal from GATT would bring in its wake incalculable risks for South Africa and that, all things considered, the country should maintain its membership."

On the labour front, the Reserve Bank reported that during the nine months ended on 31 March 1972, total non-agricultural employment was 1.8 per cent higher than during the same period in 1971. Noticeable increases were recorded in mining, commerce, and the Post Office. Unemployment of White, Coloured, and Asian people stood at 10 521 persons in June 1973—a decline from 0.72 per cent to 0.6 per cent of the total number of these groups employed. (Reliable statistics on African unemployment are not available.)

FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY

General

The question of the role of foreign investment in the South African economy was mentioned on pages 173-4 of the 1971 issue and on pages 218-230 of the 1972 issue of this *Survey*.

At the end of 1972 the Black People's Convention (a political movement embracing African, Coloured, and Asian people) passed the following resolution which it later embodied in the text of

³ *Star*, 24 August.

⁴ Commission of Enquiry into the Export Trade of the Republic of South Africa. R.P. 69/72. P.78.

letters sent in January to thirty-one foreign companies with interests in the Republic:¹

“ . . . this congress noting:

- * The role played by foreign investors in maintaining and supporting the economic system of South Africa,
- * that this system is designed for maximum exploitation of Black people,
- * that the riches and resources of this country belong to Blacks as their birthright,
- * that foreign investors claim their presence in this country contributes towards the development of the black community,
- * that this claim is disputed by the reality of the Black experience in this country,

Therefore resolves:

- * To reject the involvement of foreign investors in this exploitative economic system,
- * to call upon foreign investors to disengage themselves from this White controlled exploitative system,
- * to give the national executive a mandate to make known our stand on foreign investors both in this country and overseas through all available channels.”²

The president of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, Mr. J. D. J. de Necker, said that foreign capital and know-how could be valuable but warned against the dangers of increasing foreign control over the South African economy.³ However, the Minister of Economic Affairs, Mr. Louwrens Muller, opening the congress of the AHI, said that South Africa needed foreign entrepreneurs to launch undertakings in the Republic, preferably in partnership with South Africans, and warned that care should be exercised in this matter.⁴ (See section on finance.)

The Institute of Race Relations issued the following policy statement on this question in January:⁵ “World-wide attention is currently being focused on foreign investment in South Africa. The S.A. Institute of Race Relations’ national Executive Committee considered the matter at its recent meetings in Johannesburg and approved of the following statement:

“The South African Institute of Race Relations is convinced that vigorous economic expansion providing more and better employment opportunities for South Africa’s rapidly growing population is essential to bring about those forms of political, economic and social change required for the development of the full potential of all the peoples of this country. In the conviction that continued economic growth associated with enlightened

¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 17 January.

² See section on restriction (banning) orders on persons.

³ *Star*, 16 January; *Rapport*, 25 Februarie.

⁴ *Star*, 2 May.

⁵ RR. 15/73.

employment practices and work conditions, as set out below, are necessary for South Africa's progress, the South African Institute of Race Relations considers that continued investment, both local and foreign, is required.

'The Institute emphasises the necessity for all employers to follow employment practices and provide work conditions and opportunities for workers of all racial groups consistent with the modern conception of the social responsibility of employers, including workers' participation in matters affecting wages and employment conditions. Such employment practices should include payment above the relevant Poverty Datum Line, and, wherever this is economically feasible, not less than the Minimum Effective Level. Employers should also make every effort to provide training for all workers irrespective of race, and to promote and pay workers according to the criterion of merit and not race.

'Employers should also try to give all their employees job security, and to provide other benefits generally accepted in the modern world as part of a worker's rewards, such as paid annual sick leave, and medical and pension schemes.'

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Hilgard Muller, raised the question of the attention being focused by various bodies on employment practices in the Republic in the House of Assembly:⁶

"There is one matter which I want to raise here, to a certain extent because I became involved in it during my visit to Britain two weeks ago. This matter is the political implications—please note, political implications—of this campaign for increased wages for non-White workers in South Africa in the case of foreign companies operating here in our country. As hon. members will perhaps know, several pressure groups and the United States have over a period of years waged such a campaign against us. Now this phenomenon has also reared its head in Great Britain and, according to reports received this weekend, in West Germany as well. As hon. members may perhaps know, the British Labour Party insisted on and also succeeded in ordering a parliamentary sub-commission to inquire into this whole matter. The object of this commission is to inquire into labour practices of British firms doing business in South Africa. . . . I discussed this matter fully with the British Foreign Secretary when I saw him a few weeks ago. We do of course have nothing to hide in this regard. Now it appears that the Department of State of the United States of America published a guide which is being distributed among American firms doing business in South Africa, a guide urging, *inter alia*, that higher wages be paid to non-Whites employed by these American firms. I want to say here that there ought to be no uncertainty or misunderstanding in the mind of any person as to what the South African Government's policy in regard to wages

⁶ Hansard 12 cols. 5431-5433, 30 April.

is, for this has repeatedly been made clear, here in this House as well. It should be remembered by those waging this campaign that we in South Africa have a system of free enterprise, and that foreign firms are receiving the same privileges here as do South African firms, and that we accept that they ought to undertake the same responsibilities. This includes the obligation to improve the welfare of their employees and to ensure equitable labour practices. . . . Improvement in conditions of service, narrowing the gap in the wage structure between Whites and non-Whites, has been Government policy for a long time, although our hon. Prime Minister has rightly warned against excessive and reckless action in this regard. A great deal has already been accomplished in this regard. We are telling the outside world that we are proud of it. . . . However, in particular I want to address those people who have caused the searchlight to be focused on South Africa in this regard. In the first place, they should display the courage and admit to the fact that it was South Africa itself which took the initiative. In the second place, I want to put a very pointed question to those bodies. . . . I want to ask whether it is not time to display the same interest in regard to the lot of millions upon millions of workers in other parts of the world. Can we accept that their humanity will induce them to cause the searchlight to be focused on other parts of the world, too, where workers are worse off than is the case here in South Africa? If they are really so philanthropic, they ought to be just as and even more concerned about workers elsewhere in the world."

The Justice and Reconciliation division of the South African Council of Churches⁷ has said that it is against the withdrawal of foreign investment "because this leaves the shareholder with no opportunity to influence company policies". However, it also recognised "the great importance of moral protest expressed in withdrawal". The S.A.C.C. has received a grant of R18 000 a year for three years from the Christian Aid division of the British Council of Churches to finance an investigation into wage structures in South Africa.⁸

Mr. Sonny Leon, leader of the Labour Party, said that he would maintain his "don't invest in South Africa" call on future trips outside the country.⁹ (See section on travel documents and citizenship.) During a visit to the U.S. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi again called for foreign companies to "engage constructively" in the struggle to improve working and living conditions for Africans in the Republic and warned that the withdrawal of foreign investment would inflict enormous suffering on his people.¹⁰

The Trust Bank has mounted a campaign against economic

⁷ *EcuNews Bulletin* 13/73, 7 May.

⁸ *EcuNews Bulletin* 10/73, 13 April.

⁹ *Sunday Express*, 10 June.

¹⁰ *Rand Daily Mail*, 23 June.

boycotts of South Africa in a number of foreign countries. This comprises a series of advertisements in newspapers and other periodicals with signed statements by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu, Chief Lucas Mangope of BophuthaTswana, and Mrs. Lucy Mvubelo of the National Union of Clothing Workers of S.A., stressing that economic sanctions would be harmful to S.A. Blacks.¹¹

In December 1972 a panel consisting of Dr. C. F. Beyers Naudé, director of the Christian Institute of S.A.; Mr. W. H. Thomas, senior lecturer in the Department of Economics at the University of Cape Town; Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Executive Councillor of the KwaZulu Government; Mr. L. C. G. Douwes Dekker, assistant secretary of the Industrial Council for the Clothing Industry (Tvl.) and chairman of the Urban Training Project; Professor H. W. E. Ntsanwisi, Chief Minister of Gazankulu; and Professor L. Schlemmer, director of the Institute for Social Research at the University of Natal and chairman of the Natal Region of the Institute of Race Relations, was appointed to investigate the employment conditions at the Palabora Mining Company (PMC) in the light of the overall employment conditions in South Africa. The major shareholding in P.M.C. in 1972 was: Rio Tinto-Zinc Corporation, 38,9 per cent; Newmont Mining Corporation, 28,6 per cent; Norddeutsche Affinerie, 1,8 per cent; South African Public Institutions, 11,2 per cent; Industrial Development Corporation of S.A., 0,5 per cent; National Selection-Industrial, 3,5 per cent; seven nominee companies, 7,3 per cent; ADR Holders (U.S. public), 7,6 per cent; and non-resident individuals, 0,6 per cent. In June 1973 the panel issued its report entitled *Management Responsibility and African Employment in South Africa*. This included a concise if brief macro-economic perspective on South Africa. Among the authors' observations were the following (p. 25):

"It is usually argued that a high growth rate, which requires high levels of capital formation, postulates the need to keep production costs low in order to increase re-investable profits. Any steps which might increase costs of production, such as e.g. improvements in black wages and conditions of employment, are seen as dangerous for the profit rate, reinvestment and the growth rate. In this way a high growth rate and improvement in black labour's position are often viewed as alternatives. . . . No broad generalisation is possible, since the conclusion depends on estimates put on a number of variables, e.g. the rates of personal and company taxation, the growth of white income levels and savings, growth of labour productivity, the inflow of capital, the growth of non-essential government expenditure, growth of black disposable income and its impact on domestic consumer demand etc. It seems erroneous to argue that black conditions of employment cannot be improved just because all the other variables are assumed to be fixed and since in that case rising wage costs would retard the growth rate. It has to be acknowledged that the movement towards improved conditions of employment necessitates some fundamental

¹¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 and 27 September.

change in the economy which, in order to succeed, has to be accompanied by other comprehensive adjustments. If the possibility of this is denied, the basic argument of the withdrawal school . . . would actually hold, i.e. that no lasting improvements for blacks are possible within the existing politico-economic structure of the country."

Their analysis of the possible role of foreign investment in progressive developments in South Africa, together with careful consideration of the arguments for and against both withdrawal and constructive engagement, led the authors to conclude (page 137) that, "The panel is opposed to a policy of withdrawal with respect to the investment of foreign capital in South Africa. The alternative policy of constructive engagement is proposed by the panel, in line with the thinking of most South African leaders and many overseas critics . . . For the future development in South Africa foreign investment, in particular inside the homelands, is seen to play a crucial role. Investment which is geared to the demands of responsible management should thus be actively encouraged."

United Kingdom¹

In 1972 a study critical of investment in South Africa written by Ruth First, Jonathan Steele, and Christabel Gurney, entitled *The South African Connection* was published.

The British newspaper *The Guardian* published a series of articles, beginning in March and continuing through to May, criticizing the employment practices of selected British companies operating in South Africa. These provoked wide-spread interest and evoked considerable reaction.

The Trade and Industry Sub-committee of the House of Commons' Select Committee on Public Expenditure instituted an inquiry into the wages and working conditions of African workers employed by British firms in the Republic. This inquiry was still in progress when this *Survey* went to press. The Department of Trade and Industry published its guidelines to British firms investing in South Africa. (The visit of a delegation from the Trades Union Congress to the Republic is described under the section on trade unions.)

In the wake of the *Guardian* exposé and the Select Committee hearings some companies made public aspects of their employment practices, recent improvements in wages and working conditions, and future intentions. Some of these companies stated that improvements were already in the pipeline but had been hastened by the publicity focused on foreign investors in the Republic. Detailed information on selected companies may become available when the Select Committee issues its report.

¹ Much of the information in this section has been culled from press reports, too numerous to mention individually.

Associated Portland Cement (Whites) increased the weekly wage of its lowest-paid category of African workers from R7,82 to R11,04 per week, an increase of over 40 per cent, while its higher-paid category's wages rose to R35,42 (for African drivers of earth-movers, cranes, and lorries.)

The chairman-elect of Barclays Bank visited South Africa to look, among other things, at the employment conditions of the bank's black workers. In April Barclays granted a twelve per cent increase in African wages.

The British Steel Corporation announced that it would spend about two per cent of its annual profits on local development programmes. This would amount to more than R10 000 a year. It also agreed to aim at securing *earnings* of black employees above the *poverty datum line* (P.D.L.)—then about R85 in Johannesburg according to some estimates.

Cadbury-Schweppes said that it kept its minimum wages above the secondary PDL and had raised wages twice in 1973. Cape Asbestos Company (Charter Consolidated) increased its African wages by about 25 per cent in line with the general increase in African mine wages. Since January 1972 it had increased African wages in its factories by 40 per cent. It had also arranged for a PDL study in a rural area from which mine labour was recruited.

The Caysier-Irvine Group announced that all African seamen working in its ships would be paid the equivalent of the British rate. This amounted virtually to doubling the rate from about R80 to R160 per month. A. Cohen and Company increased the African wages at its South African subsidiary, Metal Sales Company Ltd., and announced that further increases were likely.

The Courtauld Group, which had been subjected to some very blunt criticism, sent the personal assistant of its chairman and the company's chief medical officer to South Africa to investigate allegations about its employment practices. It later doubled the wages of African workers on its forestry estates and wattle plantations and substantially improved accommodation, rations, and sanitary and health facilities. It also said that wages would be reviewed twice a year. The general secretary of the Garment Workers' Union of S.A. said later that several manufacturing companies in which Courtauld had substantial interests had raised their minimum starting wage to R20 per week for men and R12,50 per week for women with family allowances of R3,00 per week for workers with five years' experience and allowances of R1,50 per child, up to a maximum of four children. Wages would be reviewed every six months. A medical aid scheme was being introduced as well as a pension scheme for workers with more than ten years' service. A bursary scheme for employees' children was also being introduced.

English Calico said that the wages of workers at its South African subsidiary, Natal Thread Company, had been increased by

65 per cent in 1973. G.E.C. said that it was company policy that no employee should be paid less than the PDL (then R85 per month according to some estimates). All wage rates as well as other benefits were being examined. I.C.I. announced that its minimum rate for adult male black workers was R20,50 per week.

Lord Stokes, chairman of the Leyland Motor Corporation, visited South Africa and said that the local company was reviewing its wage scales, other benefits, and its job structure. A wage increase amounting to 30 per cent in some instances was announced later. This brought the minimum wage to R81 per month.

The London and Australian General Exploration group granted a 20 per cent increase at two mines but absolute *cash* wages, nevertheless, remained very low.

The Metal Box Company of S.A. said that it was paying unskilled labourers R62,40 per month. Its black wage rates were 45 per cent above the prescribed minimum wage laid down in Government Wage Determinations. In the last 18 months its black wage bill had increased by some R833 000. It later raised its minimum unskilled wage to R78,05 per month and also stated that it would welcome the establishment of proper black trade unions.

Pilkington Brothers stated that more than 90 per cent of its workers were remunerated at rates above the *minimum effective level*. It also had an extensive system of other benefits.

For a concise description of the past practices, present conditions, and future intentions of Palabora Mining Company (principal shareholders being Rio Tinto-Zinc and Newmont Mining Corporation) readers are referred to the publication *Management Responsibility and African Employment* mentioned earlier in this section.

Shell and British Petroleum have accepted that the minimum effective level should be the target for minimum wages in the near future. In 1973 their minimum wage for a single black worker was R94,80 per month while the average wage for black workers was R150,42 per month. Shell's top wage scale for black workers is R302-R500 per month. In 1967 black workers had constituted only 1,8 per cent of the "staff" as opposed to the "labour" categories but by June 1973 they constituted 14,1 per cent. These companies have contributory pension funds whereby workers in the "staff" category contribute 5 per cent of their wages against 18 per cent contributed by the company, while in the "labour" category workers contribute 5 per cent and the company 23,5 per cent. Fringe benefits are estimated to cost the companies R32 per worker per month on average. They also provide bursaries for employees and their children.

Slater Walker Securities was also criticised rather severely for its employment practices in South Africa. As far as can be ascertained, its response was the most immediate of any of the

British companies to be publicly censured. It sent a senior executive at short notice to the Republic to investigate the allegations. The following statement to its shareholders was released in April:

"Your Board, in conjunction with the Board of Slater, Walker Securities (U.K.), recently instituted an investigation into the pay and working and living conditions of the non-European workers employed by SWS (S.A.) and its subsidiary companies.

"This investigation consisted of an examination of the rates of pay and other benefits received by all non-European workers. There were visits to the companies involved and to several of the wattle farms of the Natal Tanning Extract Company Limited (NTE). Working and living conditions were inspected at first hand. There were discussions with many of the workers and an interview with the Chief of a Zulu tribe of 70 000, some of whom were employed by NTE. There were also discussions with a local Bantu Affairs Commissioner, with the head of the Institute of Race Relations in South Africa and with the head of the Natal Employers' Association.

"The result of the investigation has been to determine that in four out of its five subsidiary operating companies SWS (S.A.) pays well above average wages and has a progressive labour relations policy, including pension funds and joint consultative machinery. In the remaining company, NTE, which accounts for 16% of SWS (S.A.) profits, pay and conditions are inadequate. The situation is partially explained by the company having a rural work force in a rural area which is different in many respects from an industrial work force in an urban area.

"The investigation has identified areas of concern. Consequently, NTE and SWS (S.A.) have prepared a nine point action programme for immediate implementation to improve pay and conditions of its African workers.

1. The average wage rate of all African agricultural workers at NTE will be increased by approximately 50% in 1973 and the wage rate of the lowest paid African workers will be increased by 100%.
2. The company will shortly launch, in conjunction with a number of other corporations, a major programme of independent research into the economic and social conditions of African agricultural workers.
The principal objective of this research will be to determine new methods whereby companies can help their African workers to make further improvements in their working and living conditions. The research will also produce an independent assessment of Poverty Datum Lines (PDL) for different parts of the country and different types of worker, and wages of NTE workers will be increased to at least this level by early 1974.
3. Free milk will be provided for all children of employees and the meat content of the ration will be increased.
4. Free protective clothing will be issued to all male employees.
5. Investment in new housing and facilities will be increased substantially.
6. Twelve schools will be built and equipped on company land, subject to the relevant government authorisation.
7. The proportion of the workers' medical expenses to be met by the company will be increased from 33% to 90% and clinics, with resident nurses, will be opened on some farms with a view to introducing them on all. Children will be examined by a doctor once a month.

8. Workers' consultative committees will be set up on all farm districts.
9. A Personnel and Welfare Officer for African employees will be appointed at NTE Head Office.

"In addition, the Board of SWS (S.A.) is appointing a Manager for non-European Employee Relations to report directly to them on pay and working and living conditions of all non-European personnel of all companies in the group. The company fully accepts its responsibility for ensuring that wages paid and benefits enjoyed by its non-European workers are in excess of the recognised PDL's in the different areas. The company regards this as an absolute minimum, and will continue to improve the standard of its employees' pay and conditions."

The Standard Bank has donated R10 000 to a pre-school project (for Indians) in Lenasia (an Asian township near Johannesburg).

Tate and Lyle stated that the wages of African workers on its plantation in South Africa had risen by 75 per cent since it acquired the company four years ago. A twenty-five per cent wage increase, in line with that given by the S.A. sugar industry, was later announced.

Unilever stated that its policy was equal pay for equal work irrespective of colour and that in ten years African wages had increased by 162 per cent against an increase of 71 per cent for Whites.

Wilson Rowntree negotiated substantial increases for its workers with the Sweet Workers' Union. Labourers' minimum wages were increased to R17,00 per week (a rise between 1972 and mid-1973 of nearly 62 per cent for women and over 30 per cent for men).

The Church of England general synod could come to no definite decision on the question of investments in companies with a stake in South Africa. The British Council of Churches commended a report which opposed further emigration from Britain and Ireland to South Africa.

United States

Rather detailed information on the policies and activities of the Nixon Administration, the Democratic Party, and various groups in connection with investment in South Africa was given on pages 223-230 of last year's *Survey*.

In February the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of African Affairs issued a document entitled *Employment Practices of U.S. Firms in South Africa* which contained information on what some U.S. companies were doing in S.A. together with suggestions on improving employment practices. In his testimony to the Africa sub-committee of the Congressional Committee on Foreign Affairs, Mr. David Newsom, Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, put the American stake in S.A. at \$1 000 000 000 which constituted 25

per cent of all U.S. investment in Africa as a whole and 15 per cent of foreign investment in the Republic. He said that in the last five years American investment in other parts of Africa had been rising at 15 per cent compared with a rate of 12.8 per cent in the Republic.¹ Mr. Newsom had also visited London and Bonn to see what the British and German governments' views on the issue were.

The Church Project's² campaign to file shareholder resolutions with U.S. companies operating in Southern Africa continued in 1973 with challenges of one kind or another issued to the following twenty-five companies: American Metal Climax, Inc.; Bethlehem Steel Corporation; Burroughs Corporation; Caterpillar Tractor Company; Chrysler Corporation; Continental Oil Company; Eastman Kodak Company; Exxon Corporation; First National City Bank; Foote Mineral Company, Inc.; Ford Motor Company; General Electric Company; General Motors Corporation; Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company; IBM Corporation; ITT Corporation; Mobil Oil; Newmont Mining Corporation; Phelps Dodge Corporation; Phillips Petroleum Company; 3M Company; Texaco, Inc.; Union Carbide Corporation; Weyerhaeuser Company; Xerox Corporation. Events in this regard were covered by a series of proxy statements issued from time to time by the Church Project while the Africa Policy Information Centre of the African American Institute gave more detailed coverage to this campaign in a bulletin, *Update*. The latter also issued summary notes of a seminar on Southern African corporate proxy issues held on 28 March 1973. Of eleven companies asked to disclose certain information about their operations in S.A., seven agreed to do so voluntarily while another four allowed disclosure resolutions to appear on their proxy material. In these four instances the disclosure resolutions were easily defeated at corporate annual meetings but some of the information requested was released later. *Update* for September 1973 contained a useful analysis of the limited information that the companies challenged were prepared to release.

Congressman Charles Diggs has introduced a Bill to disqualify American companies from receiving any U.S. Government contract unless their South African subsidiaries eliminate racial discrimination as far as the law in South Africa allows. This Bill would create an appointment for a U.S. Government official to monitor the activities of American companies in South Africa. Its introduction was being considered by the Congressional House judiciary sub-committee.³

In South Africa Mobil Oil offered to grant KwaZulu R10 000

¹ It should be pointed out, however, that the exchange controls unfavourable to South Africa imposed by the Johnson Administration will expire at the end of 1974. (*Star*, 28 March.)

² See pages 225-6 of last year's *Survey*.

³ *Star*, 21 September.

a year for five years for the development of the homeland.⁴ Mobil and Caltex adopted the *minimum effective level* as the target for their basic black wage in the near future. Caltex's basic minimum in August 1973 was R89,91 per month while that of Esso, which had a small staff of sixty, was R113,75. Caltex's average monthly wage was R117 for Africans, R150 for Coloured people, and R220 for Asians. Mobil's average wage for all black employees was R136 per month. Mobil's top black wage was on the scale R458,33 - R541,66 per month, while Caltex's was R333 - R416 per month, and Esso's top black wage was R118,50.⁵

General Motors offered to lend R500 000 to the Port Elizabeth City Council to build 100 houses in Coloured residential areas with their workers being given preference over other applicants for completed houses. A further R100 000 a year was to be made available to eligible employees to assist them to purchase their own homes.⁶ A further donation of R400 000 spread over three years was made to provide sports facilities for Africans and Coloured people in Port Elizabeth.⁷ Chrysler announced that its minimum rate for a factory worker provided an average monthly income of R93,15 with the highest hourly-paid black workers earning R243,00 per month. All jobs in the factory were evaluated and graded into a wage structure providing for black job advance and a training scheme was established.⁸ Ford (S.A.) raised its minimum wage to R102 a month.⁹

Kelloggs introduced a bursary scheme for the children of its black employees in high schools and at advanced educational levels and hoped that it would be able to do the same for primary school pupils in 1974.¹⁰ The Polaroid franchise holders, Frank and Hirsch, said that during their two-and-a-half year "experiment" wages had undergone dramatic changes. Whereas 98 black employees had been earning less than R70 per month when the changes were first instituted none were in mid-1973. There had been 61 blacks in the bracket R70-R103 but this had risen to 103, with those earning above R130 per month rising from 22 to 50. The new absolute minimum for black workers was R81 per month rising to R90 after a year's experience. The current average black wage was R128 per month and the top black wage R347. Certain senior black staff might be allowed to participate in the firm's profit fund in the near future.¹¹ Kodak stated that its lowest grade African and Coloured employees were receiving R103 per month on a scale rising to approximately R300 with other benefits applying equally to black and white employees. There was a

⁴ *Star*, 2 March.

⁵ *Cape Times*, 11 August.

⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 May.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 22 August.

⁸ *Sunday Times*, 10 June.

⁹ *Eastern Province Herald*, 14 April.

¹⁰ *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 March.

¹¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 April.

housing loan plan which could not be applied equally to Africans because of Government restrictions on home-ownership, but on the other hand Africans received education loans which other employees did not.¹² Colgate-Palmolive dismissed black employees who had stopped work in support of demands for higher pay during the wave of industrial unrest at the beginning of 1973.¹³

Western Europe

The annual report of the German-South Africa Association noted¹⁴: "The mass media of the Federal Republic, the Evangelical Church and the Ecumenical Movement, as well as the whole Left-wing intellectual sectors of our public life, continue to engage in battle against the Whites of Southern Africa and against German firms participating in the development of that region".

Mrs. Lenelotte von Bothmer, a Social Democratic member of the foreign affairs committee of the Bundestag, asked the Federal Government to investigate the wages and working conditions of black workers employed by West German firms operating in the Republic.²

Siemens issued a schedule of its black wages which indicated that 580 black workers with less than six month's service earned an average wage of R88 per month. Its highest African wage was R171 per month and its highest Coloured wage was R185 per month. About 203 labourers on construction sites in rural areas were being paid R60 per month. It had a non-contributory medical aid scheme for white employees and for selected black employees; a non-contributory pension fund for all staff, and granted 30 days sick leave a year which was extended to 45 days in cases of accident on duty.³ Siemens later said that while the *average* black wage in the lower grades was R88 per month it was possible that some workers were being paid less than R65.⁴

There is little overt criticism in France of French investment in South Africa. The only hard data on black wage scales in French concerns is that of Total Oil in mid-1973 when its lowest black wage was R92.08 per month and its highest wage being paid to a black was R400.38.⁵

In the Netherlands a campaign was launched against Philips for its South African operations.⁶

The Danish Government ordered an investigation into the wages being paid by Danish companies in South Africa.⁷

¹² *Star*, 8 June.

¹³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 February.

¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 January.

² *Ibid*, 28 April.

³ *Ibid*, 5 May.

⁴ *Ibid*, 28 June.

⁵ *Cape Times*, 11 August.

⁶ *Volkkrant*, 17 February; *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 March.

⁷ *Star*, 29 March.

In the wake of a report on Swiss involvement in South Africa, produced by the Centre for Europe and the Third World and entitled *Suisse-Afrique du Sud: Relations économiques et politiques*, the Swiss Government said that it had not the power to give orders to private Swiss firms and added that as far as it knew employees of Swiss subsidiaries in South Africa enjoyed wages and working conditions which compared favourably with those of other foreign investors.⁸ Mr. Collins Ramusi, the Lebowa Minister of the Interior announced, after a meeting with senior executives of the Swiss pharmaceutical company Ciba-Geigy, that the company had agreed to introduce the principle of equal pay for equal work with immediate effect, to provide training facilities for their African employees, and to give science scholarships for African students at the University of the North.⁹

Canada

In June *The Gazette* (Montreal) carried an exposé of the wages and working conditions at the following Canadian firms operating in South Africa: Alcan, Bata, Massey-Ferguson, Falconbridge (South West Africa/Namibia), and Sun Life Assurance. Massey-Ferguson said that their lowest wage earned by an African was R73,18 per month while the highest was R219,55. The average gross monthly salary for African workers was R97,58 and the company had pension and bursary schemes.¹⁰

THE COST OF LIVING

In its annual report the South African Reserve Bank referred to what is presently one of South Africa's most pressing problems: the high rate of price increases. Between June 1972 and June 1973 consumer prices on the seasonally adjusted index rose by 10,1 per cent. If the average of the monthly indexes for 1972/73 were to be compared with the average for the preceding year the consumer price index rose by 8,2 per cent. (See Reserve Bank report for an explanation of the different statistical measures.) Food (16,5 per cent increase) and services, including housing, (9,5 per cent increase) were among the major contributory factors in the sharp rise in consumer prices.

Wholesale prices of goods for domestic consumption which had accelerated by 7,3 per cent in 1971/72 rose very sharply by 13,3 per cent in 1972/73. The main contributory factor was a sharp rise in the prices of South African produced agricultural goods which rose by 23,7 per cent.

The Government has appointed a standing advisory com-

⁸ *Star*, 10 September.

⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 July.

¹⁰ *Star*, 18 May.

mittee on inflation,¹¹ while the Ministry of Economic Affairs has issued a booklet entitled *Inflation and our Welfare*.

MINIMUM LIVING STANDARDS

In past issues of this *Survey* estimates of minimum living standards in different areas calculated by various agencies have been provided as they became available. The question of a measure for defining poverty levels has now entered a controversial phase in South Africa.

The method of calculating any *poverty line* was generally based on that adapted by Professor Edward Batson from earlier British models to suit the South African situation. Batson's technique, first applied in the early nineteen-forties, had become honoured by long use. Franklin in his discussion of minimum living standards for the International Labour Organisation said: "To a greater extent than Rowntree in his later studies Batson tends to confine the concept of minimum needs to things needed to support life in the short run. . . . However, Batson is not entirely rigorous in confining minimum needs to things needed to support life. There are references to customary standards in the determination of most of the requirements on his list, i.e. he makes some allowance for conventional necessities."¹ Batson uses two terms: the *poverty datum line* (PDL) and the *minimum effective level* (variously, effective minimum level and minimum efficiency level). The former consists of certain selected items including food, clothing, rent, transport for wage earners, fuel and light, and cleansing materials. It is a *datum* which can be applied to a single individual or to families of any given size and is based on a calculation of the lowest possible costs. The above items only maintain a household in good health by Western standards in the short run. It is evident that it is not a measure of human needs. His studies led Batson to conclude that a family could meet its actual needs and utilise its budget efficiently only when family income exceeded the PDL by some 50 per cent. This measure is known as the minimum effective level (MEL).

Among those who adopted Batson's approach in the nineteen-sixties was the Durban sociologist Professor H. L. Watts.² In recent times Professor J. F. Potgieter, Director of the Institute for Planning Research at the University of Port Elizabeth, has used Watts' method with one principal and very important difference: whereas Watts had used a single daily food ration table compiled by the Department of Agricultural and Technical Services to derive

¹¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 July.

¹ N. N. Franklin. The concept and measurement of "minimum living standards", *IN: International Labour Review*, 95 (4), April 1967: 271-298.

² (a) H. L. Watts. The poverty datum line in three cities and four towns in the Republic of South Africa, 1967. Durban, Natal University Press, 1967.

(b) H. L. Watts. Poverty. *IN: Some implications of inequality*. Johannesburg, Spro-cas, 1971: 40-57.

basic dietary requirements, irrespective of race, Potgieter has used the Department's revised data which provide separate tables for each racial group. This affects the cost of the food component for black groups to a considerable extent. Potgieter's PDLs are thus lower than those of others also using Batson's basic approach but retaining the single daily food ration table.³ Table A lists various estimates of the PDL and the MEL in certain areas based on Batson's method (with some variations).

In 1973 the Bureau of Market Research at the University of South Africa undertook a comprehensive investigation of minimum living standards. It accepted some of the items conventionally used in previous PDL's but revised others. Two reports on this investigation were issued.⁴ The Bureau defined two measures of minimum living standards: the *minimum subsistence level* (MSL) and the *humane standard of living* (HSL) which makes provision for more items than the MSL. In comparison with all previous studies these are very stringent measures indeed. The Bureau calculated both the MSL and HSL for black households ranging from 1 to 8 plus in size.

The Bureau's comprehensive report requires careful scrutiny by those interested in income levels and minimum wage fixing. Particular attention should be devoted to the preface, purpose, scope, and methodology of this study as well as to the components of the MSL and HSL. Table B lists the estimates of the MSL and HSL in rand per month in various areas for a household of *five persons*.

It is clear that the various criteria being employed are leading to some confusion. Readers with a particular interest in this subject would be well-advised to compare the various studies which have been mentioned in this section.

³ J. F. Potgieter. The poverty datum line in the major urban centres of the Republic. Port Elizabeth, Institute for Planning Research, April, 1973.

⁴ (a) Bureau of Market Research. The minimum subsistence level and the minimum humane standard of living of Non-Whites living in the main urban areas of the Republic of South Africa, May 1973. Pretoria, the Bureau, 1973.

(b) Bureau of Market Research. The minimum subsistence level and the minimum humane standard of living of Non-Whites living in the main urban areas of the Republic of South Africa, May 1973. Summary report. Pretoria, the Bureau, 1973.

TABLE A

The Poverty Datum Line and Minimum Effective Level in Some Areas in 1973

Area	Race	Household Size	PDL (Rand per month)	MEL (Rand per month)	Month
Johannesburg ⁵	African	5	81,58	122,37	May
Johannesburg ⁶	African	6	74,68	112,02	March/April
Johannesburg ⁶	Coloured	5	83,00	124,50	March/April
Pretoria ⁴	African	6	75,44	113,16	March/April
Pretoria ⁴	Coloured	5	85,00	127,50	March/April
Vereeniging (Sebokeng) ⁷	African	5	89,48	134,22	February
Vereeniging (Sebokeng) ⁷	African	1	28,06	42,09	February
Bloemfontein ⁶	African	6	74,55	111,82	March/April
Bloemfontein ⁶	Coloured	5	78,79	118,18	March/April
Kroonstad ⁸	African	6	83,55	125,32	March
Kroonstad ⁸	Coloured	5	81,17	121,76	March
Parys ⁸	African	6	85,69	128,54	March
Parys ⁸	Coloured	5	77,48	116,22	March
Durban ⁹	African	5,2	97,67	147,21	June
Durban ⁶	African	6	78,13	117,19	March/April
Durban ⁶	Coloured	5	84,68	127,02	March/April
Ladysmith ⁶	African	6	74,66	111,99	March/April
Empangeni ¹⁰	African	6	70,12	105,18	March
Cape Town ⁶	African	6	81,80	122,70	March/April
Cape Town ⁶	Coloured	5	98,58	147,87	March/April
Cape Town ¹¹	African	6	92,49	138,73	April
Cape Town ¹¹	Coloured	5	99,71	149,56	April
Port Elizabeth ⁶	African	6	78,58	117,87	March/April
Port Elizabeth ⁶	Coloured	5	89,86	134,79	March/April
East London ⁶	African	6	76,63	114,94	March/April
East London ⁶	Coloured	5	88,38	132,57	March/April
Uitenhage and Despatch ⁶	African	6	76,44	114,66	March/April
Uitenhage and Despatch ⁶	Coloured	5	87,12	130,68	March/April
Grahamstown ¹²	African	6	66,32	—	March
King William's Town ⁶	African	6	68,96	103,44	March/April
King William's Town ⁶	Coloured	5	75,74	113,61	March/April
Transkei Rural Areas ¹³	African	7	53,73	63,94	December 1968
Kimberley ⁶	African	6	78,48	117,72	March/April
Kimberley ⁶	Coloured	5	85,79	128,68	March/April
Kimberley ⁸	African	6	93,93	140,90	March
Kimberley ⁸	Coloured	5	90,23	135,35	March

Sources:

⁵ Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce. *Bantu Family Budget*. Circular dated 25 July. (The J.C.C.'s PDL includes taxation, medical expenses and education which are not normally included in the conventional PDL. It adds certain other items to give a *minimum family budget* of R91,14 in this instance. The MEL has been calculated by the writer and gives a slightly inflated figure by conventional standards resulting from the inclusion of the items mentioned above.)

⁶ J. F. Potgieter. *Op cit.* page 60. (This study does not provide figures for the MEL although Potgieter mentions this measure. These figures have been supplied by the writer.)

(References for this table continued overleaf.)

TABLE B

The Bureau of Market Research's Minimum Subsistence Levels and Humane Standards of Living for Five-Person Households in Certain Areas in May 1973¹⁴

Area	Race	MSL (Rand per month)	HSL (Rand per month)
Alberton	African	58,73	75,96
Benoni	African	58,31	76,82
Boksburg	African	58,66	75,38
Brakpan	African	62,12	79,56
Cape Peninsula	African	68,82	89,17
Cape Peninsula	Coloured	72,72	94,27
Durban	African	63,26	81,91
Durban	Indian	72,02	99,83
East London	African	61,83	80,61
Germiston	African	58,13	75,55
Johannesburg	African	62,11	79,58
Kempton Park	African	60,94	78,23
Krugersdorp	African	56,63	72,85
Port Elizabeth	African	65,07	85,86
Port Elizabeth	Coloured	71,24	94,37
Pretoria	African	54,54	71,21
Roodepoort	African	59,81	77,67
Springs	African	58,20	74,51
Uitenhage	African	64,62	85,62
Vereeniging/Vanderbijlpark ...	African	58,48	76,94

⁷ Vereeniging Chamber of Commerce. Does your Bantu employee receive a living wage? *IN: Vereeniging Chamber of Commerce Newsletter*, March 1973. (This PDL also included a number of items not conventionally included in the PDL. The MEL is thus considerably inflated.)

⁸ Garment Workers' Union of South Africa. Memorandum of proposals by the Garment Workers' Union of South Africa for the revision of main agreement for the clothing industry, Orange Free State and Northern Cape. . . . Johannesburg, the Union, 1973, Annexure "A". (There was an error in the calculation of the African MEL for Kroonstad, corrected here.)

⁹ P. N. Pillay. A poverty datum line study among Africans in Durban. Durban, University of Natal, Dept. of Economics, Occasional paper No. 3, 1973, Appendix, Table A1. (This PDL is for a weighted mean household of 5.2 persons. It includes taxation.)

¹⁰ Institute for Social Research and South African Institute of Race Relations (Natal Region). Unpublished paper.

¹¹ Michael Hubbard. The poverty datum line and effective minimum level for African and Coloured families in Cape Town, April 1973. Cape Town, S.A.I.R.R., 1973. (This study includes tax, health and education which are not normally included in the conventional PDL.)

¹² Rhodes University, Wages and Economics Commission. The poverty datum line: Grahamstown: March 1973. Grahamstown, the Commission, April 1973, circular. (This is a *primary PDL*, i.e. it excludes rent and transport.)

¹³ Johann Maree. Problems of definition and measurement of the underutilisation of labour in the traditional rural sector of an economy with migrant labour. . . . University of Sussex, unpublished dissertation, 1972 p. 68-79. (This study used a variation in the approach to calculating the PDL and MEL. The data are badly out of date but are included here as there is a lack of similar data in rural areas in the Republic. Several studies of rural poverty datum lines are in progress.) A draft memorandum was presented to the S.A. Agricultural Union later in the year suggesting that a *cash* wage of R42 per month—if no food and clothing were provided—would meet the minimum subsistence needs of the family of an agricultural labourer. (*Rand Daily Mail*, 26 October.)

¹⁴ Bureau of Market Research. The minimum subsistence level and the minimum humane standard of living of Non-Whites living in the main urban areas of the Republic of South Africa, May 1973. P. 27.

INCOME LEVELS, WAGES, AND POVERTY

The 1970 population census indicated that, at that time, roughly 25,1 per cent of the White, 1,2 per cent of the Coloured, and 2,6 per cent of the Indian population had a total income of R2 000 or more per annum. The numbers and percentages in each income group are contained in Table C. Similar figures for the African population are not available and will probably not be issued since it appears to be difficult to provide reliable estimates in their case.

TABLE C

<i>Total Income by Racial Group 1970 (White, Coloured, Asian)¹</i>						
	<i>White Number</i>	<i>Per Centage</i>	<i>Coloured Number</i>	<i>Per Centage</i>	<i>Asian Number</i>	<i>Per Centage</i>
	1 845 320	92,3	1 214 300	93,4	398 260	91,2
<i>Rand</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Per Centage</i>	<i>Coloured</i>	<i>Per Centage</i>	<i>Asian</i>	<i>Per Centage</i>
None	1 998 850	53,7	1 300 740	64,4	436 730	70,7
0—400	139 420	3,7	374 560	18,5	49 020	7,9
400—799	151 800	4,1	193 980	9,6	59 360	9,6
800—1 199	159 480	4,3	73 300	3,6	29 440	4,8
1 200—1 599	193 190	5,2	33 930	1,7	18 680	3,0
1 600—1 999	141 510	3,8	18 690	0,9	8 760	1,4
2 000—2 499	191 530	5,1	25 170	1,2	16 010	2,6
2 500—2 999	135 900	3,6				
3 000—3 999	264 760	7,1				
4 000—5 999	212 990	5,7				
6 000—9 999	96 120	2,6				
10 000+	38 170	1,0				
Query	2 820	0,1	1 060	0,1	140	0,0
	<u>3 726 540</u>	<u>100,0</u>	<u>2 021 430</u>	<u>100,0</u>	<u>618 140</u>	<u>100,0</u>

The Bureau of Market Research updated black household incomes between 1970 and 1973 according to the latest Peromnes salary survey and then tabulated the percentage of black households whose total income fell *above* the MSL and HSL in May 1973. Data for each family size were provided.² Table D below lists the *total* figures only of multiple households in certain areas.

Detailed information on expenditure patterns of black households in the five main metropolitan areas of South Africa in 1970 was contained in a further report issued by the Bureau of Market Research.³ (See also pages 233-5 of last year's *Survey*.)

In March 1972 the Productivity and Wage Association conducted a comprehensive national African Wage Survey which was briefly mentioned on pages 235-6 of the 1972 issue of this *Survey*.

¹ Department of Statistics, Population Census 6 May 1970. Sample Tabulation: Personal Income—Whites, Coloureds and Asians. (Percentages calculated by writer.)

Of those people with no recorded income children under the age of 15 years and women of 15 years and over accounted for the following numbers and percentages:

² Bureau of Market Research. The minimum subsistence level and the minimum humane standard of living of Non-Whites living in the main urban areas of the Republic of South Africa, May 1973. Pages 30-43.

³ Bureau of Market Research. Market potentials of consumer goods and services for Non-White population groups in the five main metropolitan areas of the Republic of South Africa in 1970. Research report no. 34 of 1973.

TABLE D

Percentage of Multiple Households Whose Total Income Fell Above Their MSL and HSL by Sex of Household Head and Area According to the Bureau of Market Research

Area	Race		Male	Female
			%	%
Cape Peninsula	African	MSL	83	58
		HSL	64	42
Cape Peninsula	Coloured	MSL	92	86
		HSL	85	81
Durban	African	MSL	72	60
		HSL	54	45
Durban	Indian	MSL	81	78
		HSL	69	65
East London	African	MSL	63	52
		HSL	48	33
Johannesburg	African	MSL	82	71
		HSL	73	56
Kempton Park	African	MSL	80	90
		HSL	66	80
Krugersdorp	African	MSL	83	43
		HSL	70	29
Port Elizabeth	African	MSL	75	50
		HSL	54	24
Port Elizabeth	Coloured	MSL	98	80
		HSL	94	80
Pretoria	African	MSL	82	67
		HSL	64	51
Uitenhage	African	MSL	67	42
		HSL	49	33

Early in 1973 the services of the Productivity and Wage Association were incorporated in a programme called "Operation Progress" under the auspices of the National Development and Management Foundation (NDMF). During March 1973 a further survey was conducted, extended this time to all black employees (i.e. Coloured and Asian employees were also covered). Some 1 780 completed questionnaires covering 258 748 black employees were returned. The 1973 wage survey redefined the 1972 job categories and reduced the number from eight to six. These range from number one where the job involves a few simple, highly repetitive tasks through to number six which is for artisans who have served a recognised apprenticeship. Further improvements in the 1973 wage survey were (a) that separate tables were provided for the average wages of men and women, and (b) separate tables distinguished the main industrial areas from minor industrial areas. Tables E, F, G, H and I give the respective average wage rates by race and sex for the whole of South Africa and South West Africa.

TABLE E

*Operation Progress: Average Wages: African Men
March 1973*

	Grade						Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
	R	R	R	R	R	R	
Average weekly wage	13,46	16,14	18,16	22,21	25,47	32,06	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Average % increase over last year	20,78	20,86	20,08	16,54	17,04	19,94	
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	
Total employees reported	109 278	46 643	28 789	13 436	5 554	2 482	206 182

Of these African male workers, 26 047 or 12,6 per cent earned less than R10,00 per week which would exclude them from contributing to or benefitting from the unemployment insurance fund.

TABLE F

*Operation Progress: Average Wages: African Women
March 1973*

	Grade						Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
	R	R	R	R	R	R	
Average weekly wage	8,89	9,31	11,66	14,61	20,06	23,23	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Average % increase over last year	13,23	23,18	18,79	15,10	5,86	16,69	
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	
Total employees reported	3 963	2 042	1 724	855	280	18	8 882

Of these African female workers, 5 494 or 61,9 per cent earned less than R10,00 per week.

TABLE G

*Operation Progress: Average Wages: Coloured Men
March 1973*

	Grade						Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
	R	R	R	R	R	R	
Average weekly wage	15,70	21,52	26,78	32,12	36,85	41,48	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Average % increase over last year	12,88	11,77	9,66	11,36	13,27	8,45	
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	
Total employees reported	5 876	5 389	4 449	2 497	1 300	914	20 425

Of these Coloured male workers, 1 441 or 7,1 per cent earned less than R10,00 per week.

TABLE H

*Operation Progress: Average Wages: Coloured Women
March 1973*

	Grade						Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
	R	R	R	R	R	R	
Average weekly wage	11,82	10,05	19,36	22,62	21,42	26,23	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Average % increase over last year	12,69	21,05	8,36	11,11	16,28	12,41	
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	
Total employees reported	2 750	2 661	2 229	1 291	214	82	9 227

Of these Coloured female workers, 2 613 or 28,3 per cent earned less than R10,00 per week.

TABLE I
Operation Progress: Average Wages: Asian Men
March 1973

	Grade						Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Average weekly wage	R 8,13	R 16,61	R 20,90	R 26,04	R 35,52	R 45,02	
Average % increase over last year	% 18,24	% 17,62	% 16,08	% 12,33	% 13,17	% 9,73	
Total employees reported	No. 4 346	No. 2 100	No. 2 602	No. 3 038	No. 1 634	No. 311	14 031

Of these Asian male workers, 3 472 or 24,8 per cent earned less than R10,00 per week.

For practical purposes the data by area and industry contained in this wage survey are more useful than the overall national figures.⁴

Peromnes Salary Surveys indicate that, on a percentage basis *per capita* earnings of black South Africans have been rising relatively faster than white earnings. Between September 1970 and March 1973 earnings of Whites (men and women) rose by 17,5 per cent, those of Asian men by 20,9 per cent, those of African men by 29,8 per cent and those of Coloured men by 38,3 per cent. In the year ended April 1973, white remuneration rose by 7,3 per cent whereas African men's earnings rose by 16,6 per cent. The earnings of Coloured men virtually stood still in this period.⁵

Market Research Africa (Pty) Ltd. has estimated that there are some 634 000 young white adults between the ages of 16 and 24 in the Republic and South West Africa. Of these 54 per cent work full-time and a further 2 per cent part-time. The estimated average monthly income of these young persons is R139 for men and R117 for women.⁶

In a speech at the opening of a furniture factory at Babelegi, the Chief Minister of BophuthaTswana, Chief Lucas Mangope, said: "To me the most important principle is not the starting wage of an unskilled labourer. Of course I must appeal to you to pay a 'living wage', and surely in industry anything less than R14 a

⁴ National Development and Management Foundation. *Operation Progress. Wage Survey 1972-1973.* Johannesburg, the Foundation, 1973.

⁵ The information given has been extracted from a brief report in the *Financial Mail* of 4 May since these surveys are not available to the general public.

⁶ Market Research Africa. *A new look at youth.* Johannesburg, Market Research Africa, 1973.

week cannot be claimed to constitute a 'living wage'. The real crux of the pay issue lies, however, in the fields of training, promotion and advancement. Unless industrialists create opportunities and facilities for, and give active and sincere encouragement to training and advancement of their Black labour force, how can I be expected not to take issue with them."⁷

In January the Institute of Race Relations and the South African Institute of Personnel Management jointly sponsored a conference on "Closing the Wage Gap". In his opening address, Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer, Chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, said that everyone in South Africa was now beginning to appreciate that there was something wrong in the wage situation in South Africa. He emphasised that prosperity was indivisible and no-one gained from the ignorance and poverty of others, and went on to say that three of the important issues which had to be faced were education, the phasing out of migrant labour, and the rate for the job.⁸

Among the other papers delivered at this conference and published subsequently were:

Dr. Arndt Spandau. *National income in South Africa: its growth and distribution*. RR. 3/73.

Professor Sheila T. van der Horst. *National income in South Africa: its growth and distribution*. *Lead-in paper*. RR. 11/73.

Mr. J. H. Thomas. *The wage structure in the clothing industry, South Africa*. RR. 86/73.

Mr. D. A. Etheredge. *Wages, productivity and opportunity*. RR. 1/73.

These papers dealt in some detail with complicated economic issues and lack of space in a publication of this nature precludes a brief and, therefore, probably meaningless evaluation of their contents. They are recommended to readers with a special interest in these matters. However, a point to note, in view of the deliberations at this conference where attention was focussed on "belt-tightening" and "size-of-the-market" economic theories is the following comment from the Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Export Trade of the Republic of South Africa (Reynder's Commission):⁹ "The Commission has repeatedly referred to the fact that the size of the local market in many cases places a definite limit on the extent to which local manufacturers can benefit from economies of scale and/or prevents them from exploiting fully the decrease in cost per unit which can be had with increased utilisation of capacity. This reduces their ability to compete with overseas firms in the South African market and even more so in the international market."

⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 March.

⁸ *Race Relations News*, January 1973

⁹ R.P. 69/1972, p. 411-412.

WAGE REGULATING MACHINERY

The Minister of Labour said in April 1973¹ that there were 187 industrial council agreements in force but these included 84 agreements which provided for benefits such as pension and provident funds, medical aid and training schemes and other benefits. In other words, there were 103 *main* agreements in force. There were also four conciliation board awards and 75 wage determinations in force. The numbers of workers affected were:²

	White	Coloured	Asian	African
Industrial council agreements	196 603	212 660	60 419	528 193
Conciliation board awards ...	1 257	4 715	48	7 931
Wage determinations	111 310	57 726	17 063	304 036
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	309 170	275 101	77 530	840 160

This means that the salaries and wages of some 1 501 961 workers were covered by statutory *minimum* wage regulating instruments in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act or the Wage Act. Between the end of 1971 and the end of 1972 the number of White, Asian, and African workers covered by industrial council agreements showed a small decline, but Coloured workers increased by 19 745 (10,2 per cent). It is not possible to provide a meaningful comparison in respect of wage determinations since, according to the Minister's information, one determination seems to have been dropped between 1972 and 1973. This might merely mean that the industry was being re-investigated or that the determination had been superseded by some other instrument (presumably a conciliation board award). Nevertheless, the number of Africans covered by this wage regulating mechanism showed an increase of 10 932 (3,7 per cent).

The *Financial Mail* lists the names and addresses of industrial councils in its annual *Business Diary* and the Trade Union Council of South Africa issued a fact paper entitled *Industrial Councils in South Africa* in 1973. These publications are to a certain extent complementary. A comprehensive study of the industrial council system in South Africa has still to be undertaken. The South African Institute of Race Relations has issued a compendium of all wage determinations current in South Africa at 30 June 1973. This contains a brief analysis of some of the major issues involved in this system of *minimum* wage fixing and will, hopefully, be updated by subsequent fact papers on each determination as it is revised.³

¹ Hansard 9 cols. 619-621, 6 April.

² This was the position at 31 December 1972 in so far as agreements and awards were concerned. The figures in respect of wage determinations reflect the position at the time of the Wage Board's investigation of the particular industry. The actual number of workers covered by wage determinations could, thus, be much higher.

³ Laura Metter, *et al.* Wage determinations current in South Africa at 30 June 1973. Johannesburg, S.A.I.R.R., 1973.

The Minister of Labour has said that the efforts of the (Central Bantu) Labour Board at industrial council meetings in 1972 had resulted in additional wages of R32 000 000 being paid to 400 000 African workers.⁴ (This amounts to an average *per capita* increase of R1,54 per week in 1972—not noticeably generous in any terms.) In terms of Section 20 (8) of the Wage Act inspectors of labour are entitled to call upon employers to pay amounts due to the workers concerned (usually resulting from underpayment in terms of a wage determination or licence of exemption—whether accidental or deliberate). The Minister of Labour said that the following amounts were paid in this connection over the last five years:⁵

Year	<i>Paid to inspector for transmission to employee</i>	<i>Paid by the Secretary to the Cons. Rev. Fund</i>	<i>Paid by the Cons. Rev. Fund to the Secretary for pay- ment to the em- ployee</i>
	R	R	R
1968	96 607	7 488	1 535
1969	126 484	8 957	2 483
1970	129 977	6 791	1 657
1971	138 052	5 386	1 549
1972	112 540	7 193	738

The rather small amounts recorded above could indicate (a) that South African employers are particularly meticulous in observing rates of remuneration contained in wage regulating instruments issued under the Wage Act; (b) that workers are inadequately informed of their rights to seek restitution; and/or (c) the Department of Labour is inadequately equipped to “police” this provision effectively. This phenomenon may be the result of a combination of any one or more of the reasons mentioned. Unfortunately, the Minister was not asked for similar information on the industrial council system.

Two further contributions to the “wage debate” appeared in the *South African Journal of Economics*. In the first,⁶ Dr. Dudley Kessel examined Hume’s⁷ argument that raising black wages by, say, 15 to 20 per cent a year for five years would not have a marked inflationary impact on the economy. He concluded that increasing African wages in manufacturing by 20 per cent a year over a five-year period would raise prices by 7,2 per cent in that period against Hume’s 3,7 per cent. If Coloured and Asian earnings were subject to a yearly increase of 10 per cent at the same

⁴ Hansard 1 cols. 48-9, 5 February.

⁵ Hansard 18 col. 1006, 14 June.

⁶ Dudley Kessel. Non-White wage increases and inflation in South Africa. *South African Journal of Economics* 40 (4), December 1972: 361-376.

⁷ Ian Hume. Notes on South African wage movements. *South African Journal of Economics* 38 (3), September 1970: 240-256.

time this, together with the African increase of 20 per cent, would push prices up by nearly 11 per cent in the five-year period. Kessel tentatively suggests that a yearly increase of 12,8 per cent in black wages and a 3 per cent increase in white wages might be a more acceptable method of trying to keep down the inflationary impact of black wage increases. This would also involve the use of price controls so that a greater share of the burden of redistribution would fall on entrepreneurs, shareholders, etc., than on the working man.

Dr. Arndt Spandau⁸ examined Pursell's⁹ interpretation of Wage Board policy. Spandau points out that the White/African differential in several economic sectors "suggests that whatever the payability of a particular sector (may be), it is the Whites who enjoy the fruits of economic strength. Their Bantu workmates, however, no matter how profitable the industry in which they are engaged, usually receive wages just high enough to compensate for the most necessary expenditures on food, clothing and transport. . . These figures speak against Pursell's 'new deal' hypothesis. A real improvement of Bantu relative incomes must first rely on the enhancement of wages in sectors where the payability is greatest."¹⁰

Information on the activities of the students' wage commissions on (white) English-speaking campuses was given on pages 243-245 of last year's *Survey*. The students continued these activities in 1973. In June 1973 NUSWEL (the welfare arm of the National Union of South African Students) issued a newsletter entitled *Facts 2: The Wages Commissions*. This gives a brief history of the establishment of the wages commissions together with an outline of their activities and policies. In Cape Town the Students' Wages Commission and employers' groups are reported to have established a co-operative relationship.¹¹ The Cape Town commission presented the following evidence to the Wage Board additional to that reported in the 1972 issue of this *Survey*:

1. Cement manufacturing industry. November 1972. Recommendations for the prescribed minimum wages of unskilled labourers were R16,00 per week in 1973 rising to R18 in 1974 and R20 in 1975.
2. Mineral waters manufacturing industry. November 1972. Recommendations for unskilled labourers were R13,00 per week in 1973 rising to R16,25 in 1974 and R20,31 in 1975.
3. Watch patrol services. July 1973. Recommendation for the minimum wages of watchmen to be increased to R20,00 per

⁸ Arndt Spandau, South African Wage Board policy: an alternative interpretation. *South African Journal of Economics* 40(4), December 1972: 377-387.

⁹ (a) Donald E. Pursell. Bantu real wages and employment opportunities. *South African Journal of Economics* 36(2), June 1968: 87-103.

(b) Donald E. Pursell. The impact of the South African Wage Board on skilled/unskilled wage differentials. *The Eastern Africa Economic Review* 1(1), June 1969: 73-81.

(c) Donald E. Pursell. South African labour policy: 'new deal' for Non-Whites? *Industrial Relations* 1, 1971: 36-48.

¹⁰ Spandau, *Op cit.* p. 385-7.

¹¹ *Financial Mail*, 27 April.

week, but certainly no lower than R16,70, which is the rate prescribed for watchmen in the general unskilled determination for the Cape.

The University of the Witwatersrand commission presented evidence to the Board in the following instance:

Bread and confectionery industry. February 1973. Recommended that the prescribed minimum wage for the lowest category of worker should be R22,67 per week based on a "realistic" *minimum effective level* or R20,28 based on a "conservative" one but certainly no lower than R13,52 based on a "conservative" *poverty datum line*. A further recommendation was that an escalator clause linked to the consumer price index should be provided.

During the wide-spread strikes in Natal (see relevant section of this chapter) the Minister of Labour had the following to say:¹² "It is unfortunately the case that employers were only prepared to grant wage increases, which they had previously opposed, as a result of the situation which then arose. It is a great pity that they only then agreed to do so. There is the case of a specific employer in a specific industry who at a Wage Board inquiry during the past year maintained that the basic wage for the worker could not be increased by 92 cents per week. They opposed the increase which was proposed only last year by the Wage Board. But just before the strike was imminent, the same concern was prepared to increase the wages immediately by R2 per week." The Minister later said:¹³ "It is my pleasure to announce that I have decided to issue an instruction to the Wage Board to revise five existing wage determinations relating to unskilled labour in a series of industries in the principal areas." He went on to say that he hoped the Board would be able to submit its recommendations within two months. (It is important to note that these particular wage determinations were not yet two years old and were, thus, being re-investigated in what was probably a uniquely short period.)

The Wage Board sat in the major urban centres to consider the wage clauses of the respective general unskilled labour determinations in April 1973.¹⁴ It also received written representations from the following groups:

Employers' Groups

- (a) The Cape Employers' Association
- (b) The Natal Employers' Association
- (c) The Durban Chamber of Commerce
- (d) The Natal Chamber of Industries

¹² Hansard 2 cols. 566-7, 13 February.

¹³ Hansard 3 col. 1073, 20 February.

¹⁴ Department of Labour. Report of the Wage Board to the Hon. the Minister of Labour by division A of the Wage Board. Unskilled labour: amendment to wage clause: wage determinations 328, 330, 336, 338 and 340. 30 April 1973.

Employees' Groups

- (e) The Central Bantu Labour Board
- (f) Trade Union Council of S.A. (an *ad hoc* committee)
- (g) South African Institute of Race Relations
- (h) The Wages Commission (University of Natal)
- (i) The Wages Commission (University of Cape Town)
- (j) The Wages and Economics Commission (University of the Witwatersrand)
- (k) The United Wages Action, Durban.

Groups (g) - (k) all recommended a minimum weekly wage of about R21,00 per week for an adult male labourer. The *ad hoc* committee of TUCSA did not make any specific recommendation but considered that wages should be substantially increased and laid particular emphasis on the "civilised standards of life" section in the Wage Act. In Durban and Johannesburg numbers of African workers attended the Wage Board's public sittings. The Wage Board subsequently recommended the following minimum rates for a male labourer of 18 years and over:

Area	First Year	Second Year	Thereafter
	R	R	R
Cape Peninsula	14,50	15,50	16,50
Durban	13,00	14,00	15,00
Port Elizabeth	13,00	14,00	15,00
East London	10,00	11,00	12,00
Johannesburg, Witwatersrand and Pretoria	13,00	14,00	15,00
Bloemfontein	12,00	13,00	14,00
Kimberley	12,00	13,00	14,00

The Wage Board's recommended new minima were described as still being "deplorably low" by Mr. S. J. Marais Steyn M.P., then the United Party's chief spokesman on labour, while the general secretary of TUCSA, Mr. Arthur Grobbelaar, warned that these new rates would do nothing to quell African labour unrest. The new minimum for the area was described as "totally ridiculous" by one Durban employer whose firm had been hit by the earlier strikes.¹⁵ The South African Institute of Race Relations lodged "its very strongest objections to the low level of the minima ... being proposed in each respective instance." It pointed out that "in no instance will the proposed minima for adult males reach the stringent poverty levels calculated in March/April 1973 *even at the end of the two-year spread*". It also rejected the principle whereby the cash differential between the minima proposed for women and men would increase in every instance.¹⁶

In spite of objections the Board's proposals were promulgated in the *Government Gazette* as the new prescribed minima. (The writer cannot recall any instance in recent times when objections to proposed wage rates lodged by workers' representatives or

¹⁵ *Star*, 18 May.

¹⁶ A summary of these objections appeared in *Race Relations News*, June 1973. p. 6.

sympathetic organisations have been sustained by either the Board or the Minister of Labour.)

Brief information on an investigation by the Board into the commercial distributive trade was given on pages 245-246 of last year's *Survey*. The Board issued its report on 9 March. Objections were lodged by the National Union of Distributive Workers and this delayed the promulgation of a new determination. There were threats of a national strike in the trade.¹⁷

The Minister of Labour later in the year used powers conferred upon him by the Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Amendment Act (see relevant section of this chapter) to accede to the request of employers by raising wages in the Civil Engineering and Roadmaking Industries without a prior investigation by the Wage Board.¹⁸

ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE PERSONS AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Data on economically active White, Coloured, and Asian people, based on the 1970 population census, were given on page 248 of last year's *Survey*. Similar information on the African population has now become available. This data is summarised in Table J.

TABLE J¹

Economically Active Africans in 1970

<i>Economic Sector</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Per centage</i>
Agriculture	1 359 340	655 040	2 014 380	38,3
Mining	603 740	1 500	605 240	11,5
Manufacturing	441 460	70 080	511 540	9,7
Electricity	32 040	220	32 260	0,6
Construction	262 360	1 880	264 240	5,0
Commerce and Finance	295 360	53 900	349 260	6,6
Transport	138 200	1 420	139 620	2,7
Services	340 180	724 040	1 064 220	20,2
Unemployed	118 880	165 020	283 900	5,4
	<u>3 591 560</u>	<u>1 673 100</u>	<u>5 264 660</u>	<u>100,0</u>

Some 9 771 700 Africans, or 65,0 per cent of the total African population, fell in the unspecified and not economically active categories. The data included the number of foreign Africans (490 060) in the Republic at that time and 452 800 of these were

¹⁷ *Star*, 10 and 15 May; *Rand Daily Mail*, 12 May; *Sunday Tribune*, 20 May.

¹⁸ Government Notices R.1818 and R.1819 of 5 October.

¹ Calculated from: Department of Statistics. Statistical News Release P. 11/69. Population census 1970: Industry — Bantu national units, 11 December 1972.

economically active. The writer, like many others, feels that the unemployment figure bears little relation to reality. The Institute of Race Relations issued a paper on employment trends entitled *Some notes on the economically active population 1960 and 1970* (RR. 78/73). This also gives data on the economically active persons in each occupational group.

The Minister of Statistics has given the following *estimates* of the economically active persons at the end of 1972:²

<i>Race</i>		<i>Number</i>	<i>Per centage</i>
White	... ..	1 607 000	18,5
Coloured	... ..	754 000	8,7
Asian	... ..	197 000	2,3
African	... ..	6 130 000	70,5
		<hr/>	
		8 688 000	100,0
		<hr/>	

If these figures are accepted as a rough guideline, it appears that between the May 1970 population census and December 1972 the economically active population increased by roughly 109 500 White (7,3 per cent), 50 400 Coloured (7,2 per cent), 17 000 Asian (9,4 per cent), and 865 300 African (16,4 per cent) people. (It is not possible with these bare statistics to establish how many new African workers would have been absorbed by the agricultural sector and by subsistence agriculture in particular.)

African labour bureaux and employment contracts

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development gave figures for the number of labour bureaux at the end of 1972:³

Regional labour bureaux	... ..	9
Local labour bureaux	... ..	416
District labour bureaux	... ..	405
Territorial labour bureaux	... ..	7
Tribal labour bureaux	... ..	296

These figures show no change over the position at the end of 1971.

African workers do not register at regional or territorial labour bureaux. The Minister gave the following figures for African workers registered in each defined category of labour at local and district bureaux during 1972:⁴

² Hansard 10 cols. 652-3, 13 April.

³ Hansard 10 cols. 666-7, 13 April.

⁴ Hansard 16 cols. 943-5, 29 May.

	<i>Local Bureaux</i>		<i>District Bureaux</i>		<i>Total</i>
	<i>S.A. Nationals</i>	<i>Foreign Africans</i>	<i>S.A. Nationals</i>	<i>Foreign Africans</i>	
1. Agriculture, forestry, fishing	89 612	4 783	312 906	13 299	420 600
2. Manufacturing	569 558	10 834	32 133	941	613 466
3. Mining and quarrying	46 475	4 182	54 569	47 153	152 379
4. Construction	271 647	5 951	38 408	2 576	318 582
5. Wholesale and retail trade	214 581	3 119	5 780	51	223 531
6. Financial institutions	16 003	265	567	—	16 835
7. Private transport ...	34 126	383	2 015	10	36 534
8. Accommodation and catering	91 356	2 014	3 356	18	96 744
9. Other private business services	47 246	610	2 666	141	50 663
10. Public corporations ...	41 669	2 694	7 002	374	51 739
11. South African Railways and Harbours	67 927	4 903	10 857	91	83 778
12. Government Departments and Provincial Administrations ...	130 524	1 798	9 471	91	141 884
13. Local authorities ...	119 133	2 460	8 829	36	130 458
14. Semi-government organisations	10 146	152	1 511	18	11 827
15. Domestic servants ...	561 798	8 746	27 869	174	598 587
16. Other	117 772	2 483	2 773	22	123 050
	<u>2 429 573</u>	<u>55 377</u>	<u>520 712</u>	<u>64 995</u>	<u>3 070 657</u>

These figures show a decline over the end of 1971 of 400 126 African workers (11,5 per cent). The fact that the numbers for affiliated mines were included in 1971 but not in 1972 would account for this.

Of the South African workers, some 357 527 were attested for registration at tribal bureaux and the vast majority of these could be regarded as migrant workers. However, this gives only part of the total picture. The majority of foreign Africans registered (120 372) could also be regarded as migrant workers, as could most African miners (414 333) on mines affiliated to Mine Labour Organisations Limited (see section on mining). Thus, at least some 892 232 African workers could be positively identified as migrant workers. This figure would be substantially increased if the significant numbers of domestic servants and workers in construction, manufacturing, and accommodation and catering services who are also migrant workers could be identified.

The discrepancy between the number of registered African workers and the total figure for the economically active African population can be explained (a) by the vast numbers of Africans involved in subsistence agriculture in the homelands, and/or (b) farming in what are called "black spots" in the so-called white areas, and/or (c) living as labour tenants or squatters on white

farms, and/or (d) if they belong to certain classes of African (including professional men and women, ministers of religion if they are also marriage officers, and certain categories of teacher and public servant) who do not have to register. It is also not possible to give a meaningful "guesstimate" of the number of Africans "illegally" employed in "white" areas.

In December 1966, the African "labour complement" of employers in the Western Cape was "frozen" as from a certain fixed date earlier that year since the Western Province is, in terms of Government policy, a "Coloured labour preference area".⁵ Figures given by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development indicate that between June 1971 and June 1972 the number of African men working in the Western Cape fell by 11 407 from 134 348 to 122 941—a decrease of 8.5 per cent—while the number of African women rose by 1 130 from 13 467 to 14 597—an increase of 8.4 per cent.⁶

In his opening address to the Transkei Legislative Assembly on 23 March, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development and of Bantu Education said that a record number of 225 000 Transkeian citizens entered the labour market in the Republic of South Africa during 1972 and that they earned an estimated R60 000 000 during that year.⁷ (This would give a rather low average, monthly *per capita* income of R22.22. It is, however, difficult to assess how reliable these estimates of earnings are. It could be inferred that a substantial number of these Transkeian workers must be employed in mining, agriculture, and domestic service where wages are extremely low.) In his policy speech the Transkei's Chief Minister, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, said: "formal labour agreements could be negotiated with the Republican Government to obtain not only better pay but more favourable working conditions for Transkei citizens employed in the Republic. Better pay for these people will benefit the individuals concerned but also the Transkeian Revenue Fund by way of higher general tax collected in the Republic and in which we have a 21 per cent share."⁸

The Transkeian Minister of the Interior announced the introduction of "a specialised training scheme for the training of selected labour bureau clerks as employment officers; officers who will not only be concerned with routine placement duties but who will also be required to motivate workseekers and to ensure the selection of the right man for the right job instead of the present-day 'hit-or-miss' method of first-come-first-served."⁹

At the end of 1972, Dr. Francis Wilson's impressive study of

⁵ Muriel Horrell. Legislation and race relations. Johannesburg, S.A.I.R.R., 1971. p. 41-2.

⁶ Hansard 2 col. 128, 16 February.

⁷ Debates of the Transkei Legislative Assembly, 1973. p. 4.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

the South African migratory labour system appeared.¹⁰ This book draws together a vast array of facts relating to migrant labour, weighs the arguments for and against the system, and having decisively rejected it, puts forward six concrete proposals for its gradual elimination. A slightly different view of migratory labour in its South African context was provided by Dr. R. T. Bell.¹¹

Non-Africans registered as unemployed

The Minister of Labour gave the following figures for persons registered as unemployed in his department's ten inspectorate areas at the end of December 1972:¹²

	White	Coloured	Asian
Administrative and clerical	1 989	223	358
Commercial	576	124	142
Skilled trades	390	559	218
Services	315	191	81
Transport	147	256	148
Operatives and semi-skilled ...	427	1 227	615
Unskilled	548	869	280
Other categories	227	18	28
	<u>4 619</u>	<u>3 467</u>	<u>1 870</u>

These 9 956 unemployed persons constituted roughly 0,4 per cent of economically active White, Coloured, and Asian people at the end of 1972. This showed a very slight increase over the 1971 figure. The trend continued during 1973 with a further increase to 10 521 by June 1973.

African unemployment

It remains difficult to obtain reliable data on the extent of unemployment and underemployment among the African population. The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that there were 86 594 Africans (26 891 in the homelands alone) registered as unemployed in July 1972.¹³ Professor J. H. de Lange, professor of economics at the University of the Orange Free State, has guesstimated that African unemployment is rising at the rate of 100 000 a year.¹⁴ (In this connection see the chapter on the African homelands for the gap between workers coming onto the market and the creation of employment opportunities in the Transkei.)

It has been estimated that in 1968 in two districts in the Transkei the unemployment of men and women of 16 years and older was as high as 22½ per cent. The "unemployed" in this

¹⁰ Francis Wilson. *Migrant labour in South Africa*. Johannesburg, S.A.C.C. and Spro-cas, 1972.
¹¹ R. T. Bell. *Migrant labour: Theory and policy*. *South African Journal of Economics* 40(4), December 1972: 337-60.

¹² Hansard 10 cols. 631-2, 10 April.

¹³ Hansard 1 col. 37, 9 February.

¹⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 May.

instance included those doing no work at the time of the survey, nor having worked over the previous four months, those owning no land, having no right to land use anywhere, those not working as farm assistants nor fulfilling household tasks (in the case of women).¹⁵

Unemployment Insurance

The Minister of Labour said that at the end of December 1972 the accumulated funds of the Unemployment Insurance Fund amounted to R158 622 376 (an increase over 1971 of R5 368 428). During that year the fund had received R28 142 893 in contributions from employees (29,8 per cent), employers (23,2 per cent), the State (13,2 per cent) and interest (33,8 per cent) at an average rate of nearly 6,5 per cent. It had paid out R21 720 764 in benefits (89,9 per cent) and administration costs (10,1 per cent).¹⁶

An interesting article on the Unemployment Insurance Fund appeared in the *Financial Mail* on 2 March. The contributions and benefits payable mentioned in this article are contained in Table K below:

TABLE K

Contributions and Benefits in Terms of the Unemployment Insurance Fund

Group	Earnings R per week	Employer's contribution Cents per week	Employee's contribution Cents per week	Benefit payable R per week
1.	Up to 4,50	1	1	Up to 2,45*
2.	4,51-7,50	2	2	Up to 3,50*
3.	7,51-10,50	3	3	4,55
4.	10,51-13,50	4	4	5,60
5.	13,51-16,50	5	5	6,65
6.	16,51-19,50	6	6	7,70
7.	19,51-22,50	7	7	8,75
8.	22,51-25,50	8	8	9,80
9.	25,51-28,50	8	9	10,85
10.	28,51-31,50	8	10	11,90
11.	31,51-34,50	8	11	13,30
12.	34,51-50,00	8	12	15,40
13.	50,01-65,50	8	13	17,50
14.	65,51-82,00	8	14	20,30

*For groups 1 and 2 the fund pays out respectively R2,45 and R3,50 per calendar week, or three quarters of the contributor's weekly earnings, whichever is the less.

It must be stressed that Africans, unlike other workers, are excluded from contributing and thus from deriving any benefits until they are in group 4 where their weekly wage is R10,51 or more. Critics of the Unemployment Insurance Act, or more specifically its implementation, maintain that for the more lowly-paid workers it is more a form of special taxation than a social security benefit.

¹⁵ Johann G. B. Maree. Problems of definition and measurement of the underutilisation of labour in the traditional rural sector of an economy with migrant labour. Unpublished dissertation.

¹⁶ Hansard 9 cols. 616-7, 6 April. (The writer cannot be sure whether these figures are correct. There seems to be a difference in the amounts given.)

RESERVATION OF WORK

No new job reservation determinations were promulgated in either 1972 or 1973. (See page 254 of last year's *Survey* for exemptions from job reservation determinations. A similar question for more recent information was not put in 1973.)

The Economic Development Programme stated that "in order to attain the higher growth rates (i.e. $5\frac{3}{4}$ or 6 per cent per annum) it would, therefore, be necessary to give Non-Whites, within the framework of Government policy, improved training and to utilise their services more effectively by giving them work of a more advanced nature."¹ This view was endorsed by the Reynder's Commission which stated *inter alia*²: "... At present there would appear to be very little statutory constraints on the employment of Coloureds and Asians in the various job categories. With regard to the Bantu, however, various types of restrictions on the occupational and geographical mobility of this group exist stemming mainly from political and sociological considerations, including the attitudes of some trade unions and businessmen. . . . There is a clear tendency for Whites to move away from secondary industry into white-collar jobs. Coloureds and Asians follow in the wake of Whites moving first into higher semi-skilled and skilled blue-collar jobs and then into white-collar occupations. If this movement is not to leave crippling gaps especially in manufacturing industry, Bantu will have to fill these gaps. Consequently provision will have to be made for a much greater degree of mobility than at present for Bantu to move up the occupational ladder, that is to say, the occupational mobility and training of Bantu will have to be adapted to these changing conditions, which in turn, however, presupposes an adaptation of statutory and traditional restrictions as well as the attitude of some trade unions and entrepreneurs in this regard."

Chief Lucas Mangope, Chief Minister of BophuthaTswana, in the speech cited earlier in this chapter had this to say of job reservation:³ "A . . . point, which should be as obvious as it needs to be emphasised, is that job reservation is definitely out in the homelands. On this point there must be complete clarity and finality. It goes without saying that White workers with skills not yet acquired by my people will always be more than welcome in BophuthaTswana. But they must have a genuine willingness to teach and convey their skills to my people. But no semblance of job reservation can be tolerated. Surely you will appreciate that its underlying principle is totally in conflict with our basic human dignity and self-respect."

It has been customary in this section to record pleas for the elimination of job reservation and reaction to such pleas. It

¹ Department of Planning, *Op cit.* p. 41-2.

² R.P. 69/1972, p. 394-5.

³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 March.

seems that the idea that economic growth is incompatible with the rigid white protectionist measures associated with what is known as "job reservation" is gaining much wider acceptance. No useful purpose would accordingly be served by itemizing the minutiae of the debate on this issue. Only really significant trends or statements will be recorded in future. (See, however, the relevant sections of this chapter for developments in particular sectors of the economy.)

The Prime Minister, opening the annual conference of the Motor Industries Federation, said: "It should be clear that in terms of Government policy there is nothing to prevent employers, with the co-operation of the trade unions, taking the necessary steps to bring about improvements in the productive use of non-White labour."⁴ This statement was regarded as being particularly significant.

MANPOWER, LABOUR SHORTAGES, AND TRAINING

Manpower and shortages

Early in 1973 the Department of Labour released its *Manpower Survey No. 9* which related to the situation as at 30 April 1971. This excluded domestics in private service and persons engaged in agriculture but covered all other industries and occupations. This survey indicated that there was a shortage of some 95 655 White and Coloured workers in the Republic or about 5 per cent of such workers. Acute shortages were recorded in the following areas of employment: (a) Professional, semi-professional and technical, 16 585 Whites; (b) Managerial, executive and administrative, 1 410 Whites; (c) Clerical, 8 265 Whites; (d) Sales and related work, 2 532 Whites; (e) Mining and quarrying, 985 Whites; (f) Transportation, delivery and communications, 10 089 Whites; (g) Metal, plastics, machinery parts, and *operatives* in the motor industry, 2 768 Whites; (h) Clothing and textiles, 2 205 Coloured women; (i) Supervisors and other skilled and semi-skilled, 2 028 Whites and 1 510 Coloured people; (j) Service capacities, 4 595 Whites and 2 183 Coloured people; (k) Labourers, 6 035 Coloured men. In addition there were the following shortages in specific sectors:

<i>Industry or Trade</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Artisans</i>	<i>Apprentices</i>
Metal and engineering ...	White	5 892	1 299
Electrical trades ...	White	2 047	220
Motor trades ...	White	2 177	611
Building trades ...	White	6 844	1 146
	Coloured	1 306	371
Ladies' hairdressing ...	White (women)	588	979

It should be borne in mind that the Department of Labour's data

⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 October.

in this regard is rather out of date by the time that it is released to the public and that its figures do not always accord with those issued by organised commerce and industry in the private sector. The Minister of Planning has said that there will be a shortage of 22 000 white workers by 1977.¹ The Economic Development Programme² pointed out that white employment fell short of projected targets by 7 500 in 1970 and by 13 200 in 1971 whilst black employment exceeded projections by 52 200 in 1970 and by 51 700 in 1971.

The Reynder's Commission³ recommended that "increased and continuous attention should be given by the Government, the trade unions and employers to the occupational mobility, particularly of Bantu employees, along the lines indicated in the White Paper on the Decentralisation of Industry.⁴ This concerns very largely the whole question of job reclassification."

Training

In January the Secretary for Labour, Mr. D. J. Geysler, said that the scheme whereby adult white males could be trained as artisans in certain trades had been revised and improved. Training would not exceed three and a half years.⁵ In the House of Assembly in March the Minister of Finance made the following announcement:⁶ "In order to provide for the labour needs of border area industries and industries located within the Bantu homelands, a training programme has been initiated in terms of which factory operatives and industrial workers receive formal pre-service training with Government aid. The Government is conscious, however, of the great need of industries in the White areas for better trained Bantu industrial workers, also in order to improve productivity. An Inter-departmental Committee has therefore been appointed to investigate the desirability and practical feasibility of a system of pre-service training and in-service training of Bantu workers for industrial categories of work in White areas duly released for Bantu persons." The Secretary for Bantu Education, Dr. H. J. van Zyl, is chairman of this committee which consists of representatives of the Departments of Bantu Education, Bantu Administration and Development, Labour, Industries, Planning, as well as the Bantu Investment Corporation, the Decentralisation Board and the Industrial Development Corporation.⁷ In April the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education said⁸: "Skilled artisans will not be trained under the schemes mentioned in the Budget

¹ *Star*, 29 March.

² Department of Planning. *Op. cit.* p. X.

³ R.P. 69/1972. p. 397.

⁴ See pages 199-200 of the 1971 issue of this *Survey* for a summary of these recommendations.

⁵ Department of Information. Press Release 6/73(P), 5 January.

⁶ Hansard 8 col. 3534, 28 March.

⁷ *Financial Mail*, 19 April.

⁸ Hansard 11 col. 685, 24 April.

Speech. The scheme for industries in border areas and industries located within the Bantu homelands provides for the training of factory operatives and industrial workers only. The scheme contemplated for the White areas is still being worked out by the Inter-departmental Committee. The intention is to provide pre-service and in-service training to Bantu workers for industrial categories of work which by law they are permitted to carry out. The jobs for which they will be trained will therefore be on semi-skilled and operative level."

As an outcome of the Inter-departmental Committee's recommendations, the Minister of Bantu Education subsequently announced that his Department would establish eight manual training centres in African residential areas, at a capital cost of R2 000 000, where basic training would be offered in a variety of subjects as part of the school curriculum. From Std. V onwards, children would attend these centres for at least an hour a week. From Form II, pupils doing practical Junior Certificate courses could choose one or two of the following subjects, to each of which they would devote about four hours a week: woodwork, metal work, mechanical practice, building practice, welding, electrical practice, work in plastics, and the operation of punch cards for computers. Adult factory workers would be offered after-hours industrial training at these centres.

In addition, an amount of R1 200 000 would be made available to set up private industrial training centres in industrial complexes in white areas, to serve industrialists with common training needs. The running costs of such training centres would be the responsibility of industrialists who would be allowed tax concessions in this regard. Among the courses which could be offered to black workers were motor and machine maintenance and service, fork-lift operation, machine dismantling, sewing-machine operation, basic mechanical practice, woodwork and machining, finishing, basic electrical work, laboratory practice, punch-card and computer operation.

The Minister's announcement was widely welcomed.⁹

The National Development and Management Foundation issued a paper entitled *Effective use and advancement of your Bantu workers* and is offering training courses either publicly or on an in-company basis. In an article entitled *Manpower training in South African commerce and industry*,¹⁰ Dr. Arndt Spandau pointed out that comparatively few White, Coloured, and Asian youths register for an apprenticeship and that while the training of these apprentices is inadequate in many respects, the training of Africans is almost non-existent. He said: "Even enlightened firms hardly provide any institutionalised training at all. In the factories, most training is done on-the-job, i.e. under the instruc-

⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, and *Star*, 24 October.

¹⁰ *FCI Viewpoint*, February 1973: 5-7.

tion of the foreman rather than under the auspices of a centralised Training Centre. Foremen and journeymen, however, are pre-occupied with production rather than with the instruction of their charges. On-the-job training is, therefore, generally less effective than institutionalised training.”

The business equipment industry registered a training scheme with the Department of Labour with a levy of R1,50 per employee per month on each employer in the industry on a Republic-wide basis.¹¹ Nearly 2 000 White, Coloured, and Asian motor mechanics have received specialised training through one or more of a variety of courses run by Toyota South Africa at its service training centres in Johannesburg and Cape Town. The company is investigating schemes for training Africans, subject to the necessary governmental approval.¹² The Motor Industries Federation is to launch a campaign to stimulate the training of about 20 000 garage repair-shop assistants, “half-way up the ladder to full artisan status.”¹³ Of particular interest in regard to training in the motor industry is Spandau’s *On-the-job training on the assembly-plant of a South African motor vehicle producer: a case study*.¹⁴

The M.L. Sultan Technical College (for Indians) introduced a course to train technologists for the sugar industry.¹⁵

Immigration

White immigration is officially regarded as an important supplement to the Republic’s skilled manpower needs. See the chapters on population and foreign affairs for information in this regard.

Apprentices

The Minister of Coloured Relations said that the following numbers of Coloured apprentices were receiving tuition in 1972:¹⁶

<i>Trade</i>	<i>Number</i>
Welders	20
Electricians	170
Carpenters	524
Motor mechanics	139
Other trades	2 154
	3 007

The Minister also announced the establishment of a training centre for Coloured people under 21 years in the Cape Peninsula.

¹¹ Government Notice No. R.1067, 22 June 1973.

¹² *Rand Daily Mail*, 31 July.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 17 May.

¹⁴ *Rhodesian Journal of Economics* 6 (4), 1972: 26-45.

¹⁵ *Fiat Lux*, March 1973: 32.

¹⁶ Hansard 17 cols. 969-970, 7 June.

Training will begin in January 1974 or as soon thereafter as possible. Initially the training course will be for motor mechanics only but the facilities could be expanded to cover other trades if necessary. The duration of the course will be three years and upon conclusion trainees will take the trade test applicable to apprentices in the motor trade.¹⁷ This has been welcomed by the Motor Industries Federation.¹⁸

The Minister of Indian Affairs said that the following numbers of Indian persons had enrolled for training in 1972 and 1973:¹⁹

<i>Trade</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Number</i>
	<i>1972</i>	<i>1973</i>
Welders	44	37
Electricians	41	56
Carpenters	87	88
Motor mechanics	270	293
Bricklayers and plasterers	115	95
Plumbers and sheetmetalworkers ...	24	22
Radio workshop mechanics	22	17
Fitters and turners	66	57
Woodworkers	132	380
House painters	27	28
	828	1 073

The South African Sugar Millers' Association is establishing a R800 000 apprentice training centre at Mount Edgecombe. This will cater initially for some 100 White, Coloured, and Indian youths at the same rates of pay. At a later stage the millers may introduce training facilities for African apprentices in Zululand.²⁰

EMPLOYMENT IN THE MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY

General

The employment figures given below are based on a sample survey of private establishments conducted by the Department of Statistics.¹ They relate to the month of May and the average monthly earnings as well as the percentage increases in employment and earnings have been calculated by the writer:

¹⁷ Department of Information. Press Release 156/73 (K), 30 May.

¹⁸ *Financial Mail*, 8 June.

¹⁹ Hansard 12 cols. 755-6, 30 April.

²⁰ *The South African Sugar Journal*, November 1972, p. 502-3, 505.

¹ Department of Statistics. Statistical News Release dated 5 September.

	<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Per centage increase over 1972</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings R</i>	<i>Per centage increase over 1972</i>
White ...	281 700	-0,5	385	9,4
Coloured ...	212 300	4,0	101	14,8
Asian ...	78 500	1,6	106	12,8
African ...	687 800	3,8	70	16,7
	<u>1 260 300</u>			

In the wake of student unrest at the University of the Western Cape (for Coloured people) the Cape Chamber of Industries issued what was described as a "private and confidential" circular to employers. This apparently read: "The president of the Chamber, Mr. J. J. Abdenhalden, has advised that it has come to his notice that certain agitators are planning, through the strategy of gaining suitable employment, to foster industrial unrest within the ranks of the Coloured labour force. Employers are strongly advised, therefore, to ensure that acceptable references are provided, and checked, before employment is given. While the vast majority of work seekers are undoubtedly of good faith, some, who may recently have been students at the University of the Western Cape, may be exceptions, and employers are cautioned accordingly."²

The Clothing Industry

Employment and earnings in this sector in May 1973 have been calculated from data given in the *Statistical News Release* mentioned earlier.

	<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Per centage increase over 1972</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings R</i>	<i>Per centage increase over 1972</i>
White	10 100	-5,6	378	14,9
Coloured ...	57 700	3,0	80	15,9
Asian	23 800	-0,4	78	13,0
African	35 500	6,6	69	25,5
	<u>127 100</u>			

Black South Africans constitute 92 per cent of the labour force in this sector and the indications are that it will have to rely even more heavily upon Coloured and African labour in the future.

Wage increases for garment workers were granted by employers in the wake of the Durban strikes (see relevant section of this chapter).³

Three hundred and fourteen students of all races were en-

² *Sunday Tribune*, 23 September.

³ *Garment Worker*, 20 March and 13 April.

rolled for courses by the Training College for the Clothing Industry (Transvaal) in 1972.⁴

The Textile Industry

Employment and earnings in this sector in May 1973 have been calculated from data given in the *Statistical News Release* mentioned earlier.

	Average numbers employed	Per cent age increase over 1972	Average monthly gross cash earnings R	Per cent age increase over 1972
White	8 200	2,5	401	9,6
Coloured	16 000	3,2	90	13,9
Asian	5 600	0,0	103	14,4
African	64 100	7,7	54	14,9
	<u>93 900</u>			

Average African earnings in textiles in May 1973 were among the *lowest* in the manufacturing industry. They were rivalled only by wood and cork but whereas the ratio of average White/African wages in the case of the latter was 6,1 : 1, in textiles the ratio was 7,4 : 1. This sector was rather heavily involved in the Durban strikes, and pay increases for the more lowly-paid workers resulted. One employer in particular was engaged in what could be described as a running battle with trade unionists. In September there had apparently been a diminution in the struggle between the unions and the particular employer.⁵ It seems that the South African Cotton Manufacturers' Association has asked the Minister of Labour to fix minimum wages in all cotton factories and moves are afoot to establish an industrial council in this section of the industry.⁶

The Motor Industry

In February the Minister of Labour said that according to figures furnished by industrial councils the following numbers of people were employed in the motor industry in 1972:⁷

	Numbers employed
White	47 674
Coloured	15 011
Asian	4 096
African	<u>67 263</u>
	<u>134 044</u>

⁴ Information supplied by the Industrial Council for the Clothing Industry (Transvaal), 11 December 1972.

⁵ *Financial Mail*, 14 September.

⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 September.

⁷ Hansard 2 cols. 125-6, 16 February.

In January General Motors South Africa increased its minimum rate of pay for black workers to 44 cents an hour and 46 cents after employees had served the company for six months. The Chrysler plant in Pretoria raised its minimum wage for African workers to R77,25 a month (which seems to have been generally in line with the recently concluded industrial council agreement in the Eastern Cape) with the average wage paid to its black workers rising to R93 per month. It also introduced a Christmas holiday bonus of two weeks' wages, a medical scheme for black workers, and a plan to help employees with their children's education. Ford announced in April that its minimum wages for black workers had been increased to 53 cents per hour, which it believed to be amongst the highest in the manufacturing industry as a whole and certainly in the automobile industry.⁸ (See also section on foreign investment.)

Wages and earnings in other manufacturing industries

Employment and earnings in the following industrial groups in May 1973 have been calculated from data given in the *Statistical News Release* mentioned earlier.

	<i>Food</i>		<i>Beverages</i>	
	<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>	<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>
		<i>R</i>		<i>R</i>
White ...	20 200	355	5 300	360
Coloured ...	19 200	82	6 100	79
Asian ...	8 800	120	400	193
African ...	88 900	65	13 800	76
	<u>137 100</u>		<u>25 600</u>	
	<i>Tobacco</i>		<i>Footwear</i>	
	<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>	<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>
		<i>R</i>		<i>R</i>
White ...	1 100	359	2 300	361
Coloured ...	1 200	79	12 100	94
Asian ...	—	—	16 000	99
African ...	1 900	86	5 500	75
	<u>4 200</u>		<u>35 900</u>	

⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 and 27 January; 28 April.

	<i>Wood and Cork</i>		<i>Furniture</i>	
	<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>	<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>
		<i>R</i>		<i>R</i>
White ...	6 400	329	6 300	373
Coloured ...	6 500	82	9 200	134
Asian ...	1 300	122	2 000	142
African ...	46 500	54	19 600	75
	<u>60 700</u>		<u>37 100</u>	
	<i>Paper and Products</i>		<i>Printing</i>	
	<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>	<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>
		<i>R</i>		<i>R</i>
White ...	7 500	408	17 700	356
Coloured ...	5 100	113	8 000	142
Asian ...	3 700	142	1 900	156
African ...	15 800	89	8 500	98
	<u>32 100</u>		<u>36 100</u>	
	<i>Leather and Products</i>		<i>Rubber Products</i>	
	<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>	<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>
		<i>R</i>		<i>R</i>
White ...	700	346	5 800	361
Coloured ...	4 200	92	2 200	126
Asian ...	600	107	700	127
African ...	1 800	67	14 200	83
	<u>7 300</u>		<u>22 900</u>	
	<i>Chemicals and Products</i>		<i>Non-metallic Mineral Products</i>	
	<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>	<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>
		<i>R</i>		<i>R</i>
White ...	21 700	404	16 400	390
Coloured ...	5 800	114	8 100	111
Asian ...	2 100	151	600	148
African ...	38 400	74	76 700	63
	<u>68 000</u>		<u>101 800</u>	

	<i>Basic Metal</i>		<i>Metal Products</i>	
	<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>	<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>
		<i>R</i>		<i>R</i>
White ...	32 000	396	35 300	405
Coloured ...	1 600	145	11 000	137
Asian ...	600	157	4 900	111
African ...	48 200	73	95 400	75
	<u>82 400</u>		<u>146 600</u>	
	<i>Machinery</i>		<i>Electrical Machinery</i>	
	<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>	<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>
		<i>R</i>		<i>R</i>
White ...	27 400	397	17 000	367
Coloured ...	4 000	124	9 400	122
Asian ...	500	180	1 300	125
African ...	33 100	80	20 300	85
	<u>65 000</u>		<u>48 000</u>	
	<i>Transport Equipment</i>		<i>Miscellaneous</i>	
	<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>	<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>
		<i>R</i>		<i>R</i>
White ...	26 000	380	14 300	406
Coloured ...	14 900	133	10 000	98
Asian ...	1 500	153	2 200	121
African ...	38 000	86	21 600	73
	<u>80 400</u>		<u>48 100</u>	
	<i>Electricity</i>			
	<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Per centage increase over 1972</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>	<i>Per centage increase over 1972</i>
			<i>R</i>	
White	10 200	8,5	415	5,6
Coloured	600	0,0	105	7,1
Asian	—	—	—	—
African	17,500	7,4	80	9,6
	<u>28 300</u>			

Developments in the iron, steel, engineering and metallurgical industries were described on pages 255-258 of the 1972 issue of this *Survey*. In March the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of S.A. announced interim pay increases to the lower categories of workers to compensate for the rapid rise in the cost of living on the following basis:⁹

	<i>December 1972</i>	<i>March 1973</i>
	<i>cents per hour</i>	<i>cents per hour</i>
Category F	34c	37c
Category G	28c	31c
Category H	25c	28c
Category I	24c	27c

In September the National Industrial Council for the Iron, Steel, Engineering and Metallurgical Industry accepted trade union representations that further relief was required and agreed that the following further increases in basic rates should be made: Categories A to AA, 6 cents per hour; Categories AB to D, 5 cents per hour; all other grades, 4 cents per hour with the deletion of Category I, thus giving a rock-bottom minimum of 32 cents per hour. The Council went on to say: "Concurrent with the remuneration changes, steps will be taken to enable the opening up of certain jobs in the Rate C categories to African employees on a controlled basis through an arrangement involving applicants to the Industrial Council and the issue of authorisation for this purpose by the Industrial Council. The parties will be required to conclude the formalities necessary to give effect to the decision of the Council." It was estimated that 8 000 skilled jobs (additional to the 10 000 released from the "closed shop" provisions in respect of category D in 1972) could be progressively filled by African workers in terms of this relaxation.¹⁰

Pulp and paper manufacturers have also succeeded in getting four trade unions in the industry to "accept in principle" that black workers be permitted to do more skilled work connected with engineering in the industry.¹¹

Unilever South Africa, the food, soap, and toiletries group, announced that its basic minimum weekly wage, which was increased from R14 to R16 in November 1972, was further increased to R18,50 from February and then to R21 from June.¹² Premier Milling increased its workers' wages by R2 000 000 in February and extended other benefits as well.¹³ A new wage structure for rubber process workers has also been introduced by Sarmcol at its Howick plant.¹⁴

⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 March; *Star*, 2 March.

¹⁰ *Star*, 13 September; *Sunday Express*, 23 September.

¹¹ *Sunday Times*, 26 August.

¹² *Ibid.*, 3 June.

¹³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 June.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 4 September.

THE DECENTRALISATION OF INDUSTRIES

General

Information on Government policy in connection with the decentralisation of industries is contained in previous issues of this *Survey*¹ and in a booklet by Muriel Horrell, published by the Institute of Race Relations in 1973, entitled *The African Homelands of South Africa*, as are developments in connection with the Physical Planning and Utilization of Resources Act of 1967.²

In 1973 Oxford University Press published Dr. Trevor Bell's important study *Industrial Decentralisation in South Africa*. This is a valuable examination of the options presented by decentralisation together with an examination of the practical implementation of the policy thus far.

Incentives applicable to decentralisation

In mid-1960 the Government offered certain concessions to industrialists as an inducement to divert industry to border areas. These incentives were augmented in May 1964, again in September 1968, and yet again in June 1971.³

At the end of 1972 the Decentralisation Board issued a schedule of augmented concessions offered to industrialists at designated growth points. The table on the following page lists the concessions available subject to certain conditions.⁴

Selected growth points

In February the Cabinet gave its approval to the expansion of iron ore mining facilities at Sishen in the Northwestern Cape. This is coupled with the construction of an 860 kilometre railway line from Sishen to Saldanha Bay, where a bulk harbour for 250 000 to 300 000 ton carriers is to be built. The railway line and harbour will apparently fall under the control of the S.A. Iron and Steel Corporation. This decision proved to be controversial and the press reported that it had caused some dissension within the Cabinet itself.⁵

Physical Planning Act

The Government gave the following information on applications made by industrialists for the establishment or extension of

¹ 1964 pages 165-173; 1968 pages 96-102; 1969 pages 95-100; 1970 pages 104-109; 1971 pages 209-225; 1972 pages 194-203 and 276-286.

² 1967 page 107; 1968 page 94; 1969 page 92; 1970 page 86; 1972 page 278.

³ (a) Muriel Horrell, *The African Homelands of South Africa*. Johannesburg, S.A.I.R.R., 1973, pages 101-105.

(b) *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1971*, pages 211-213.

⁴ (a) Board for the Decentralisation of Industry. Report on Activities for the period 1 January to 31 December 1972.

(b) *Financial Mail*. Decentralisation: Supplement to *Financial Mail* March 30, 1973.

⁵ *Star*, 15 February; *Sunday Express*, 18 February; *Rapport*, 17 June.

Concessions announced in December 1972 (subject to amendment with six months' notice)

Growth points

TYPE OF CONCESSION	Pietersburg, Ficksburg, Tus	Phalaborwa	Brits	Rustenburg	Richards Bay	Ladysmith	Newcastle	Berlin	King William's Town	East London	Kimberley	Babelo	Sitebe	Umtata, Butterworth
<i>Loans available and interest rates</i>														
1. Land and factory buildings	Yes 3%	Yes 2%	Yes 7%	Yes 5%	Yes 3%	Yes 5%	Yes 7%	Yes 3%	Yes 4%	Yes 7%	Yes 6%	No	No	No
2. Plant and current assets	Yes 3%	Yes 2%	Yes 7%	Yes 5%	Yes 3%	Yes 5%	Yes 7%	Yes 3%	Yes 4%	Yes 7%	Yes 6%	Yes 7%	Yes 3%	Yes 1%
3. Housing for White key personnel (in all cases 2½% below the official building society rates)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
<i>Provision of leased buildings and rentals</i>														
1. Factory buildings (in every case depreciation and insurance is incorporated in the given ranges)	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes 7%	Yes 4%	Yes 4%
2. Lease houses for White key personnel (lease finance is 2½% of the cost of the accommodation)	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
<i>Income tax concessions</i>														
The tax is reduced by an amount equal to the following percentages.														
1. Wages for total/additional Bantu/Coloureds for the first two years after establishment/expansion	40%	40%	20%	20%	35%	20%	20%	40%	35%	30%	20%	20%	50%	50%
2. Book value for income tax purposes of total/additional production plant with the exception of transport and office equipment and furniture as on the date of establishment/expansion	10%	10%	10%	10%	10%	10%	10%	10%	10%	10%	10%	10%	10%	10%
<i>Cash grant for moving costs</i>														
Repayment of actual costs of moving from the P/W/V area only	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
<i>Railage rebates</i>														
On selective basis in respect of goods manufactured in the area	Max 15%	Max 15%	No	No	Max 15% for 5 years	No	No	15%	15%	15%	No	No	Max 15%	Max 20%
<i>Rebate on harbour dues 25%</i>														
On goods manufactured in the area and shipped through East London to other South African ports	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
<i>Price preference on purchases by:</i>														
1. Bantu authorities' Purchasing and Disposal Board,	10%	10%	10%	10%	10%	10%	10%	10%	10%	10%	No	10%	10%	10%
2. Other State authorities excepting the SA Railways	5%	5%	3%	4%	Textile 4% Other 3%	Textile 4% Other 3%	Textile 4% Other 3%	5%	5%	5%	3%	3%	5%	5%

factories in "controlled" areas between 19 January 1968 and 31 March 1973.⁶

	<i>Transvaal</i>	<i>Western Cape</i>	<i>Other Areas</i>	<i>Totals</i>
Applications received	8 769	768	1 399	10 936
Applications granted	7 908	644	1 228	9 780
Applications refused	693	111	137	941
Applications under consideration	168	13	34	215

This gives an overall refusal rate of some 8,6 per cent, with the refusal rate in the Western Cape being the highest at 14,5 per cent, followed by the other "controlled" areas at 9,8 per cent, and the Transvaal (mainly the Pretoria/Witwatersrand/Vereeniging area) at 7,9 per cent. (See also the section on African labour bureaux and employment contracts.) The total number of potential African employees affected by refusals during this period was 61 908 (an increase between 1 February 1972 and 31 March 1973 of 9 690 employees or 18,6 per cent).

Proclamation 227 of 5 October 1973 established further "controlled" areas in the Cape, the Orange Free State, and Natal.

Progress in decentralised areas

In its report for the year ended 1972 the Decentralisation Board reported a further marked decline in the number of decentralisation applications received from manufacturing concerns. (The trend in 1970 and 1971 thus continued.) The decline was attributed in part to the general slowing down in the industrial sector. The Board's present target is to provide employment for approximately 14 000 additional African workers a year in secondary industry in the homelands and border areas.

The direct additional investment in projects finalised during 1972 was estimated to be R48 000 000, which could create employment for an additional 7 633 people consisting of 7 103 Africans and 530 Whites. In the 12½ years from June 1960, when the decentralisation programme began, employment had been created in the decentralised areas, including homeland areas, for an additional 107 404 people of whom 85 554 were Africans, 10 714 were Whites, and 11 136 were Coloured or Asian people.

Employment in the Durban/Pinetown complex, which is also officially regarded as a border area, is not included in the figures given above since decentralisation assistance is not given there.

From 1960 until the end of 1972, the total direct additional investment (excluding investments in basic services) by both the private and the public sectors in secondary industry in *all* decentralised areas was estimated at R575 000 000 (an increase over 1971 of R48 000 000 or 9,1 per cent). By the end of 1972 gross commit-

⁶ Hansard 10 cols. 653-4, 13 April. (It will be recalled that an "extension" of a factory was defined in the Act as any increase in the number of African employees.)

ments by the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) in the form of loans, share capital, and industrial buildings amounted to R143 080 000. Industrialists who had been financially assisted by the IDC had themselves invested R295 000 000 in the projects concerned. In the homelands the Bantu Investment Corporation and the Xhosa Development Corporation had committed some R30 500 000 in respect of land, buildings, and loans to industrialists who had established undertakings on an agency basis. In this respect the contribution of the private sector amounted to R26 500 000 (this shows a very marked increase over 1971 of R7 200 000 or 37,3 per cent). The balance of the total estimated investment of R575 000 000 was contributed by the private sector in various ways.

During June 1971 it had been decided that industrialists should be reimbursed by means of cash grants for their immediate and direct costs in connection with the physical removal of their factories and personnel. By the end of 1972, an amount of R198 584 had already been paid out to 25 industrialists in this respect.

Tax and interest concessions granted by the end of 1972 were estimated at R30 980 000. (An increase of R3 580 000 since 1971.)

Commitments for the housing of key white personnel between 1965 and the end of 1972 amounted to R16 700 000. (An increase since 1971 of R4 400 000.) Some 1 295 residential units had been erected. (An increase of 272 on 1971 figures.)

Railway rebates granted between 1 May 1964 and the end of 1972 were estimated to total R4 040 000. (This means that these rebates amounted to some R1 014 000 in 1972.) Harbour rebates granted between 1 December 1968 and the end of 1972 were estimated at R190 500, of which R68 500 was granted in 1972.

The Minister of National Education (for the Minister of Planning) said⁷ that by the end of March 1973 the Government had spent R35 837 546 and the IDC R3 726 501 on the development of industrial townships in border areas. (This shows a marked increase of R14 604 456 since the end of 1971.) The Government had also spent some R233 000 in this way in other decentralised areas outside the homelands. By the end of December 1972 the Government had spent R51 259 000 in border areas and R21 685 000 in other decentralised areas outside the homelands on water schemes partially or wholly serving the areas concerned.

Industrial conciliation in border areas

The Minister of Labour said⁸ that 30 wage determinations and 49 industrial council agreements applied in border areas. One wage determination and six council agreements applied specifically to border areas and not to metropolitan areas as well. As at 31 December 1972 seven exemptions had been granted from council agreements covering the textile industry; clothing industry (Transvaal);

⁷ Hansard 10 col. 652, 13 April.

⁸ *Ibid.*, cols. 633-6, 10 April.

iron, steel, engineering, and metallurgical industries; the biscuit manufacturing industry; the furniture industry; the leather industry (general goods section); and clothing industry (Eastern Province). The exemptions granted in respect of the first-mentioned four industries had expired and the employers had not re-applied for exemption.

Two exemptions from wage determinations covering the clothing industry had been granted but one had lapsed and in the other instance the firm concerned had not yet applied for exemption from the recent determination.

In all instances exemption was granted from wage provisions while in one instance total exemption was granted. Exemptions from wage provisions were granted subject to the observance of rates determined either on the basis of a percentage of the minimum prescribed rates or in accordance with the scale put forward by the applicants or suggested by the Wage Board. Where applicable, a condition of exemption was that wages actually paid at the time of the application for exemption must not be reduced.

Weekly wages in decentralised areas

In March 1973 the *Financial Mail* estimated that the average weekly wage rates for African workers in various areas selected as growth points were as follows:⁹

Brits R9	Berlin R10	Kimberley R8-R9	Ladysmith R8	Newcastle R9
Pietersburg R6	Potgietersrus R6,50	Rustenburg R8	Richards Bay R9	
Phalaborwa R8	King William's Town R8		Babelegi R7	Isithebe R7
Butterworth R7	Umtata R7			

Progress in various border industrial areas¹⁰

Transvaal

The Minister of Planning said¹¹ that some R1 818 268 had been spent on the development of the growth point at Phalaborwa. An abattoir and a Post Office depot had been established. Three Whites and twenty-eight Africans were being employed. However, mining interests in the area had established allied industries on mine property, and the employment position was as follows:

⁹ Decentralisation. *Op cit.*

¹⁰ In earlier reports the Decentralisation Board described developments in specific areas. Its report for 1972 contained no such information.

¹¹ Hansard 3 cols. 148-9, 20 February.

	<i>Whites</i>	<i>Africans</i>	<i>Total</i>
Mining	1 234	3 554	4 788
Allied industries ...	166	601	767
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1 400	4 155	5 555
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

African Oxygen, Alcan, and Foote Mineral Company, have formed a new company, Silicon Smelters, near Pietersburg which is adjacent to the Lebowa homeland. The new plant will employ about 250 people, mostly Africans from that area, while ancillary operations will create an additional 150 jobs for Africans.¹²

Natal

Iscor is spending R3 000 000 on a training centre at Newcastle (presumably for Whites) and plans to have 1 500 apprentices on its payroll by 1976.¹³ It has also embarked upon a R25 000 000 housing project which includes the provision of roads and other essential services. The scheme will provide 3 000 White houses by 1976 and a further 300 annually thereafter, hostel accommodation for 9 000 African workers, new schools, and a R1 500 000 club complex. The White population of the town has risen from 4 000 to 17 000 in four years.¹⁴

In April the Minister of Transport said¹⁵ that R8 435 242 had been spent on the harbour at Richards Bay, R2 855 592 on the new rail link between Broodsniersplaas and Ermelo, R16 387 338 on re-laying the railway line between Ermelo and Vryheid, and R75 562 993 on the new line between Vryheid and Richards Bay.

See also the sections on commerce and industry in the African homelands and the Coloured Development Corporation.

EMPLOYMENT IN AGRICULTURE

The *Star* carried a report on 25 October which summarised some of the results of the 1971/72 agricultural census. The data showed that as at August 1972 all South African farmers (with the exception of Africans) employed 1 500 000 workers. Total wages of these workers amounted to more than R231 000 000, of which R178 617 000 was in cash and R52 672 000 in payments in kind (rations etc.). The *total* wage of a farm worker thus averaged about R154 a year or R12,85 a month, while the *cash* wage averaged about R119 a year or R9,92 a month. The better paid *permanent* agricultural employees were receiving a *total* wage of

¹² *Sunday Times*, 6 May.

¹³ *FCI Viewpoint*, February 1973.

¹⁴ *Star*, 26 June.

¹⁵ Hansard 10 cols. 645-6, 10 April.

about R324 a year (R27 a month) in the Cape, about R234 a year (R19,50 a month) in Natal, about R228 a year (R24 a month) in the Orange Free State, and about R220 a year (R18,33 a month) in the Transvaal. Domestic workers on farms were in receipt of the lowest *cash* wage: some R67 a year or roughly R5,58 per month.

In February the South African Agricultural Union announced that it was to hold top-level discussions on the earnings of African farm workers.¹ The Natal Agricultural Union in May called upon approximately 8 700 farmers in that province to review their labour policies. It recommended a 25 per cent wage increase, which would increase the total wage bill by about R6 750 000.² The N.A.U. has also devised a pension scheme which black workers can join if they wish.³ An impressionistic report on "ill-housed, ill-fed, ill-clothed" Zulu farm workers whose "wages are often so low that they cannot even afford blankets" appeared in the *Sunday Tribune* on 15 July. The general validity of the findings contained in this report was regarded as questionable by the president of the N.A.U.⁴ The S.A. Sugar Association increased its wage bill by R9 000 000, about R4 500 000 resulting from a new industrial council agreement. This covers both workers employed by the S.A. Cane Growers' Association and skilled and semi-skilled mill workers falling within the ambit of the Sugar Manufacturing and Refining Employers' Association. In the case of the latter, the new minimum *cash* rate rose to a range of between R10 and R14 a week, with the all-inclusive minimum for a first-year labourer ranging from R17 to R19 if housing, fuel, light, food and medical schemes were included.⁵

The Sugar Association also set up a R5 000 000 fund with the primary purpose of providing financial assistance to small, sub-economic growers who did not have access to normal credit facilities.⁶

Chief Lucas Mangope, Chief Minister of BophuthaTswana, said that he was so concerned about the treatment of his people by white farmers that he wanted a commission of inquiry to be appointed to look into their working conditions.⁷ The Minister of Agriculture was apparently investigating the possibility of encouraging farmers to provide better housing for their workers with financial assistance from the State.⁸

The Students' Representative Council's Wages Commission at the University of Cape Town provided a brief survey of the history and present conditions of workers in the agricultural sector

¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 February.

² *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 May; *Star*, 22 June.

³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 September.

⁴ *Sunday Tribune*, 15 July.

⁵ *Financial Mail*, 30 March.

⁶ *Fiat Lux*, March 1973: 23.

⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 March.

⁸ *Rapport*, 20 May.

in a paper entitled *Farm Labour*. The two following interesting although incomplete reports on plantation workers were issued by the Wages Commission of the Students' Representative Council at the University of Natal (Pietermaritzburg):

A socio-economic survey into the Saligna Forestry Development Co., at Eston, Natal.

A socio-economic survey into the Government forestry estates of Sihleza at Harding, Nkonzo at Creighton, Ingwangwane at Riverside, Sarnia at Bulwer, Ingeli at Weza and the State Saw Mills at Weza.

A Department of Statistics *News Release* dated 2 July gave data, based on a complete survey of all boards, on employment and gross cash earnings of workers employed by control boards established under the Marketing Act. These statistics relate to the first quarter of 1973 and monthly averages have been calculated by the writer:

	<i>Numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>
		<i>R</i>
White	1 632	384
Coloured	169	47
Asian	2	—
African	538	61
	<hr/> 2 341 <hr/>	

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that 1 277 African labour tenants had been found to be "redundant" in Natal in 1972. Sixty-one of these had been evicted and resettled by his department. This shows a marked decline over 1971 figures. In Natal in 1972 there were 16 350 labour tenants.⁹ (The writer cannot explain the discrepancies between these figures and those given by the Minister for 1971 and mentioned on page 289 of last year's *Survey*.)

The Minister also said that 36 agricultural labour liaison officers inspected 15 628 farms in 1972.¹⁰ (It could be inferred from these figures that, on average, a liaison officer would inspect nearly 1.4 farms per day if he worked a six-day week or nearly 1.7 farms per day if he worked a five-day week.)

The Minister of Prisons said that 357 inspections into the housing, feeding, and working conditions of prisoners hired out as farm labourers were carried out in 1972.¹¹

⁹ Hansard 18 cols. 1003-4, 13 June.

¹⁰ Hansard 10 cols. 667-8, 13 April.

¹¹ Hansard 17 col. 9559 5 June.

EMPLOYMENT IN MINING

According to *Mining Statistics, 1972* issued by the Department of Mines (with the per centage change between 1971 and 1972 calculated by the writer), the average numbers of persons employed in mining during that year were:¹

	<i>All mines</i>	<i>Per-centage increase</i>	<i>Gold mines only</i>	<i>Per-centage increase</i>	<i>Coal mines only</i>	<i>Per-centage increase</i>
White	83 699	- 2,2	37 651	- 1,4	7 495	3,8
Coloured	7 914	2,7	353	2,6	48	2,1
Asian	730	-21,1	21	10,5	255	-3,0
African	593 086	- 5,8	374 469	- 3,1	67 540	-1,8
	<hr/> 685 429		<hr/> 412 494		<hr/> 75 338	

Calculating from figures given for the totals paid in salaries, wages, and allowances, the monthly average cash earnings per head, together with the percentage increase over 1971, were:

	<i>All mines</i>	<i>Per-centage increase</i>	<i>Gold mines only</i>	<i>Per-centage increase</i>	<i>Coal mines only</i>	<i>Per-centage increase</i>
	<i>R</i>		<i>R</i>		<i>R</i>	
White	391	8,3	396	4,8	421	0,0
Coloured	82	3,8	108	8,0	58	- 3,3
Asian	125	27,6	102	14,6	97	15,5
African	24	14,3	21	16,7	21	10,5

The value of the rations, accommodation, and other benefits provided for black workers was not stated but white mineworkers also receive certain benefits not taken into account here. However, in his report for 1972, the Director of Rand Mines Health Department stated that the *annual* cost of feeding an African miner amounted to R70,42 while hospital costs per African miner were R17,10 (i.e. the *monthly* cost to the mines of these two principal benefits was R7,29 per African worker — an increase of 4,6 per cent over 1971. Hospital costs had risen more sharply than feeding costs.) It is not known whether Rand Mines' costs in this regard are representative of the industry as a whole.

Later information indicates that by May 1973 while White, Coloured, and Asian employment in mining and quarrying had declined, African employment had risen by 3,7 per cent. Average monthly gross *cash* earnings in May were: White, R437; Coloured, R102; Asian, R136; African, R30. In other words, average cash earnings had increased by about 11,8 per cent for Whites, 24,4 per cent for Coloured people, 8,8 per cent for Asians, and 25 per cent for Africans, since 1972.² There is some distortion in

¹ R.P. 37/1973, Tables 1 and 3.

² Calculated from: Department of Statistics. Statistical News Release dated 5 September. (The writer regards *Mining Statistics* as a more reliable source than these occasional news releases. The latter are useful, however, as an indication of the latest trends.)

these data resulting from the time lag between the implementation of wage increases for different classes of worker. A brief description of negotiations and wage increases follows later in this section. It should be noted that while the ratio between white/black wages in this sector has been reduced the *cash* gap has increased considerably.

The composition of the African labour force of members and contractors of Mine Labour Organisations Limited, i.e. most of the gold mines and certain coal and other mines, as at 31 December 1972 was:³

<i>Area from which recruited</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	
Cape	65 750	15,87	
Natal	4 479	1,08	
Orange Free State ...	6 673	1,61	
Transvaal	10 275	2,48	
<i>Sub-total</i>			21,04
Lesotho	78 492	18,94	
Botswana	17 471	4,22	
Swaziland	4 273	1,03	
<i>Sub-total</i>			24,19
East Coast	97 713		23,58
Tropicals	129 207		31,19
	<u>414 333</u>		<u>100,00</u>

Although the employment of native-born Africans on these mines rose marginally by 655 between 1971 and 1972 it dropped as a percentage of the total labour force by 1,36 per cent. Foreign Africans constituted 78,96 per cent of the labour force at the end of 1972 compared with 77,60 per cent at the end of 1971. There was a significant increase of 9 841 mineworkers from Lesotho and a very marked increase of 21 447 from tropical territories including Malawi.

Anglo American Corporation was the largest single employer of labour from this source with 117 986 workers — an increase of 4 968 or some 4,4 per cent on 1971. The collieries as a whole employed only 34 774 workers recruited by this agency.

The free market price of gold topped the \$100 an ounce level in May and reached the record price of \$126 in June.⁴ Union Corporation announced the opening of a new gold mine to come into operation in 1977/78 at Jurgenshof in the Orange Free State.⁵

The powerful (white) Council of Mining Unions disbanded in February, leaving the Mine Workers' Union on its own, as a result of the acceptance by the South African Engine Drivers', Firemen's and Operators' Association and the South African Re-

³ Mine Labour Organisations (Wenela) Limited. Report for the year 1972.

⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 May and 6 June.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 22 September.

duction Workers' Association of the Chamber of Mines' offer to accord workers belonging to these two unions mine official's status. This means that the Chamber of Mines will negotiate separately in future with the MWU and the Federation of Mining Unions to which five artisan unions belong.⁶

As various (white) trade unions entered into their separate negotiations with the Chamber of Mines in March, the Chamber announced an increase of approximately 26 per cent in African mineworkers' rates of remuneration on the gold and coal mines at a cost of R27 000 000 to the industry.⁷ Anglo American Corporation announced that the average 26 per cent increase to 120 000 African workers on its gold and coal mines would raise average *cash* wages to about R32 per month. It increased the minimum rate for underground workers from 60 to 80 cents per shift for a twenty-six shift month, giving an initial novice's wage of R20,80 per month, with an increase after six months to 82 cents per shift or R21,32 per month. The maximum wage for 800 African supervisors on Anglo's mines was raised from R68 to R104 per month, while that for operators was increased from R30 to R57 and that of unskilled workers from R26 to R42 per month. The *maximum* rate of remuneration for workers on the surface (mainly in personnel and training) was fixed at R222 per month (presumably only in the short-term). Anglo's Dr. Alex Boraine said that there was a carefully planned schedule to improve the lot of black workers until "every employee has a civilised humane wage".⁸

Johannesburg Consolidated Investments also raised its minimum rate for African novices on gold mines to R20,80 per month, but on its coal mines its new minimum cash rate was raised to R16,90 per month for workers underground and R14,30 for workers on the surface. Average earnings at the new rates of remuneration will range between R25,60 and R33,60 per month.⁹

Both Anglo and J.C.I. provided estimates of the value of accommodation, food, and other services given to African mineworkers: the former at R25 and the latter at R22 per month. If these payments in kind are added to *cash* wages, the average *total* wage for an African mineworker is about R55 per month which brings their *total* wages roughly into line with only the very lowest levels of average African *cash* wages which obtain in other sectors of the economy (the agricultural sector, of course, being a notorious exception). It should be borne in mind that various payments in kind, including social security benefits, are made in many other sectors, e.g. construction, hotel trade, etc.

⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, 5, 9, 10, 12, 25 and 26 January and 8, 9, 10 and 13 February; *Star*, 9, 12, and 22 January.

⁷ *Sunday Express*, 25 March.

⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 26, 27 and 30 March; *Financial Mail*, 30 March and 5 April; *Sunday Tribune*, 8 April.

⁹ *Ibid.*

In June the results of the MWU's negotiations with the Chamber were announced. The white mineworkers' increase added some R10 000 000 to the wage bill from July and covered 10 000 members of the union. In other words, white miners received, on average, a *cash* increase of over R80 per month or nearly three times the new average monthly *cash* wage of African miners. This increase comprised a R50 basic increase plus a R30 attendance bonus aimed at reducing absenteeism plus a discretionary bonus. The new *minimum* rate for a general miner would be about R330 per month. Lump sum payments of R75 for May and R95 for June would also be paid since the new rates would only come into effect in July. The MWU had apparently made the following concessions in exchange for these more than handsome wage increases:

1. trained and competent African workers are permitted to enter working places after blasting and to start work without awaiting a white miner's permission;
2. in working places where blasting has taken place the white miner can instruct a black supervisor to carry out the safety inspection;
3. black supervisors can inspect places where there has been no blasting on the instruction of a white miner who need not be present until two hours later;
4. the number of black supervisors in a forty-five man gang has been increased from three to five;
5. Africans trained for the job are allowed to point out to African drillers the position and direction of holes to be drilled for purposes other than blasting or support;
6. blacks are allowed to prepare primers and press home charges within sight and under the personal supervision of a white miner;
7. blacks are permitted to convey whites in underground locomotives with a designed speed not in excess of 16 km/h.¹⁰

In July the 7 000 white artisans on the gold mines received wage increases of R100 per month adding some R8 400 000 to the wage bill. These increases consisted of a basic R50 plus a R50 "responsibility allowance" which is apparently tied to white co-operation in black job advancement. A white journeyman, given maximum bonuses and the annual service increment, can thus earn as much as R450 a month without overtime. Each artisan union which operates under the umbrella of the Federation of Mining Unions has entered into a separate agreement with the Chamber of Mines on the use of African artisan "aides". About 12 000 to 14 000 African workers seem likely to be affected in this move at black job advancement. Mr. Tom Murray of the S.A. Boilermakers' Society claimed that the mines had indicated

¹⁰ *Star*, 7 June; *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 June; *Financial Mail*, 15 June.

that these "aides" would be able to earn between R100 and R150 a month but the Chamber categorically stated that wages had not been decided upon and that it would be a matter for individual mining houses. Mr. Murray retorted that if these aides did not get between R100 and R150 "it will not be African advancement but African exploitation".¹¹

Later in July the Mine Surface Officials' Association and the Underground Officials' Association were granted a 15 per cent increase in basic wages for most of their 13 000 members and a double cheque in lieu of holiday pay. (At a rough guesstimate this would add another R6 000 000 to the wage bill.)¹²

The newly-formed South African Technical Officials' Association (arising out of the disbanded Engine Drivers' and Reduction Workers' unions mentioned earlier) which had received wage increases of R80 when it abandoned trade union membership for official status in February pressed for a further 20 per cent increase in July. After threats of "working to the book" the Association accepted a 15 per cent increase in August.¹³ (At a rough guesstimate these two wage increases would have added a further R3 900 000 to the wage bill.)

This would indicate that in 1973 the wage bill for Africans who constitute about 90 per cent of the labour force in the gold and coal mining industry was increased by roughly the same amount as that of white mineworkers who constitute only 10 per cent of the work force. If the bounty flowing from the increased price of gold continues to be distributed along these lines the "money-gap" between white/black average earnings will continue to increase in the most deplorable way.

In April about 30 white mineworkers struck for overtime pay at the East Driefontein Gold Mine at Carletonville.¹⁴

During the night of 11 September twelve African miners were killed and a number of others wounded when the South African Police were called in to Anglo American's Western Deep Levels Mine at Carletonville. Eleven were shot by the police while one other was stated to have been killed by rioters.¹⁵ The Minister of Police issued the following statement (recorded here in full):¹⁶

"At about 8 p.m. on 11 September the compound manager of the Western Deep Levels Mine reported to the Police at Carletonville that the Black miners in the compound were threatening him and his Black mine policemen with violence, and were throwing stones at him and damaging mine property. This compound houses 8 470 Black males.

"A major of the South African Police and 21 policemen

¹¹ *Financial Mail*, 6 July.

¹² *Rand Daily Mail*, 19 July.

¹³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 19, 24, and 25 July; *Star*, 1 August.

¹⁴ *Sunday Times*, 8 April.

¹⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 12 and 13 September; *Star*, 13 September.

¹⁶ Department of Information. Press Release 272/73 (P) dated 12 September.

went to the scene. On their arrival they were confronted with an infuriated crowd brandishing sticks and dangerous weapons. The police were met with a barrage of stones and were eventually forced to use teargas. The rioters retired for a short distance and then renewed their attack on the police. When the teargas had no effect the major ordered a baton charge, but the stone throwing increased and the number of rioters augmented. The rioters surrounded the police in semi-darkness and the police were forced to use their firearms. During the fracas the rioters extensively ransacked the beerhall and kitchen and were assaulting other miners in an attempt to get them to join the riot. In the process one of the Black miners was hacked to death by the rioters and numerous others were injured. In an effort to protect the property and other black workers from death and serious injury and in protection of their own lives the police were forced to fire.

"In a report to the police the compound manager stated that he had never seen such a riot in his 20 years of employment.

"I wish to emphasise that the police had nothing to do with the wage dispute between the management and the employees. The police are there only to keep law and order and do not interfere in wage disputes as such. The necessary investigation and post-mortem enquiries will take place as soon as possible."

The chairman of Western Deep Levels said: "We may have made a mistake in our wage structuring . . . maybe in the African mind we have done them an injustice."¹⁷ The Prime Minister, addressing a National Party meeting, deplored the fact that lives were lost and extended his sympathy to the next of kin. He said however, that the incident was "not a strikers' demonstration but a looting mob out to destroy life and property with dangerous and murderous weapons".¹⁸ The United Party's spokesman on justice, Mr. M. L. Mitchell, M.P., said: "as the police themselves will be the first to acknowledge, shooting people to maintain law and order is a last resort and a matter of grave public concern. It is fortunately a rare occurrence in our country". Mrs. Helen Suzman, M.P. (Progressive Party), commented that if a force properly trained in various riot control methods had been used "the ghastly shootings on the mine would probably never have taken place . . . The lesson to be learnt from this is that adequate machinery must be set up through which African workers can voice their grievances about pay and other work conditions. The actual shooting calls for an immediate independent inquiry." Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, condemned the shootings as "an indication that a Black life is regarded as very cheap in South Africa." The prominent African trade unionist, Mrs. Lucy Mvubelo, expressed her condolences to the families of the workers who died and said: "As a Black trade

¹⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 September.

¹⁸ *Star*, 13 September.

unionist I have always advocated that African trade unions be recognised so that such incidents could be avoided. If there were proper communication with the employer at this mine, I am quite certain that this could have been avoided." Mr. Geoff Budlender, chairman of the national council of the National Union of South African Students, commented: "Incidents like this will continue until the Government and industries give attention to the basic underlying issues — full trade union rights for Africans and payment of human wages. As long as heads of industry are able to fix wages unilaterally on the basis of increased profits, starvation wages will continue and more tragedies of this sort will result." On the other hand, the leader of the ultra-right Herstigste Nasionale Party, Dr. Albert Hertzog, said that the incident stressed the dangerous situation which had been created by the Government's economic policy and weak handling of the country's affairs.¹⁹

About eighty (white) University of the Witwatersrand students forced their way into Anglo American's headquarters in Johannesburg on 12 September to demand an open enquiry into the shootings. They demanded that workers' representatives, economists and trade unionists be party to such an inquiry.²⁰ The leader of the Opposition, Sir De Villiers Graaff also called for a full judicial commission of inquiry so that "the underlying causes of the disturbance, the activities of the crowd and the action of the police" could be properly examined.²¹ This call was endorsed later by Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer, chairman of Anglo American.²² At a mass meeting on the University of Cape Town campus white students acclaimed a motion passed by an overwhelming majority calling upon Mr. Oppenheimer to reconsider his position as the university's chancellor if he did not comply with a request to promote genuine (African) trade unions and raise wages.²³ Six hundred students at the University of Durban-Westville (for Indians) attended a prayer meeting for the dead miners and started a collection for their dependants. A similar fund was launched by the Nusas branch at the University of Natal in Durban. The black South African Students' Organisation condemned the shootings, but said no amount of condemnation would bring the miners back to life.²⁴ African students at the University of the North expelled their Students' Representative Council because it had failed to arrange a protest against the shootings.²⁵

By 18 September police armed with automatic weapons and dogs who had mounted a guard on the mine had been withdrawn,

¹⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 September.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*, 14 September.

²² *Ibid.*, 18 September.

²³ *Ibid.*, 14 September.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 September.

but the repercussions continued.²⁶

Among the dead miners were five migrant workers from Lesotho and two from Botswana. Both governments asked their labour representatives in Johannesburg and Roodepoort for reports.²⁷ They also strongly criticised what they regarded as the South African Government's delay in giving them official information of the deaths of their citizens.²⁸ The Lesotho Government declared a national day of mourning on the day on which the five dead Basotho were flown home. About 30 000 Basotho attended a ceremony at Maseru Airport where King Moshoeshoe II and Lesotho's Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, placed wreaths on the coffins and made the first contributions to a special Carletonville Victims' Fund started by the Lesotho Government to aid the dead miners' dependants. Eight representatives of Anglo American and Western Deep Levels mine, including the manager of Anglo's gold division, attended the ceremony. Apparently the South African Government was not officially represented.²⁹

The Transkeian Minister of the Interior said he was "shocked" to learn that two workers from the Transkei were among the dead.³⁰ Chief Buthelezi received a telegram of condolence from Anglo American in respect of one Zulu worker who had been shot dead.³¹

The Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, announced at the opening of the Orange Free State National Party Congress that his Government would refuse to allow into South Africa any United Nations observer who might be sent to attend the inquest into the deaths of the black miners.³²

Seventeen African workers were charged with public violence in the Carletonville Magistrates Court in September.³³ Bail of R20 each was fixed and the case was remanded to 12 October. Among those charged was a Swazi, Mr. James Malambe. The Swaziland Government appointed counsel to watch the proceedings on its behalf.³⁴

The inquest into the deaths of the African miners started in Oberholzer on 8 October and lasted nearly three weeks. The Chief Magistrate of Bloemfontein presided. Mr. T. L. Blunden, Attorney-General of Lesotho, was present while Mr. I. Maisels, Q.C., with him Mr. J. H. Conradie, appeared for relatives of the dead Basotho and kept a watching brief for the Lesotho Government. Mr. Ike Matlare of the Botswana Attorney-General's

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 18 September.

²⁷ *Star*, 13 September.

²⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 and 15 September; *Star*, 15 September.

²⁹ *Star*, 20 September; *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 September.

³⁰ *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 September.

³¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 17 September.

³² *Star*, 19 September.

³³ *Star*, 27 September.

³⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 October.

office represented relatives of the dead Batswana and kept a watching brief for his Government. Also present was Mr. J. Barroso of the Portuguese Labour Office. (It appears that two migrant workers from Mozambique were amongst the dead.)³⁵

According to evidence given by the general manager of Western Deep Levels, Mr. A. Von Holdt, the events of 11 September were the culmination of discontent in connection with wages which had first manifested itself on 4 August, i.e. a month before the shootings. Some 70 to 100 disaffected machine operators were involved in the disturbances on the fatal night when the police were called in. The mine had a complement of some 60 security men and arms and tear-gas were available to them. Of the use of these security men on the night in question Mr. Von Holdt said: "It is our policy not to involve our own security force, if at all possible, in a disturbance of this nature, because of the cruel feelings that could be generated with the force living in close proximity to the workers. In addition, they are not trained for this type of work."³⁶

In presenting his findings in a 70-minute judgment on 25 October, the chief magistrate said that the deaths of the eleven miners were not due to any act or omission by any person amounting to an offence. The men died from gunshot wounds after being shot by the police in the execution of their duty. Separate findings were delivered in respect of each of the eleven fatalities. The magistrate criticized one police officer on the grounds that he should have fired warning shots before giving the order to shoot down the leader of the mob.

At the time of going to press, the inquest on the twelfth miner killed during the course of the riot, but not shot by the police, had not yet been held.³⁷

A further 10 per cent increase in African mineworkers' wages from 1 December was later announced by the Chamber of Mines.³⁸

EMPLOYMENT IN CONSTRUCTION

The employment figures given below are based on a sample survey conducted by the Department of Statistics. They relate to the month of May and the average monthly earnings as well as the percentage increases in employment and earnings have been calculated by the writer:¹

³⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 October.

³⁶ *Star*, 9 October.

³⁷ *Star*, 25 October; *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 October.

³⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 November.

¹ Department of Statistics. Statistical News Release dated 5 September.

	<i>Average numbers employed</i>	<i>Per centage increase over 1972</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings R</i>	<i>Per centage increase over 1972</i>
White	58 900	-0,2	408	10,6
Coloured	47 500	1,5	138	8,7
Asian	5 700	0,0	194	20,5
African	276 800	0,8	71	18,3
	<hr/> 388 900			

The Bantu Building Workers' Act of 1951 enabled Africans to be trained and employed as skilled building workers for work in African areas only at lower rates of pay than workers of other races. The Minister of Labour said that up to the end of 1972 altogether 6 028 Africans had obtained registration as building workers in terms of this Act. This is an increase of nearly 10 per cent over the 1971 figure. The main trades in which these workers had been trained were: blocklaying, 74; bricklaying, 3 041; bricklaying and plastering, 347; carpentry, 1 168; carpentry and joinery, 54; electrical wiring, 23; joinery, 1; painting, 477; plastering, 411; plumbing, 432. It would seem that more bricklayers, carpenters, painters, plasterers, and plumbers are being trained than other tradesmen. A further 454 Africans were in training under this Act by the end of 1972.² The Minister of Labour announced his intention to amend the schedule to this Act to provide for substantial increases in the prescribed *minimum* rates of pay for Africans trained under this Act. The new minima for "Bantu building workers" are likely to be 60 cents an hour (R27 per week) in Cape Town; 55 cents an hour (R24,75 per week) in Durban, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, and Pretoria (central area); and 53 cents an hour (R23,85 per week) in East London, Pietermaritzburg (central area), Bloemfontein (central area), and Kimberley (municipal area). The most welcome aspect of this new determination is that the prescribed minima have been tied to increases in the consumer price index.³

The first group of Africans has successfully completed the course for "Bantu survey technicians" at Mmadikoti Technical College near Pietersburg. This course includes mathematics, applied mechanics, survey study, engineering drawing, physical science, cartography, geography, administration, photogrammetry, motor vehicle maintenance, and town planning.⁴

Roberts Construction introduced a non-contributory pension scheme covering its 17 000 black workers which guarantees a *minimum* pension of R15 per month for the lowest-paid rural

² Hansard 9 col. 616, 6 April. (It would appear that in the some 21 years since this measure was enacted, on average, some 287 skilled African building workers were trained each year. This rate has accelerated in the last few years.)

³ Government Notice No. 1034 dated 15 June.

⁴ *Sunday Times*, 3 June.

worker. To qualify for the pension the employee must have had at least 10 years' service with the company.⁵

On pages 233-4 of the 1971 issue and on page 300 of the 1972 issue of this *Survey* details of various exemptions from certain job reservation provisions in the building industry were given. An exemption of this nature was contained in Government Notice No. R. 585 of 13 April. It confirmed a previous exemption from Work Reservation Determination No. 13 granted in 1972 in respect of a new agreement for the building industry in the Western Cape Province.

The issues connected with skilled manpower shortages and job reservation were outlined on pages 232-4 of the 1971 *Survey* and on pages 301-2 of the 1972 *Survey*. In May the Minister of Labour announced his intention to direct the Industrial Tribunal to make an investigation of job reservation in the building industry in the Republic and called for representations in this regard.⁶

In July the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers, and the White Building Workers' Union warned the Master Builders' Association that it would be detrimental to the industry as a whole if the Minister was asked to intervene in labour problems.⁷ It was later announced that the Minister of Labour had postponed issuing his directive to the Industrial Tribunal until 1974.⁸ Mr. Gert Beetge, leader of the White Building Workers' Union, said that he would be prepared to allow African artisans into the industry provided that minimum wages were raised from R1,40 to at least R2,00 per hour and if the rate-for-the-job was strictly enforced.⁹

EMPLOYMENT IN FINANCE AND COMMERCE

The employment figures given below are based on a complete quarterly survey conducted by the Department of Statistics. They relate to the second quarter of 1973 and the average monthly earnings as well as the percentage increases in employment and earnings have been calculated by the writer:¹

<i>Banks</i>	<i>Numbers employed</i>	<i>Per centge increase over 1972</i>	<i>Per centge monthly gross cash earnings R</i>	<i>Average increase over 1972</i>
White	46 531	5,6	314	8,3
Coloured	1 794	25,2	106	21,8
Asian	635	49,1	142	15,5
African	5 780	10,9	88	23,9
	<hr/> 54 740 <hr/>			

⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 January.

⁶ Government Notice No. 738 dated 4 May.

⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 July.

⁸ *Sunday Tribune*, 5 August.

⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 October.

¹ Department of Statistics. Statistical News Release dated 20 September.

In March, Mr. S. M. Motsuenyane, president of the National African Chamber of Commerce, announced that the Registrar of Financial Institutions had agreed in principle to register an African bank in the Republic. Between R1 000 000 and R5 000 000 would be required for this purpose and 49 per cent of the total shareholding would be in the hands of African private investors, 21 per cent would be held by homeland governments, and 30 per cent by white financial institutions.² Barclays Bank said later that they were considering joining with other (white) banks to set up this new African bank. Barclays had 1 700 000 customers' accounts in South Africa, of which 600 000 belonged to Africans.³ Barclays has apparently also worked out a new scheme for assisting African businessmen with financial loans.⁴

In answer to a shareholder's question, Dr. Jan Marais, chairman of Trust Bank, said that the company paid all its employees on the basis of merit, regardless of colour. About 16 per cent of the staff were black and the positions they filled included cleaners, artisans, clerks, tellers, sales and administrative staff.⁵

The Minister of Finance has announced a Cabinet decision based on the third report of the commission of inquiry into fiscal and monetary policy in the Republic. Apparently foreign control over a South African bank will have to be reduced to 50 per cent within a reasonable period of "say 10 years".⁶

The News Release mentioned above also gave data on employment and earnings in building societies. These, too, relate to the second quarter of 1973 and are based on complete quarterly surveys. Monthly averages and percentage increases have been calculated by the writer:

<i>Building Societies</i>	<i>Numbers employed</i>	<i>Percentage increase over 1972</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i> <i>R</i>	<i>Percentage increase over 1972</i>
White	9 122	7,6	302 ⁷	-0,7
Coloured	314	13,0	117	4,5
Asian	156	31,1	165	5,1
African	1 718	9,3	76	15,2
	<hr/> 11 310 <hr/>			

White, Coloured, and Asian average wages would all have been eroded by the rise in the cost of living unless they were suitably adjusted later in the year.

Sanlam, the South African insurance giant, has decided to strip its buildings of all discriminatory signs, to do away with

² *South African Digest*, 6 April.

³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 23 June.

⁴ *Rand Daily Mail* (Township Edition), 25 August.

⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 May.

⁶ *Star*, 10 May.

⁷ It is not immediately apparent why average wages should have declined, even minimally, for white employees. There may have been a spate of resignations of senior staff and a large intake of young recruits. There may also be an error in the figures given.

separate lifts and counters for white and black people, and to pay black staff the same salaries as white staff in similar jobs.⁸

The same News Release gave data on employment and earnings in insurance companies, also based on complete quarterly surveys. These, too, relate to the second quarter of 1973 and monthly averages and percentage increases have been calculated by the writer.

<i>Insurance Companies</i>	<i>Numbers employed</i>	<i>Per centage increase over 1972</i>	<i>Average monthly gross cash earnings</i>	<i>Per centage increase over 1972</i>
<i>R</i>				
White	25 669	-2.1	340	7.6
Coloured	3 318	12.6	124	7.8
Asian	734	12.2	227	7.1
African	4 179	2.3	90	16.9
	33 900			

White, Coloured, and Asian average wages in this sector would also have been eroded by the rise in the cost of living unless there were adjustments later in the year.

A Department of Statistics News Release dated 2 July gave data, based on quarterly sample surveys, on employment and gross earnings in the wholesale, retail, motor trades and in licensed accommodation establishments. These statistics relate to the first quarter of 1973 and monthly averages and percentage increases in the wholesale and retail trades have been calculated by the writer. The motor trade and accommodation establishments are being included here for the first time and no percentage increases are thus given.

<i>Wholesale</i>	<i>Numbers employed</i>	<i>Per centage increase over 1972</i>	<i>Average monthly salaries and wages</i>	<i>Per centage increase over 1972</i>
<i>R</i>				
White	77 100	0.3	335	4.7
Coloured	20 400	2.5	95	13.1
Asian	10 100	4.1	132	10.9
African	82 300	0.7	63	8.6
	189 900			

Provided that there were no suitable adjustments later in the year white earnings here would have been eroded by the rise in the cost of living. African wages would have barely kept pace.

⁸ *Sunday Express*, 2 September.

<i>Retail</i>	<i>Numbers employed</i>	<i>Per centage increase over 1972</i>	<i>Average monthly salaries and wages</i>	<i>Per centage increase over 1972</i>
			R	
White	125 100	2,4	179	11,9
Coloured	32 800	4,1	77	16,7
Asian	16 900	1,8	104	9,5
African	112 100	0,5	52	13,0
	<u>286 900</u>			

<i>Motor</i>	<i>Numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly salaries and wages</i>
		R
White	44 300	298
Coloured	10 600	98
Asian	3 100	137
African	51 700	63
	<u>109 700</u>	

<i>Licensed Accommodation Establishments</i>	<i>Numbers employed</i>	<i>Average monthly salaries and wages</i>
		R
White	9 300	193
Coloured	6 600	61
Asian	5 000	88
African	32 300	38
	<u>53 200</u>	

In many instances Africans, and in some instances Coloured and Asian people, employed by hotels would also receive payments in kind by way of accommodation, food, and clothing. Some Whites would also receive these payments in kind.

EMPLOYMENT IN THE SERVICE OF PUBLIC AUTHORITIES

Central Government

In a Statistical News Release dated 5 July, the Department of Statistics gave employment figures for the Central Government together with estimates of earnings relating to the first quarter of 1973. The average per capita monthly earnings, together with percentage increases, have been calculated by the writer from the total figures given. It should be borne in mind that employees in the service of homeland governments are no longer included in these statistics and this could account for the apparent decline in the employment of Africans and Whites.

	<i>Numbers employed</i>	<i>Per cent increase over 1972</i>	<i>Average monthly salaries and wages</i> R	<i>Per cent increase over 1972</i>
White	102 881	-1,5	336	7,7
Coloured	35 068	7,4	163	2,5
Asian	8 387	7,3	232	5,0
African	110 594	-14,1	59	3,5
	<hr/> 256 930			

In February the Minister of Finance announced a general salary increase by way of a 15 per cent pensionable allowance from 1 April, 1973.¹ This covered all officials and employees in the Public Service and included the services and employees of the provincial administrations. It was later extended to teachers as well.

The report of the Commissioner of the South African Police for the year ended 30 June 1972² showed that between 1970/71 and 1971/72 the ratio of police to 1 000 of the population rose slightly from 1,40 to 1,48. The shortfall between the authorised and actual establishment of white policemen in that year was 1 575 and that of black policemen 658. The shortfall of white civilian employees was 145 and of black 40. Staff wastage during that year amounted to 1 881 Whites and 806 Blacks. The Reserve Police Force consisted of 15 806 Whites and 3 524 Blacks.

The Minister of Police said that the strength of the Police Force at the end of 1972 was:³

	<i>White</i>	<i>Coloured</i>	<i>Asian</i>	<i>African</i>
Officers	1 901	7	3	10
Warrant Officers ...	2 106	—	—	—
Chief Sergeants ...	—	6	3	18
Senior Sergeants ...	—	27	16	125
Sergeants	5 000	250	148	2 028
Constables	7 427	1 053	549	10 807
Others	2 409	32	9	316
	<hr/> 18 843	<hr/> 1 375	<hr/> 728	<hr/> 13 304

This shows a decline of 322 Whites, 56 Coloured people, 15 Asians, and 204 Africans since 1971.

Examples of comparative salary scales in the police force were given on page 311 of last year's *Survey*. There has been no change in these scales but the police also received the 15 per cent pensionable allowance granted to the public service on 1 April.

The Minister of Police also said that nine police stations in KwaZulu, eight in the Transkei, one in the Ciskei, one in Gazankulu, three in Lebowa, one in BophuthaTswana and eleven in

¹ Hansard 3 cols. 898-9, 19 February.

² R. P. 23/1973.

³ Hansard 4 cols. 229-30, 27 February.

other areas of the Republic were being administered by Africans. Seven were being administered by Coloured people and one by an Indian.⁴

At the opening of the Transkei Legislative Assembly the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development announced the establishment of a High Court for the Transkei. Four magistracies were being administered by Africans and there were fourteen African assistant magistrates at the remaining twenty-two magistrates' offices. Whereas in 1963 there were only two legally qualified African officers in the Transkei, there were twenty at the present time.⁵

The Minister of Prisons said that 427 Whites and two Coloured people held commissioned rank in the prisons service. Five posts for Coloured/Asian commissioned officers and three for Africans were vacant but were expected to be filled in the near future. Two African commissioned officers had been transferred to the Transkeian Government in 1972.⁶ Examples of comparative salary scales for prison warders were given on page 313 of last year's *Survey*. The Deputy Commissioner of Prisons has drawn attention to the unfavourable working conditions in the service compared with the police and defence force.⁷

The Minister of Defence gave a detailed breakdown of *maximum* local rates of pay for African labourers employed in each command of the South African Defence Force. These ranged from as low as R276 per annum (R23 per month) at Ellisras in the Northern Transvaal to R1 080 per annum (R90 per month) at Saldanha in the Western Province.⁸ The South African Navy has started recruiting (white) women to the permanent staff.⁹ A new national service scheme has been instituted whereby a limited number of youths doing eighteen months or twenty-four months service instead of the usual twelve months will complete their commitments in one stint without having to return to camp every year for five years after their initial training. Those completing eighteen months will receive a R900 lump sum bonus if they are officers or R750 if they are other ranks, officers serving twenty-four months a bonus of R3,600, and other ranks R3 000.¹⁰

The Minister of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs said that, apart from posts in education, there were 85 authorised posts for Whites (filled by 80 people) and 18 for Coloured people (filled by 15 people) on the establishment of the Department of Coloured Relations. In South West Africa the authorised establishment of this Department was 56 posts for Whites (filled by 44 people), 35 posts for Coloured people (filled by 35 people), and

⁴ Hansard 1 cols. 59-60, 9 February.

⁵ Debates of the Transkei Legislative Assembly, 1973, p. 2.

⁶ Hansard 3 cols. 199-200, 23 February.

⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 October.

⁸ Hansard 11 cols. 741-4, 27 April.

⁹ *Sunday Express*, 7 January.

¹⁰ *Star*, 20 September.

54 posts for Rehoboth personnel (filled by 14 people). In the Administration of Coloured Affairs there were no authorised posts for Whites and 2 976 posts for Coloured people. Of the latter, 591 were filled by Whites (presumably on a temporary basis) and 1 961 by Coloured people.¹¹

The Minister of Indian Affairs said that, apart from posts for teachers, there were 636 authorised posts (35 of them vacant) on the establishment of his Department. Of those, 160 were occupied by Whites and 441 by Indians. The most senior post occupied by an Indian was that of education planner on the salary scale of R5 760—R6 000 (plus 17½ per cent).¹²

In connection with authorised posts, apart from those for teachers, in his Department, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that of the 2 911 posts, 2 128 were occupied by Whites and 783 by Africans. The most senior post occupied by an African was that of lecturer in the law training unit on the salary scale R3 000 x 120—3 600 x 150—4 050.¹³

Dr. J. J. S. Weidemann has given the following information on employment (excluding labourers) in the Public Service in certain homelands:¹⁴

	Year	Whites		Africans		Totals
		Number	Per Centage	Number	Per Centage	
Transkei	1968	328	10,4	2 821	89,6	3 149
	1969	310	9,7	2 877	90,3	3 187
	1970	295 ¹⁵	8,5	3 191 ¹⁶	91,5	3 486
	1971	279	7,2	3 581	92,8	3 860
Ciskei	1969	202	32,1	427	67,9	629
	1970	203	28,6	508	71,4	711
	1971	209	25,7	605	74,3	814
Basotho Qwaqwa	1969	20	14,2	48	85,8	141
	1970	23	11,5	48	88,5	200
				129 ¹⁷		
1971	14	10,0	126	90,0	140	
BophuthaTswana	1969	263	36,3	461	63,7	724
	1970	295	37,1	501	62,9	796
	1971	260	30,8	583	69,2	843
Lebowa	1969	186	41,9	258	58,1	444
	1970	239	13,9	1 479	86,1	1 718
	1971	201	23,8	645	76,2	846
Venda	1969	45	77,6	13	22,4	58
	1970	61	5,9	970	94,1	1 031
	1971	89	24,0	282	76,0	371
Gazankulu	1969	48	29,4	115	70,6	163
	1970	80	29,9	188	70,1	268
	1971	96	26,6	265	73,4	361

¹¹ Hansard 8 cols. 525-6, 26 March.

¹² Hansard 11 col. 681, 24 April.

¹³ Hansard 3 cols. 157-8, 20 February.

¹⁴ J. J. S. Weidemann, *Tuisland- en Grensgebied ontwikkeling—Die Betekenis Daarvan en die Vordering wat Gemaak Word.* IN *SABRA Journal of Racial Affairs*, January 1973, p. 9.

¹⁵ Includes four members of the S.A.P.

¹⁶ Includes 101 members of the Transkei Police.

¹⁷ Teachers.

	Year	Whites		Africans		Totals
		Number	Per Centage	Number	Per Centage	
Owambo	1969	32	47,1	36	52,9	68
	1970	46	21,8	165	78,2	211
	1971	55	41,4	78	58,6	133

In the wake of the report by the Wages Commission, mentioned in the section on agriculture, the Department of Forestry in Natal announced an investigation into working conditions and granted wage increases.¹⁸

Provincial Administrations

The Statistical News Release mentioned earlier in this section gave employment figures for the Provincial Administrations together with estimates of earnings relating to the first quarter of 1973. The average per capita monthly earnings, together with percentage increases, have been calculated by the writer from the total figures given:

	Numbers employed	Per centage increase over 1972	Average monthly salaries and wages	Per centage increase over 1972
			R	
White	100 516	2,1	320	7,7
Coloured	15 822	13,1	75	5,6
Asian	2 403	2,9	122	11,9
African	81 605	3,1	46	9,5
	<u>200 346</u>			

Local Authorities

The Statistical News Release mentioned earlier in this section also gave employment figures and earnings based on a sample survey for Local Authorities (municipalities, etc.). These figures include the Transvaal Board for the Development of Peri-urban Areas, the Bantu Resettlement Board, and the Natal Local Health Commission and relate to the first quarter of 1973. The average per capita monthly earnings, together with percentage increases, have been calculated by the writer from the total figures given:

	Numbers employed	Per centage increase over 1972	Average monthly salaries and wages	Per centage increase over 1972
			R	
White	50 000	0,8	331	5,8
Coloured	19 100	2,1	107	5,9
Asian	3 900	2,6	88	22,2
African	120 400	-0,5	54	8,0
	<u>193 400</u>			

¹⁸ Rand Daily Mail, 16, 17 and 20 April.

The municipality of Durban was hit by the black workers' strikes of January and February (see relevant section) during which a 15 per cent increase (or a minimum of R2 per employee per week) was granted. This brought the basic minimum to R60,66 per month.¹⁹ At the time of these strikes the wages of the lowest-paid workers in certain Witwatersrand municipalities were: Randfontein, R37,27 per month; Kempton Park, R43 per month; Randburg, R37,27 per month; Benoni, about R52 per month;²⁰ Alberton, about R37 per month.²¹

The Cape Town City Council granted its black employees increases of 12,5 per cent (see pages 244 to 245 of last year's *Survey* in this connection), while the Pietermaritzburg City Council also increased the wages of its African workers by up to 50 per cent in some instances.²² Pretoria City Council increased black wages by between 11 and 18 per cent and Randfontein increased black wages by 15 per cent from April 1 and by a further 5 per cent in July.²³ Alberton and Krugersdorp also granted a 15 per cent wage increase, while Benoni raised its black wages by 33 per cent (which would bring its basic minimum to about R69 per month).²⁴ Edenvale granted an average black wage increase of 22 per cent and Randburg set its new black minimum at R65 per month.²⁵

In February African bus drivers employed by the Johannesburg City Council expressed their discontent with wage rates then current. After negotiations a settlement was reached whereby the Council granted a 3 cents an hour increase additional to a general 25 per cent increase for black municipal employees coming into effect on 1 July. The latter raised the minimum rate of African male employees by R13,35 from R47,67 to R61,02 per month.²⁶ After a work stoppage by African bus drivers in Springs, a settlement was reached between the Council and these employees which raised the maximum wage from R26 to R36 per week.²⁷

EMPLOYMENT IN THE RAILWAYS, HARBOURS AND AIRWAYS ADMINISTRATION

The Minister of Transport gave figures on employment and earnings in the South African Railways and Harbours Administration at the end of 1972.¹ The monthly average wages together with per centage increases have been calculated by the writer.

¹⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 February.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 10 February.

²¹ *Star*, 20 March.

²² *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 February.

²³ *Ibid.*, 30 March.

²⁴ *Star*, 20 March; *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 and 28 February.

²⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 February; *Star*, 24 May.

²⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 February and 30 June.

²⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 3 July.

¹ Hansard 2 cols. 78-9, 13 February.

	<i>Numbers employed</i>	<i>Per centage increase over 1971</i>	<i>Average monthly salaries and wages R</i>	<i>Per centage increase over 1971</i>
White	108 729	-2,5	320	0,6
Coloured	15 855	4,1	72	1,4
Indian	1 195	-15,2	55	1,9
African	99 538	0,04	54	1,9
	<u>225 317</u>			

A general salary increase of 15 per cent was granted to all staff members with effect from January 1973.² A spokesman for the Ministry of Transport later confirmed that an average black wage increase of 22 per cent, compared with the white increase of 15 per cent, had been granted.³ All servants of the Administration receive benefits such as travelling concessions, annual free passes, and medical treatment, while certain workers are issued with uniform clothing. Some also receive a rent subsidy or accommodation in departmental houses and others participate in a departmental food scheme. Such benefits cannot be readily evaluated.

The following figures supplied by the Minister gave a clearer picture of the wage structure in the administration:⁴

<i>Monthly wage</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Per centage</i>	<i>Coloured</i>	<i>Per centage</i>	<i>Indian</i>	<i>Per centage</i>	<i>African</i>	<i>Per centage</i>
R50 or less	—	0,0	20	0,1	—	0,0	37 641	37,9
R51 —								
R100	2 020	1,8	14 101	89,9	1 112	90,9	59 062	59,4
R101 —								
R200	35 972	32,0	1 539	9,8	112	9,1	2 685	2,7
R201 —								Less than
R300	46 968	41,7	36	0,2	—	0,0	4	0,1
R301 —								
or more	27 562	24,5	—	0,0	—	0,0	—	0,0
	<u>112 522</u>	<u>100,0</u>	<u>15 696</u>	<u>100,0</u>	<u>1 224</u>	<u>100,0</u>	<u>99 392</u>	<u>100,0</u>

From further information it appears that 13 302 or 11,8 per cent of the Whites earn more than R400 per month.⁵ On the other hand, no Coloured person earns more than R272 per month, no Indian more than R156 and no African more than R218.⁶ This does, however, show improvement over last year's figures for more black employees are moving into rather better paid grades.

The Report of the Railways and Harbours Board for the year ended 31 December 1972,⁷ showed that in the 32 826 "bread and butter" grades there were 6 550 vacancies (19,95 per cent) while there were 2 548 vacancies (54,48 per cent) in the 4 677 training

² Department of Information. Press Release 443B/72(P) dated 1 December 1972.

³ *Star*, 10 February.

⁴ Hansard 10 col. 647, 10 April. (No date was specified.)

⁵ Hansard 7 col. 494, 20 March. (No date was specified.)

⁶ Hansard 3 cols. 202-4, 23 February.

⁷ R.P. 56/73.

and entry grades. This shows a further deterioration in the manpower situation since 1971 and it should be noted that these figures do not include artisans.

The introduction of African employees as "train marshallars" was mentioned on pages 319-320 of last year's *Survey*. Altogether 3 445 black candidates were tested and 1 468 were selected for training in 1972. The Board reported that at least 85 per cent of the selected candidates completed training satisfactorily and more than 80 per cent were considered successful on the job.

Figures for the numbers of black employees temporarily employed on work normally performed by white graded staff as at 28 February 1973 were:⁸ 277 Coloured people, 134 Indians, and 2 646 Africans. The *daily* wages of these employees were:

	<i>Minimum Rate</i>	<i>Maximum Rate</i>
	R	R
Coloured	2,81	6,00
Indian	2,46	6,00
African	1,96	5,11

The increase in these wage rates ranges from 22½ to 45 per cent, a marked improvement although the African minimum is still obviously very low. The numbers of black staff performing work previously done by unskilled and ungraded white staff were: 50 Coloured people and 343 Africans at the following *daily* rates of pay:

	<i>Minimum Rate</i>	<i>Maximum Rate</i>
	R	R
Coloured	2,35	3,50
African	1,73	2,31

Here, too, wages have been increased by between 20½ and 30 per cent.

South African Railways is appointing 34 Africans as crane drivers and 87 Africans as forklift drivers in place of Whites in Durban Harbour, a move of considerable importance.⁹

There is a shortage of some nine white officers, 402 white other ranks and 202 black other ranks in the South African Railways and Harbours Police.¹⁰

EMPLOYMENT IN THE DEPARTMENT OF POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS

The Minister of Posts and Telegraphs has given the following employment and earnings figures in his Department as at 31 March 1973 (percentages calculated by the writer):¹

⁸ Hansard 10 cols. 646-7, 10 April.

⁹ *Star*, 8 September.

¹⁰ Hansard 1 col. 51-2, 9 February.

¹ Hansard 9 cols. 627-8, 6 April.

Annual Salary	White	Per centage	Coloured	Per centage	Asian	Per centage	African	Per centage
R600 or less	—	0,0	1 053	22,6	10	1,6	7 929	52,5
R601 — R1 200	793	1,9	2 829	60,7	306	49,8	6 941	46,0
R1 201 — R2 400	22 294	54,6	704	15,1	293	47,6	200	1,3
R2 400 plus	17 761	43,5	73	1,6	6	1,0	33	0,2
	40 848	100,0	4 659	100,0	615	100,0	15 103	100,0

The Minister announced a general salary increase consisting of a 15 per cent pensionable allowance as from 1 April 1973. He also said:² "Advantage is also being taken of this opportunity to narrow the gap between the wages of White and non-White members of staff". Calculating from other data given by the Minister³ and using figures at the end of March each year as a base, it appears that African employment in the Post Office increased by 2,9 per cent in 1971, 8,1 per cent in 1972, and 6,9 per cent in 1973.

The Post Office is employing 33 Africans, 5 Coloured people, and 4 Indians in its administrative division. The highest salary being paid to an African is on the grade R2 880—R3 240 per annum, that to a Coloured person is on the grade R3 840—R4 320 per annum, and that to an Indian is on the grade R3 840—R4 320.⁴

The Minister said that the numbers of black workers temporarily occupying posts in "white" areas usually occupied by white staff were: 182 Coloured postmen and one messenger; 211 Asian postmen; and 451 African postmen and two messengers.⁵ (This shows a rather sharp decline over the previous year's figures. This could be explained if formerly "white" posts had been transferred to the black establishment.)

There was an estimated shortage of some 414 technicians and 1 100 telephone electricians in the Department.⁶ Sixty-six (white) women were appointed as telephone electricians—a formerly all-male preserve.⁷

The Postmaster-General, Mr. Louis Rive, said that blacks will be used "in the lower echelons" of technical jobs in the Post Office in co-operation with the (white) Staff Association.⁸ The chairman of the Council of Post Office Engineers, Mr. Louis Zerbst, said that the number of professional Post Office engineers had dropped from 225 per million telephones in 1961 to 142 at the present time.⁹

² Hansard 3 col. 900, 19 February.

³ Hansard 16 cols. 951-2, 30 May.

⁴ Hansard 1 col. 60, 9 February.

⁵ Hansard 10 col. 651, 12 April.

⁶ Hansard 4 col. 272, 2 March.

⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 June.

⁸ *Ibid*, 14 June.

⁹ *Ibid*, 31 August.

The following information on positions occupied by black personnel was released in October:¹⁰

<i>Designation</i>	<i>Numbers employed</i>
Postmaster, Grade III	7
Postmaster, Grade IV	33
Superintendent	2
Clerk	334
Postal Assistant	521
Counter Aid	29
Chief Inspector of uniformed staff ...	1
Senior Inspector of uniformed staff ...	13
Inspector of uniformed staff	115
Senior postman	135
Postman	1 930
Senior telephonist	6
Telephonist	228
Foreman	163
Postal Aid	3 247
Messenger	1 415
Charwoman	147
Telephone Electrician	68
Learner Telephone Electrician	100
Senior Telephone worker	282
Telephone worker	3 579
Labourer	9 402
	<hr/>
	21 757

DOMESTIC SERVANTS

The most recent figures available to the writer on the remuneration of domestic servants in certain areas were contained in Table 6.1 of a Report, 11-03-07, by the Department of Statistics which gave the average monthly wages paid to full-time general servants in October 1971, where payments in kind represent *employers' estimates*. Some extracts are:

	<i>Cash</i>	<i>Kind</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
	<i>R</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>increase</i>
				<i>1970/71</i>
Cape Town:				
African woman	26,59	26,14	52,73	5,2
Coloured woman	25,38	26,88	52,26	8,6
Port Elizabeth:				
African woman	19,18	23,22	42,40	15,0
Coloured woman	17,63	24,45	42,08	15,3
East London:				
African woman	14,36	20,47	34,83	8,8
Kimberley:				
African woman	14,80	18,59	33,39	7,6
Pietermaritzburg:				
African man	17,35	19,81	37,16	10,2
African woman	16,44	20,17	36,61	10,6

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 5 October.

	Cash R	Kind R	Total R	Percentage increase 1970/71
Durban:				
African man	14,67	20,90	35,57	6,4
African woman	17,59	20,89	38,48	12,4
Pretoria:				
African man	21,47	22,50	43,97	14,0
African woman	18,70	23,62	42,32	15,0
Witwatersrand:				
African man	26,61	25,26	51,87	13,2
African woman	21,61	22,79	44,40	15,2
Bloemfontein:				
African woman	13,86	21,25	35,11	12,1
Vaal Triangle:				
African woman	16,90	20,15	37,05	10,3
O.F.S. Goldfields:				
African woman	16,56	19,95	36,51	20,3

In April the Students' Wages and Economics Commission at the University of Cape Town produced a *Report on the Wages and Laws affecting Domestic Servants in Cape Town*. This suggested that a domestic servant with three children whose husband contributed 24 per cent of the household's food, clothing, and educational costs plus *all* fixed items, would require a minimum wage of R63,92 per month in Cape Town based on the standard of the *minimum effective level*. If the employer provided food and clothing for the domestic worker then the minimum *cash* wage required on this basis would be R54,21 per month. A further suggestion about a "fair wage" which would exclude the earnings of another breadwinner was made. This recommendation was for a wage of R97,68 per month or R87,97 if payments in kind were deducted.

In September, Mrs. Sue Gordon, Southern Transvaal Regional Secretary of the South African Institute of Race Relations, who is closely associated with the Domestic Workers' and Employers' Project, published a booklet entitled *Domestic Workers: a handbook for housewives*. This recommended, *inter alia*, a minimum cash wage of R45 per month for a domestic worker in 1973 with annual increments based on the rise in the consumer price index. Other recommendations were that daily workers should receive a minimum of R3 for an eight-hour day while chargs engaged in piece-work should be paid a minimum of 60 cents an hour. A complementary pamphlet entitled *To the Domestic Worker* was widely distributed in the Johannesburg area at the same time. (This referred to the minimum cash wage of R35 per month for living-in domestic workers proposed in 1971.)

DOCKWORKERS

See pages 325 to 328 of last year's *Survey* for an account of the industrial unrest in South Africa's major ports during 1972. In January the Students' Wages and Economics Commission at the University of Cape Town published a brief evaluation of events

in this connection entitled *An assessment of the work-to-rule carried out by stevedores in Cape Town during October and November 1972*. As a result of the Wage Board investigation mentioned on pages 325 and 327-8 of last year's *Survey*, the Minister of Labour gazetted Determination No. 348 of 1972, which fixed the following new *minimum* weekly wage rates for stevedoring hands in the major ports of the Republic.¹¹

Cape Town		Port Elizabeth		East London		Durban	
Rate	Per Centage increase	Rate	Per Centage increase	Rate	Per Centage increase	Rate	Per Centage increase
R		R		R		R	
16,00	39,1	14,50	36,2	14,50	40,1	14,50	48,7

However, if the rise in the cost of living in each of the areas mentioned above were to be taken into account, the *real* rise in the value of these prescribed *minima* ranges from about 12 per cent in Port Elizabeth to about 22,6 per cent in Durban.

OTHER AREAS OF EMPLOYMENT

Universities

A Department of Statistics News Release dated 20 September gave employment figures and total earnings, based on a complete quarterly survey, in Universities during the second quarter of 1973. These figures covered full-time as well as part-time staff and this could well distort overall average earnings. Monthly average earnings and percentage increases have been calculated by the writer:

	Numbers employed	Per centage increase over 1972	Average monthly salaries and wages R	Per centage increase over 1972
White	12 839	3,8	465	18,3
Coloured	1 787	11,1	124	19,2
Asian	468	3,3	157	16,3
African	5 470	7,2	73	23,7
	<hr/> 20 564			

The activities of the Students' Wages Commissions in connection with black wages and working conditions on the (white) English-language campuses were described on pages 328-9 of last year's *Survey*. A similar movement began on black campuses with students at the University of Durban-Westville (for Indians) petitioning the authorities for a minimum wage of R71 a month for black workers on that campus.¹

In January the University of the Witwatersrand adjusted African wage rates by adding R71 000 to their black wage bill with

¹¹ Government Notice No. R2311 dated 15 December 1972.

¹ *Drum*, 22 December 1972, p. 52.

annual increments in April accounting for a further R26 000. At the new rates female and single male unskilled employees now start at R56 per month, rising by R4 per month annually to R80. Married male unskilled workers will get R72 per month. Semi-skilled workers would get R72 rising to a maximum of R96. The wages of skilled African workers were also being reviewed. Annual merit increases will also be made. The university's African employees also receive subsidised meals, medical attention, generous leave conditions, and a non-contributory pension fund.² Black workers at the university have formed a Black University Workers' Association.³ The Students' Representative Council is to ask students registering in 1974 to contribute R2,50 each towards allowances for black staff.⁴

The University of Natal decided to increase the minimum wage for its lowest paid black workers from R456 a year to R816 (R68 per month) with the maximum rising from R960 a year to R1 152 (R96 per month). The new rates will affect about 860 black workers on the Durban and Pietermaritzburg campuses.⁵

A sample survey conducted by the Students' Representative Council at the University of Stellenbosch indicated that some 75 per cent of the University's black workers were remunerated at rates either on or below the poverty datum line. The students estimated that it would cost the university some R28 500 to raise wages to a more respectable level and suggested that if the university could not afford this amount students' fees should be raised by R3,50 each.⁶

Churches

Brief information on salaries and wages in the Churches was given on page 182 of the 1971 issue and on page 330 of the 1972 issue of this *Survey*.

The Anglican Diocese of Natal decided to pay equal salaries to black and white clergymen from January 1974—seven years earlier than originally planned—and to raise the monthly stipend to at least R200 a month. This decision is expected to cost the diocese an extra R40 000 annually. About 40 per cent of the Anglican priests in Natal are black. Present stipends for rectors are: White R1 440 per annum; Indian, R1 165; and African, R1 001.⁷ The Anglican church school, Michaelhouse, has raised pupils' fees following wage increases of R5 per month for black men and R3 for black women employed at the school. This will bring the basic starting salary to R57 a month and the decision affects about 180 black workers.⁸

² *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 January.

³ *Weekend World*, 20 May.

⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 August.

⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 March; *Financial Mail*, 16 March.

⁶ *Rapport*, 10 June.

⁷ *Star*, 2 July; *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 October.

⁸ *Star*, 30 March.

The 1973 wage bill for the 122 clergymen (including the bishop, bishop suffragen, the dean, and five archdeacons) in the Anglican Diocese of Johannesburg was about R230 000 (giving an average monthly wage of some R157). The present monthly cash stipend for priests is:

	<i>Minimum</i>	<i>Maximum</i>
	R	R
White	107	154
Coloured	91	146
African	84	135

All clergy are provided with a house and free water and electricity. Transport is provided for parish work, but not for personal use. The stipends of white clergy were frozen four years ago and will not be increased until 1976 when black/white parity is reached and all clergymen will receive a 15 per cent increase.⁹

Apparently in the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk a (white) dominee receives a stipend of R5 724 after five years' service, plus a free house and travelling expenses and sometimes other benefits as well. In the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk—probably the most powerful denomination in the Republic—the starting salary for a (white) dominee is R3 000 a year increasing to R5 400 after seventeen years' service. The average annual income of a minister of the Presbyterian Church was R3 600 with the usual clerical benefits of house, etc. A parson in the Methodist Church starts at R2 120 and can hope to rise to R2 568 after more than thirty years' service.¹⁰

The Press

On 9 June the *Cape Times (Business Report)* published the results of an investigation into black wages paid by South African newspaper groups. The following data has been extracted from this detailed article:

South African Associated Newspapers' Wages in April 1973

	<i>Rand per week</i>
Minimum	16,98
Average	21,12

The average on the lowest (basic) rung was R17,93 per week.

Cape Times Wages in 1972

	<i>Typographical Union</i>	<i>Non-Union</i>
	<i>Rand per week</i>	<i>Rand per week</i>
Maximum	72,50	41,00
Minimum	21,25	15,50
Average	46,08	25,32

The *Cape Times'* minimum for workers over 18 years of age is R17 per week.

⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 October.

¹⁰ *Sunday Express*, 13 May.

Natal Mercury's Wages in 1973

	<i>Rand per week</i>
Maximum	25,25
Minimum	17,00
Average	20,00

Perskor's Wages in 1972

	<i>Rand per week</i>
Maximum	20,00
Minimum	12,76
Average	15,90

Argus Group's Minimum Rates in January 1973

		<i>Rand per week (in the first 6 months of employment)</i>
Unskilled labourers	Durban	16,50
	Johannesburg	18,00
Factory labourers	Cape Town	17,50
	Durban	18,50
Day cleaners	Johannesburg	17,25
	Cape Town (women) ...	13,50
	Durban	16,50
Night cleaners	Johannesburg	17,75
	Cape Town	17,50
Canteen assistants	Johannesburg	17,25
	Durban	18,50
Messengers	Johannesburg	18,00
	Cape Town	16,50
	Durban	18,50
Drivers	Johannesburg	22,75
	Durban	19,00

Johannesburg Stock Exchange

African workers at the Stock Exchange petitioned management to raise the minimum starting wage to R112,53 per month with a pro rata increase of 50 per cent for African workers in other grades.¹¹ The management rejected the appeal but agreed to raise the starting salary of married men from R80 to R100 per month and to grant increases of between 5 and 10 per cent to other workers.¹²

The Merchant Marine

The South African Marine Corporation announced a wage increase of about 25 per cent on average for its 1 000 Coloured seamen (of whom 210 are classified as petty officers). A trainee deckhand's starting wage would rise from R45 to R72 per month; an ordinary seaman's from R80 to R100; and an able seaman's from R108 to between R125-R130 rising to R200. Petty officers would be able to earn up to R3 600 a year in basic pay. However, the increased wage rates would coincide with a complete reorganisation of duties on board ship. The average total complement of

¹¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 June.

¹² *Ibid.*, 28 June.

officers and crew on the typical medium-sized cargo liner had been about 45 people and this would be reduced to about 39.¹³

Private Transport

The strike by 300 of PUTCO's black bus drivers was mentioned on pages 331-2 of last year's *Survey*. An African union, the Transport and Allied Workers' Union, was formed in the face of some employer resistance.¹⁴

The Bay Passenger Transport Company in Port Elizabeth raised the wages of its lowest paid African workers from R13,35 to R18,04 a week.¹⁵

TRADE UNIONS

General

The Minister of Labour said that the number of registered (i.e. White, Coloured, and Asian) trade unions at the end of 1972, and their membership figures at the end of 1971 (except for a few instances where trade unions had already submitted 1972 returns) were¹:

Types of Union	No. of unions	Membership		
		White	Coloured and Asian	Total
White	88	368 236	—	368 236
Coloured and Asian ...	48	—	71 613	71 613
Mixed	42	52 781	133 225	186 006
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	178	421 017	204 838	625 855

It would appear that very roughly 7,5 per cent of the economically active population are members of registered trade unions or, since Africans cannot belong to registered trade unions, roughly 25,3 per cent of White, Coloured, and Asian economically active persons belong to registered trade unions. Of the economically active persons who may belong to registered trade unions, it would appear that very roughly 14,9 per cent belong to trade unions which confine their membership to Whites, while a further 2,9 belong to unions where membership is confined to Coloured and Asian people. (See page 333 of last year's *Survey* for other provisions applicable to racially-mixed unions. There was no change in this position in 1972.) The trade Union Council of South Africa issued a useful fact paper on trade unions entitled *The trade union movement in South Africa*.

From 29 to 31 January 1973, the Abe Bailey Institute of Inter-racial Studies at Cape Town, held its third research work-

¹³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 12 July; *Financial Mail*, 13 July.

¹⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 March, 14 April and 12 May.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 27 March.

¹ Hansard 9 cols. 621-2, 6 April.

shop on *The Responsibility of Organised Labour in a Developing Plural Society*. This was attended by some 36 participants and 34 observers and was sponsored jointly by the Institute and the Trade Union Council of South Africa. A wide variety of major papers and lead-in papers, to be published shortly, covered the role of the trade union movement in South Africa in some depth. Among the major contributions were:

Dr. Fritz Opel (Industriegewerkschaft Metall für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland): *The role of German organised labour in the process of socio-economic development.*

Professor Marshall W. Murphree (Centre for Inter-Racial Studies, University of Rhodesia): *Organised labour and Black economic advancement in Rhodesia.*

Charles Levinson (International Chemical Workers' Federation): *The new dimension of trade unionism.*

Professor Herbert A. Levine (Labour Education Centre, Rutgers University): *Organised labour and development of Black Americans.*

Mr. Jeffrey Lever (University of South Africa): *White organised labour and the socio-economic development of Non-White South Africans.*

Professor Edward Feit (University of Massachusetts): *White worker attitudes towards the new black skilled worker — South Africa and Great Britain.*

Mr. Charles Diamond (Graduate School of Business Administration, University of the Witwatersrand): *The economic perspective on organised labour and socio-economic development.*

Mr. J. J. Scheepers (Former Divisional Inspector of Labour): *Industrial legislation in relation to Non-White development with particular regard to the functions of Industrial Councils and Wage Board Determinations.*

Mr. Robert L. Kraft (Trade Union Council of South Africa): *The role of a co-ordinating body in equalising conditions of employment.*

Mr. L. C. G. Douwes Dekker (Industrial Council for the Clothing Industry, Transvaal): *The role of trade unions in improving social services.*

Miss Anna Scheepers (Garment Workers' Union of South Africa): *Trade Unions face challenge.*

Mr. Arthur Grobbelaar (Trade Union Council of South Africa): *The importance and responsibility of leadership and leadership development in the labour movement.*

In March the Students' Representative Council's Wages Commission at the University of Cape Town issued a *Charter of Workers' Rights* embodying the following principles:

1. EVERY WORKER, REGARDLESS OF RACE, COLOUR OR CREED, SHOULD HAVE EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN RESPECT OF TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT.
2. EVERY WORKER SHOULD BE ABLE TO CHOOSE THE PLACE OF HIS/HER WORK WITHOUT EXTERNAL INTERFERENCE.
3. EVERY WORKER SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO FREE ASSOCIATION AND THE RIGHT TO ORGANISE.
4. EVERY WORKER SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO STRIKE AFTER ALL NON-DISCRIMINATORY CONCILIATION PROCEDURES HAVE BEEN EXHAUSTED.
5. EVERY WORKER SHOULD BE PAID NOT LESS THAN THE EFFECTIVE MINIMUM LEVEL.

6. NO WORKER SHOULD BE COMPELLED TO WORK OVERTIME, AND WHERE OVERTIME IS WORKED, THE TOTAL NUMBER OF HOURS WORKED PER WEEK INCLUDING OVERTIME SHOULD NOT EXCEED 56 HOURS.
7. THE RATES OF OVERTIME SHOULD BE AS LAID DOWN IN THE FACTORIES, MACHINERY AND BUILDING WORKS ACT, BUT EVERY WORKER SHOULD BE PAID THE EFFECTIVE MINIMUM LEVEL BEFORE OVERTIME IS TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT.
8. EVERY WORKER SHOULD BE ENTITLED TO THREE WEEKS LEAVE PER ANNUM.
9. EVERY WORKER SHOULD BE ENTITLED TO TWENTY-ONE DAYS SICK LEAVE PER ANNUM WITH FULL PAY.
10. ALL WORKERS SHOULD QUALIFY FOR UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE, WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION, PENSIONS AND MEDICAL BENEFITS.

African Trade Union Rights

It has been customary to quote at this point specific pleas for the extension to African workers of trade union rights enjoyed by workers of other races. Public attention has been more sharply focussed on this issue during the past year or so than it has probably ever been in the past. Although there is no consensus at the present time, an increasing number of prominent businessmen are becoming aware of the need to grant collective bargaining rights, if not full trade union rights, to African workers. White, Coloured, and Asian labour leaders whether on the "right" or on the "left" are also giving renewed attention to the question. Lack of space prevents full documentation of the minutiae of the general debate in a publication of this nature. What will be recorded in future is the formation and dissolution of African trade unions, together with significant changes of policy by the labour movement, employers, and political parties.

On 20 February Mrs. Helen Suzman M.P. (Progressive Party) moved the following motion in the House of Assembly²: "That this House is of the opinion that full trade union rights should be extended to African workers and requests the Government to introduce legislation to amend the Industrial Conciliation Act, 1956, accordingly." During the debate Mr. J. M. Henning M.P. reaffirmed the Government's stand when he stated³: "We are convinced that the organisation of Bantu workers in the Bantu trade unions in the White area is not in the interests of South Africa." The Minister of Labour endorsed Mr. Henning's statement when he said⁴: "We keep on saying that the Government believes that on the basis of experience gained in this country with Bantu trade unions in the past, and the way in which these were also applied as political instruments, it is not in the interest of South Africa that Bantu trade unions should be recognised." (The Minister

² Hansard 3 cols. 1026-1040.

³ *Ibid.*, col. 1047.

⁴ *Ibid.*, col. 1071.

reiterated the Government's opposition to trade union rights for Africans from a number of public platforms during the year.) Mr. S. J. Marais Steyn M.P., at that time the United Party's chief spokesman on labour matters, summarized his party's policy in the following statements⁵: "Can you imagine something more unrealistic than that — to give full trade union rights to all our Black workers? . . . I think that if you give the same rights, the right to organise themselves into trade unions and to strike, to those people (migrant workers) as to the sophisticated permanent workers, whether Black, White, Coloured or Indian . . . you will be totally unrealistic. It cannot be done." He went on to say that "educated", "civilised", (African) workers, journalists for example, should be allowed to join existing unions or become "affiliated" to unions. In established industries where the "rate for the job" became necessary and effective (skilled African) workers should be affiliated "perhaps as groups if you wish" to the existing unions in the particular industry. However, for the majority of unskilled African workers the works committee system should be allowed to develop with the encouragement of larger associations of works committees based on industries or geographic areas where necessary.

Towards the end of 1972 the Trade Union Council of South Africa canvassed its affiliated unions, on the question of African trade unions.⁶ At TUCSA's annual congress in Durban in August fifty affiliated unions representing more than 190 000 White, Coloured, and Indian workers unanimously adopted the following resolution⁷: "In view of the fact that the government is unlikely at this stage to give full recognition for the unionisation of African workers into the registered trade union movement, conference recommends that individual affiliates of the council take steps to examine practical ways to establish parallel union organisations for African workers. Conference suggests to affiliates that they proceed individually to set up such organisations along such lines as agreed to by the affiliates themselves, so that at some future date recognition will be given by the government to such de facto working examples of practical and responsible labour organisations for African workers. Conference also instructs the TUCSA secretariat to prepare information papers on problems, procedures, and techniques, relating to the establishment of such parallel organisations, as planning guidelines for affiliates."

The Confederation of Metal and Building Unions also took a decision on the organisation of parallel African Unions.⁸ Its

⁵ *Ibid.*, cols. 1051-1054.

⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, 3 and 5 January.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 16 August.

⁸ This confederation consists of the following seven unions: (a) S.A. Boilermakers', Iron and Steel Workers', Ship Builders' and Welders' Society; (b) Amalgamated Engineering Union of South Africa; (c) Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers; (d) Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers; (e) Iron Moulders Society of S.A.; (f) S.A. Electrical Workers' Association; and (g) Radio, Television, Electronic and Allied Workers' Union.

chairman, Mr. E. H. MacCann, released the following statement in August⁹: "The decision to go ahead and set up parallel African unions has been taken after repeated attempts to interview the Prime Minister to discuss the grave problems facing our members by the probable undermining of living standards by the influx of Africans into jobs formerly the preserve of White, Coloured and Indian employees. In spite of several approaches to the Prime Minister, he declined to give us a hearing, and apparently considers that the new Industrial Relations Regulations Amendment Act will provide sufficient protection for the White, Coloured and Indian workers. In our view the works committee system provided for under this Act constitutes a danger to our membership because there is no effective control over their activities. Only a trade union registered in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act can effectively and responsibly look after workers' interests. We feel that if a man, whatever his colour, is doing work falling within the scope of a registered trade union, he should be a member of that union. However, since this is not allowed in terms of present legislation, and since the Government has indicated it will not alter the law in this respect, we have come to the conclusion that our only alternative is to set up parallel organisations to represent Africans. There is nothing in the law to prevent such organisations being formed. . . . Furthermore, we believe African trade unions are inevitable and that it is in the interests of industrial peace and economic progress that a start be made now to train responsible African union leaders." (See page 339 of last year's *Survey* in this regard.) Mr. G. de C. Malherbe, director of the Building Industries Federation of South Africa, said employers in the building industry were ready to accept the CMBU's plan. On the other hand, Mr. E. P. Drummond, director of the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa, said: "As far as we are concerned, the new Bantu Labour Regulation Act provides for Black participation at the industrial council level, with the Central Bantu Labour Board, when matters of wages and conditions for Bantu workers are being discussed."¹⁰ The following new unregistered unions had been formed or were being formed at the time of going to press: The (Black) Metal and Allied Workers' Union in Natal with 1 800 members; the (African) National Union of Textile Workers with 1 600 members in Natal and 400 members in the Transvaal (mainly in the cotton manufacturing section of the industry); and the (African) Union of Clothing Workers in Natal with about 400 members.¹¹ (See also section on private transport.)

⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 3 August.

¹⁰ *Star*, 3 August.

¹¹ Information supplied by the unions. (See also *Financial Mail*, 30 May; *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 June and 27 July.)

Visit by the British Trades Union Congress

In October a delegation from the British Trades Union Congress visited South Africa in spite of growing pressure within the British labour movement after the Carletonville shootings, to cancel the visit. The party was led by Mr. Victor Feather, former general secretary of the TUC, and included Mr. Jack Jones, chairman of the TUC's international committee; Mr. J. A. Hargreaves, head of the TUC's international department; Mr. Cyril Plant, of the Inland Revenue Staff Union; and Mr. Dan McGarvey, head of the Boilermakers' Union. During their stay the delegation met with a wide variety of South Africans from all racial groups and of different political complexions both from within and outside the labour movement.¹²

After their meeting with African trade unionists representing ten unions with some 20 000 members — virtually the entire African trade union movement in the country — Mr. Cyril Plant said he was surprised that TUCSA had not done more to assist African trade unionism. He went on to say: "The situation is crying out for assistance, and we have got to see more impetus given to the Africans. We can see they want to help themselves but they don't know how."¹³ The delegation also met the Prime Minister and Mr. Feather issued the following statement after their meeting¹⁴: "We had a very full discussion, particularly on the question of trade union recognition and the procedures for the recognition of a voluntary collective bargaining. This was not just a matter of words — it was at times blunt, but at all times courteous. The Prime Minister left us in no doubt about the policy and aims of his Government. I think the phrase he used in particular was that he wanted to see trade unionism developed on an evolutionary (manner) and by way of orderly advance. When we asked about the question of the time side for such advancement, and of course the speed for such advancement, there was no time put on that. It was something that would have to be judged in the light of developments." The Prime Minister later made it known that he had used the phrase "collective bargaining" and not "trade unionism" throughout his conversation with the TUC delegation. Mr. Feather commented: "I see no difficulty — they are one and the same thing."

Mr. Feather later criticised white miners in South Africa for failing to organise their African colleagues into "some semblance of trade unions".¹⁵ After a meeting which was described as cordial by both sides, Mr. Wally Grobler, secretary of the conservative (white) Confederation of Labour, said¹⁶: "We told

¹² *Sunday Times*, 23 September; *Natal Witness*, 2 October; *Rand Daily Mail*, 3 October.

¹³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 October.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 10 October.

¹⁵ *Star*, 11 October.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 13 October.

the TUC that for the time being we supported the Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Act, which provides for African works committees. The Act must be given a chance to prove itself. But at some time it may prove itself inadequate. Then we would reconsider our policy." Mr. Jack Jones, who is general secretary of the British Transport and General Workers' Union, said he was appalled at wages and conditions among African stevedores at the Cape Town docks. He advised the stevedores to organise a union and also said he would investigate the position of stevedoring companies with British connections upon his return to the United Kingdom.¹⁷

The International Labour Movement

Mr. Irving Brown, executive director of the African American Labour Center, has warned the South African Government that unless the black labour force is allowed to organise — to form proper unions with powers of negotiation — the industrial future of the Republic is grim. He went on to say: "We are ready (to train black unionists) if KwaZulu is ready. Whether they are able to invite us or not is basically the question of whether they actually have independence under the homelands policy. . . . We have good contacts in South Africa and we have talked about how assistance in the training field could be arranged."¹⁸

Thirty-three African states have set up the Pan-Africa Trade Union Organisation (alternative title, Organisation of African Trade Union Unity) with headquarters in Accra and Mr. Dennis Akumu, secretary general of the Kenya Federation of Labour, has been appointed general secretary. The new organisation has been promised full financial support by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and can be expected to adopt a militant anti-apartheid stand.¹⁹

The executive committee of the International Organisation of Employers gathered together at the ILO conference in June passed a resolution which noted "with concern that discrimination based on apartheid continues to be declared the official policy practised in the Republic of South Africa in spite of deep-rooted social forces of change that are at work and of which some of the South African employers are the prime movers". The resolution also denounced job reservation and deplored the exclusion of the majority of the labour force from trade unions.²⁰ A resolution adopted unanimously by 450 trade unionists, representing 115 countries, at the close of the two-day ILO conference called on trade union organisations: (a) strongly to oppose emigration of skilled labour to South Africa; (b) to bring pressure on economic

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 16 October.

¹⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 May.

¹⁹ *Sunday Tribune*, 13 May.

²⁰ *Rand Daily Mail*, 12 June.

and financial groups which collaborate with South Africa to cease such collaboration; and (c) to boycott the loading and unloading of goods to and from South Africa and/or Namibia (South West Africa) as well as South African ships and aircraft. The resolution also proposed that consumers' organisations boycott all South African goods imported into their countries.²¹ It had originally seemed that the prominent South African trade unionist, Mrs. Lucy Mvubelo, a member of the South African group of observers, would be allowed to address the assembly but this was prevented.²²

The ILO conference itself passed a unanimous resolution calling on governments to sever political, cultural, commercial, and diplomatic relations with South Africa and to stop public and private investment in the Republic. Trade union organisations were urged to press their governments to refuse to supply arms or any other form of military assistance and to close their ports and airports to South African ships and aircraft.²³

THE BANTU LABOUR (SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES) ACT

The Machinery

This Act established alternative machinery in lieu of full trade union rights for Africans some twenty years ago. Its principal instruments were the Central Bantu Labour Board, Regional Bantu Labour Committees, and (African) works committees at plant level in establishments employing not less than twenty African workers.

The Minister of Labour said in March that the Central Bantu Labour Board consisted of four members.¹ All of these were Whites. He said later that there were only three members (presumably a vacancy had occurred) of whom the chairman was an official on the fixed establishment of the Department of Labour while the other two members were appointed on a contract basis but in a full-time capacity at an annual salary of R5 100. As a full-time body the Board met daily and in the last three years had also attended the following meetings²:

	1970	1971	1972
Industrial council meetings	20	6	8
Wage Board sittings	6	3	9
Meetings with representatives of industrial councils ...	2	4	3
Regional Bantu labour committee meetings	12	12	12

In March twelve Regional Bantu Labour Committees existed in the following principal industrialised urban areas:³ Johannesburg, Benoni, Vereeniging, Krugersdorp, Germiston, Klerksdorp,

²¹ *Sunday Express*, 17 June.

²² *Sunday Times*, 17 June.

²³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 June.

¹ Hansard 5 col. 355, 7 March.

² Hansard 7 cols. 484-5, 20 March.

³ Hansard 5 cols. 355-360, 7 March.

Pretoria, Durban, Pietermaritzburg, East London, Port Elizabeth, and Cape Town. These committees consisted of three White and five African members in Johannesburg, Benoni, Vereeniging, Krugersdorp, Germiston and Klerksdorp; of two White and five African members in Pretoria, Durban, Pietermaritzburg, East London and Port Elizabeth; and one White and five African members in Cape Town. While a committee is located in a principal city its jurisdiction often extends over several magisterial districts. The Benoni committee, for instance, covers Benoni, Boksburg, Brakpan, Springs, Nigel, and Delmas. Ten of these committees were established on 30 April 1954, while those for Pietermaritzburg and Klerksdorp were established on 25 April 1969. The Chairman of every regional committee is a white official on the fixed establishment of the Labour Department who is designated as a Bantu Labour Officer. He is remunerated according to his rank in the Public Service. African members of regional committees are paid an allowance of R3,25 per meeting plus travelling expenses and are also reimbursed for the actual loss of wages incurred in attending to their duties.

The Regional Committees were liaising with the following numbers of *statutory* works committees (at plant level) in January 1973:⁴

Johannesburg Regional Committee	...	...	...	7
Benoni Regional Committee	...	...	...	3
Vereeniging Regional Committee	...	...	...	1
Krugersdorp Regional Committee	...	...	...	4
Germiston Regional Committee	...	...	...	3
Pretoria Regional Committee	...	...	...	3
Durban Regional Committee	...	...	...	2
Cape Town Regional Committee	...	...	...	1
				24 ⁵

It thus appears that four Regional Bantu Labour committees, namely those in Klerksdorp, Pietermaritzburg, East London, and Port Elizabeth, were in contact with *no* statutory works committees. According to the Minister of Labour, these regional committees also liaise with *non-statutory* works committees when this is considered necessary but details of such consultations are not available.

The 9 June issue of *Drum* carried an interview with Mr. W. F. Koch, a divisional labour inspector, who is chairman of six of the seven Regional Bantu Labour Committees in the Transvaal (Pre-

⁴ Hansard 7 cols. 485-7, 20 March.

⁵ According to the Report of the Department of Labour for 1971 (R.P. 75/72) there were 19 525 registered factories in the Republic employing 743 761 African workers, an average of 38 African workers per factory. While there is considerable variation in the size of factories, it is quite clear that neither African workers nor their employers, nor perhaps the authorities, set any great store by this system during the twenty years of its existence.

toria being the exception). The regional committees over which Mr. Koch presides are entrusted with the onerous task of endeavouring "to further the interests of Bantu in relation to their employment" in the magisterial districts of Johannesburg, Heidelberg, Benoni, Boksburg, Brakpan, Springs, Nigel, Delmas, Vereeniging, Krugersdorp, Roodepoort, Randfontein, Oberholzer, Germiston, Klerksdorp and Potchefstroom. Among the duties and functions of a regional committee are: (a) to maintain contact with employees with a view to keeping itself informed of conditions of employment of employees in its area generally and in particular trades; (b) to submit from time to time reports on any labour disputes which exist or are likely to arise; and (c) to assist in the settlement of labour disputes. Mr. Koch has expressed his view of African trade unions in the following terms: "To start with, African trade unions are not recognised by law. They are in a mess, with several groups of people claiming to represent black workers. I've known your (African) trade unions from the time of Kadalie,⁶ and I've never known a single one to work in the interests of the black worker." Mr. Koch's opinion was endorsed by Mr. S. S. Mahlangu, a veteran member of the Johannesburg regional committee, who said "We don't have the right people to run trade unions. All we have are people who will incite workers to strike. I condemn trade unions for Africans. I am a businessman. When I employ somebody, I have to calculate my costs and profits before I can decide how much to pay him. So when we go to negotiate on behalf of workers I have both sides of the question in mind." On the other hand, Mr. F. S. Mncube, of the same regional committee says: "Universally, trade unions represent workers. This should be the case with us, but because these are not recognised, we have to make use of available machinery. Only the people involved will understand the tremendous improvements in workers' conditions we have brought about through this committee. There has been a steady improvement in salaries, thanks to our work. In some cases we have been able to get workers up to a hundred per cent increase. It is just unfortunate that not every firm has a works committee. The success of a works committee is dependent on the attitudes of the employer and the employee. Where these are satisfactory, the system works quite well." The only African member of this regional committee who is an employee, rather than self-employed or retired, says: "Very few workers know of the existence of the regional committees and fewer know that they have the right to form works committees. The only time we come in contact with workers is when there is already a dispute at a particular firm." Mrs. Lucy Mvubelo, general secretary of the (African) National Union of Clothing Workers has said of the Johannesburg regional committee:⁷ "Most

⁶ Clements Kadalie was a prominent African trade unionist in the nineteen-twenties. His autobiography, *My Life and the ICU*, was published by Cass in 1970.

⁷ *Star*, 7 June.

of these people have not even worked in industry. They have no idea of the aspirations of African workers.”

On 10 April the Minister of Labour said that there were 31 statutory works committees then functioning (an increase of 13 over last year's figures).⁸ There was one each in Boksburg, Brakpan, Cape Town, Germiston, Isando, Kempton Park, Kimberley, Lawley, Meyerton and Springs, two each in Alberton and Durban, four each in Johannesburg and Roodepoort, and nine in Pretoria. However, some 161 non-statutory works committees were also known to be functioning (an increase of 44 over last year's figure).

The South African Institute of Personnel Management held a seminar in Johannesburg in May on “Works Committees that Work”. This was attended by seventy-five delegates. It published an article on works committees which included a typical works committee constitution in the August issue of *People and Profits*.

During 1972 Bantu labour officers dealt with 80 African labour disputes, the Central Bantu Labour Board dealt with one and the Wage Board with none.⁹

One Department of Labour official in each of the Department's nine inspectorates has been designated a Bantu Labour Officer while two each in Johannesburg and one each in Pretoria, Durban, East London, Port Elizabeth, and Cape Town, have been designated Assistant Bantu Labour Officers.¹⁰ This shows some improvement over last year's figure.

The Proposed Amendment

During the Durban strikes the Minister of Labour had the following to say about the use made of the machinery created by the Bantu Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act:¹¹ “What is very significant is that only 18 such committees have been established. At one stage there were 40. I am saying this for the sake of those who now claim that the Bantu have a need for trade unions. I think that these eighteen statutory committees, which were established at the request of Bantu workers, can also bargain. Apart from this another system of communication has developed in the labour world in recent years. This is namely, the non-statutory works committees. Let us take such a committee at a factory as an example. The management of such a factory, as well as appointed Bantu and elected Bantu workers, are represented on such a non-statutory committee. These, then, are the groups comprising a non-statutory committee. Of these kind of committees 118 have been established in South Africa. While this process was continuing, over the years, I asked employers for suggestions which

⁸ Hansard 10 cols. 632-4, 10 April. (The Minister gave the names of the establishments concerned.)

⁹ Hansard 17 col. 953, 4 June.

¹⁰ Hansard 2 col. 132, 16 February.

¹¹ Hansard 1 col. 54, 5 February.

could lead to the improvement of this works committee system for which the Act makes provision. To my disappointment I must state today that I have over the years received no positive reaction from employers to my request as to how the works committee system may be improved."

In April the Minister published his proposals for amending the Act and called upon persons who wished to do so to submit their representations.¹² He later said:¹³ "A draft Bill for general information and comment was published. . . . (It) evoked wide interest, and comment as well as proposals for its improvement were received from most of the major employers' organisations, from trade unions, individual employers and other bodies.

"With a few exceptions the reaction to the proposals was positive, and the preponderance of this comment points to a marked desire for the existing Act to be made as effective as possible. Quite a number of useful suggestions were received and have been included in the Bill. After consideration of the comment further amendments were decided on, with the result that the Bill differs considerably from the published draft Bill.

"The draft Bill was also submitted to the 12 regional committees established in terms of the Act. The proposed amendments were, with a few exceptions, welcomed by the regional committees. The regional committees are in favour of the existing system being retained and expanded."

Several organisations commented publicly on the draft Bill. Mr. D. C. Krogh, then director of the Federated Chamber of Industries, said:¹⁴ "We have told the Government that the Bill is a modest step in the right direction but that we will soon be making more far-reaching and comprehensive proposals as to what is required." The Natal Chamber of Industries submitted its own representations which called *inter alia* for co-ordinating councils of works committees in the same industry.¹⁵ Mr. E. P. Drummond, director of the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa, said:¹⁶ "By and large we go along with the Bill. We made certain minor suggestions to improve consultation in some areas." The Association of Chambers of Commerce supported the proposals in principle but nevertheless felt that a *de facto* situation would arise where African trade unions would emerge. It also felt that the employers should be consulted before works committees were established in their organisations. However, it submitted no recommendations to the Government.¹⁷ The Durban Chamber of Commerce welcomed and approved, in principle, the draft proposals as "being a step in the right direction".

¹² Government Gazette 94 (3844) dated 4 April 1973.

¹³ Hansard 17 col. 8390, 6 June.

¹⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 April.

¹⁵ *Star*, 25 April.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Star*, 16 May.

It included the following points among its submissions:¹⁸

"The proposals nowhere oblige the employer to take cognizance of the works committees in any way, nor do they prevent him from holding himself aloof from the works committees when and however they are formed and thus nullifying the whole object of the proposals. It is no answer to this omission to claim that it is implicit that employers will recognise, consult and negotiate with such committees.

"It seems that the proposed Liaison Committee on which both employer and employee are represented is an essential feature to ensure that employees will negotiate, and the Chamber believes that this type of committee should be established in at least the larger undertakings as a forum for negotiation.

"This being as it may, the Chamber most strongly urges that suitable provision be made in the proposals to oblige employers to recognise, consult and negotiate with their duly established works committees on all matters of mutual interest, and especially in regard to those conditions of service and matters relating to Bantu employees' employment or welfare.

"The Chamber has expressed its preference for the liaison committee as the standard form, but has no emphatic views in this regard provided that provision is made as urged above for the employers to negotiate with works committees in whatever form they are created.

"The Chamber believes that works committees should exist in all undertakings employing a certain minimum number of Bantu employees.

"The power entrusted to the Inspector of Labour in this regard is doubtless a step in the right direction, but should be used with discretion.

"The Chamber believes that the Regional Bantu Labour Committees serve little useful purpose in their present or contemplated form and function, although the proposed amendment of Section 9(2) is again a step in the right direction.

"The Chamber believes that these Regional Committees should be re-constituted to include Bantu representatives and should be entrusted with actual settlement of disputes, save only for a final appeal to the Minister.

"The Chamber contends that, apart from the White Chairman who should be appointed by the Minister, the members should be drawn in equal numbers from employers on the one hand and from Bantu — possibly nominated by Industrial Councils or Co-ordinating Committees within industries, trades or occupations . . . and/or from works committees, on the other. In this way, Bantu will be represented by Bantu at this senior level.

"The Chamber contends that actual settlement of disputes

¹⁸ Letter to the Secretary for Labour dated 19 April 1973.

should be entrusted to such re-structured regional committees because, by its nature, it will be more familiar with local conditions than a more remote body; affected Bantu employees will be more aware of the machinery concerned with its cause than if a more remote body were involved, and decisions can, and should be reached with less delay."

The Trade Union Council of South Africa condemned the draft Bill which, it predicted, "will almost certainly lead to a situation of unparalleled chaos and industrial unrest". TUCSA pointed out that the "meaningful creation of works committees" would probably lead to the establishment of some 50 000 independent, individual works committees. It called upon the Government to abandon the proposed legislation and to consider rather an amendment to the Industrial Conciliation Act which would enable African workers to join registered trade unions.¹⁹

The Urban Training Project maintained²⁰ that "a works committee system can in fact only function satisfactorily when all workers are involved in effective industry wide trade unions". Among its submissions were:

- (a) that provision should be made for works committees to hold report back meetings with their African colleagues while formulating objectives and after any important meetings with their employers;
- (b) that there should be co-operation between a works committee chairman and an industrial council agent where this was applicable during inspections etc.;
- (c) that Bantu labour inspectors should be responsible for advising works committees in their areas of relevant Wage Board investigations so that written representations and oral evidence could be submitted to the Board;
- (d) that works committees should be empowered to negotiate conditions of service with their employers in addition to communicating the "wishes and aspirations" of their work-mates;
- (e) that nominees of the Central Bantu Labour Board or Bantu labour inspectors should be obliged to consult works committees or any other African workers' organisations before attending industrial council meetings for a particular industry, and that works committee representatives should accompany the labour officials to such meetings.

The Urban Training Project also felt that the provisions for the establishment of liaison committees consisting of equal employer/employee representation were an undesirable feature. It suggested that the new legislation should embody a clause stating that a liaison committee should be discontinued one year after its establishment, or earlier if the employees desired this, and a works com-

¹⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 April.

²⁰ Urban Training Project. *Memorandum re Bantu Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Amendment Act, 1973*.

mittee established in its stead.

The Institute of Race Relations submitted that the proposed amendments "constitute, at best, little more than a makeshift device. If the intention is further to delay the development of an African trade union movement this measure may conceivably fulfil such an aim in the *short term* only". It seriously questioned whether partial reforms would fill the vacuum in the existing system of industrial relations, pointed out that it had for more than two decades pleaded for the inclusion of Africans in the definition of "employee" in the Industrial Conciliation Act and urged the Minister so to amend the Act.²¹ The Institute suggested amendments similar to those described under (d) and (e) of the Urban Training Project's representations but also recommended that Regional Bantu labour committees should elect their own chairmen with the white labour officials acting as secretaries to such committees. It asked the Minister to amend section 51(3) of the Industrial Conciliation Act to allow employers to deduct trade union dues from the wages of their African employees by means of stop-orders without prior ministerial approval. A further suggestion was that Africans should be trained *at least* to function as assistant Bantu labour officers in industrial areas.

In conclusion the Institute remarked that "it regards the amending legislation, *even should it incorporate the Institute's suggestions*, as a short-term palliative which will not ensure orderly industrial relations in the mid- or long-term. . . . It is no substitute for trade union rights, privileges and duties".

The provisions of the draft Bill have not been fully described here since they were incorporated with considerable amendment in the Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Amendment Bill which is dealt with later in this chapter. However, it is necessary to describe three fundamental differences in the provisions in the two Bills:

1. Works Committees and Liaison Committees

The draft Bill amended the principal Act by replacing the existing provisions with a new Section 7(1) — (6). This allowed African workers in establishments employing more than twenty workers to *elect* a works committee, i.e. an all-African representative body. A new Section 7(8) provided for the establishment of a liaison committee in respect of an undertaking "*where no works committee exists*".²² The number of members of such a liaison committee were to be determined by the employer and his employees but not less than half had to be elected by the workers from among their number. Clearly the greater emphasis was placed upon works committees with liaison committees as an alternative.

²¹ *Bantu Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Amendment Bill, 1973, RR. 49/73.*

²² *Writer's emphasis.*

The later Bill, subsequently enacted as law, reversed the emphasis and the new Section 7(1) — (4) provided that “an employer and his employees may establish, in respect of the establishment in which they are employed by him, a liaison committee. . . .” An additional new Section 7A(1) — (13) provided for a works committee to be elected “*in respect of an establishment in which no liaison committee exists. . . .*”²³ (c.f. the Minister’s description of non-statutory works committees and the representations of the Durban Chamber of Commerce and the Urban Training Project recorded earlier. Some observers believe that the liaison committee is the legal embodiment of the old non-statutory works committee and gives the employer virtually complete control over the decision-making process on wages and working conditions. In other words, it does not even begin to approach a system of collective bargaining.)

2. Powers of Inspectors

The draft Bill empowered a duly appointed inspector to notify an employer that he was of the opinion that a works committee should be established in such an employer’s undertaking, regardless of whether the employer had requested its establishment. It thus entitled him to convene a meeting of employees even where an employer proved unco-operative. This provision conferred upon the inspector a direct right of intervention in relations between an employer and his African employees. The later Bill removed this right and granted the employer the exercise of a certain amount of discretion in the formation of a works committee.

3. The Right to Strike

The draft Bill conferred no right to strike upon African workers. The later Bill conferred limited strike rights upon certain categories of African workers after certain conciliation procedures had been observed.

STRIKES AND WORK STOPPAGES

In February as a wave of direct industrial action by black (mainly African) workers gathered momentum the Minister of Labour made the following statement:¹ “The strikes in Natal are following a pattern which indicates that they are not purely connected with higher wages. There have been instances where existing works committees in the factories concerned regarded the workers’ wage claims as unreasonable and recommended that they return to work so that negotiations about higher wages could take

²³ Writer’s emphasis.

¹ Departement van Inligting. Persverklaring 9/73(K) gedateer 1 Februarie. (Translation by the writer.)

place. The workers disregarded this advice. There is also a tendency not to give employers advance notice of discontent but simply to take strike action and to refuse thereafter to participate in proposed discussions. Everything indicates that this is a planned action and that the strikers are being used to achieve more than just an increase in wages. . . . The conduct of these particular workers and their reluctance to negotiate indisputably show that the agitation for trade union (rights) offers no solution and is only a smoke-screen behind which there are other motives. . . . During the present session (of Parliament) legislation will be introduced further to encourage the formation of works committees but in the meantime there is nothing to prevent employers themselves from establishing non-statutory works committees such as some have instituted. However necessary improvements in wages may be, the Government cannot permit wage claims to be converted into disturbances which could prejudice the (good) order of the State. The situation is being closely watched and there will be no hesitation in taking action against those responsible for any incitement in this regard."

The Minister elaborated upon his interpretation of the strikes in the House of Assembly:²

"Recently we have now found a new movement under the name of the Black Workers Project. It has just emerged. Seditious circulars are being sent out by it to trade unions and other organisations and individuals, and the one object of those letters sent out by that Black Workers Project is to create a new social order for us in this country."

The Minister quoted as follows from a circular sent out on 24 October 1972:

"The cardinal reason for organising Black workers on our part is sure anger and a revulsion at the hordes of God's people who are taken for granted and pushed around by Whites. There is a sure necessity for Blacks to organise themselves to make their demands loudly heard and to be appreciated. . . . There is just too much malnutrition, slum conditions, enforced removals, pass problems. . . ."

"They say", the Minister continued, "that there is such a shortage of 'recreational facilities and all sorts of other deprivations in all sections of the Black community for us Blacks to remain docile and unresponsive any longer'. These are the inflammatory things which are being sent out by this organisation, this organisation in which Nusas plays a part. It is this organisation, in which Nusas plays a part, in which these inflammatory things are being said. It is this agitation and it is these people, with Nusas concerned in it, who are at the moment exploiting the present wage situation in South Africa for their own particular

² Hansard 1 cols. 50-51, 5 February.

purposes. In addition they are supported by the left-wing Tucsa which lets no opportunity slip of issuing Press statements on any incident or strike which has occurred to prove how just the recognition of Bantu trade unions is and to warn us in the sombrest terms that a disaster is going to befall us if we do not recognise Bantu trade unions in this country."

The Minister's views were backed up by Mr. P. R. de Jager, M.P. (National Party):³ "I do not think that this (the strikes) originated solely from amongst those workers. I know them and I am convinced, as regards the labour done by the Bantu in Natal and the level at which they move, that they do not have it in them to come together and to agree that a thousand of them should strike. There are other influences behind those strikes. I am as convinced of this as I am of anything in the world." The Prime Minister, however, took a different view:⁴

"I am grateful that the situation in Durban is calming down and that according to all reports, too, the situation there is returning to normal. I want to say at once that the events here contain a lesson for us all. They contain a lesson for hon. members on the opposite side; they also contain a lesson for me and this side of the House. They contain a lesson for the Wage Board, a lesson for the workers and a lesson for the employers. We would be foolish if we did not all benefit from the lessons to be learned from that situation. It is most certainly my intention, as far as my responsibility extends, to benefit from them. But having now said this, I think I can go further and say that in the past there have unfortunately been too many employers who saw only the mote in the Government's eye and failed completely to see the beam in their own. Now I am looking past all party affiliations and past all employers, and experience tells me this, that employers, whoever they may be, should not only see in their workers a unit producing for them so many hours of service a day; they should also see them as human beings with souls."

The Minister of Labour continued to level certain accusations in the House:⁵

"This regional Bantu labour committee (Durban) also found that there had been many other elements behind these strikers. They had no hesitation in mentioning by name the Students' Wage Commission of the University of Natal as the people who had been responsible for a great deal of the incitement in this regard. We had the case where, during one of the Wage Board sessions that took place, it happened that a crowd of 400 Bantu arrived at that session. The bulk

³ *Ibid.*, cols. 90-91, 5 February.

⁴ *Ibid.*, col. 346, 9 February.

⁵ Hansard 12 col. 5547, 2 May.

of them did not even know what was involved; but they came because groups of Bantu had been brought there in buses of Putco, which had presumably been hired specially for that purpose. Large numbers of students were present there and, as this regional committee very clearly stated, the members of this Students' Wage Commission did not confine themselves to the urban areas only; they also went out into the rural areas in order to inform the people that they were not getting enough money."

Between January and 31 March 1973, according to the Minister's information, there had been 160 occasions, during which 146 establishments had been affected, when African workers withheld their labour in support of demands for higher wages and improved working conditions. Some 61 410 Africans had been involved in these work stoppages and strikes.⁶ Of the 146 establishments concerned, those industries most seriously affected were: iron, steel, engineering and metallurgical industry, 22 establishments; textile industry, 20; transport industry, 10; clothing industry, 7; cement products industry, 6; local authority undertaking, 6; and the building industry, 5. The duration of each work stoppage varied between ten minutes and seven days. Thirty-two strikes lasted less than one day, thirty-eight for one day, twenty-four between one and two days, thirty-two between two and three days, and thirty-eight between three and seven days during the period January to 31 March. Out of 160 strikes and work stoppages, wage increases were granted in 118 instances, employment was resumed on existing employment conditions in a further 28 instances, the strikers were discharged in seven cases, and negotiations were proceeding in a further seven instances at the time the Minister made this information available. In those 118 cases where wage increases were granted, the increase was less than R1,00 per week in three instances, between R1,00 and R2,00 per week in 71 instances, and more than R2,00 per week in 36 instances, while no details were released in a further eight cases. (There was a slight overlap where there was a considerable range in the monetary value of the increases granted. At a rough guesstimate in a period of two-and-a-half months, these strikes and work stoppages added about R6 000 000 to the annual African wage bill in the undertakings concerned.)

An article entitled "Recent Durban Strikes" in the March issue of *Race Relations News* gave an interpretation of the wave of industrial unrest which differed from that of the Minister of Labour. It put forward the argument that the discontent was occasioned by fundamental material issues and raised some of the following inter-related issues:

"Some of the Durban firms which were hit by the in-

⁶ Hansard 11 cols. 689-695, 24 April.

dustrial disturbances enjoy a reputation for enlightened employment practices — in the South African context, of course — and were paying minimum wages which were considerably higher than those (which) generally obtained. It may be true that a dramatic increase in transport costs in Durban had wider repercussions than had been anticipated. Nevertheless, while low wages may have been the primary cause of the possibly historic events in Durban there may well be other contributory societal factors involved.

“The homogeneity of the Zulu labour force, furnishing a parallel with the Ovambo disturbances, could well have been a contributory cause, once events had started to unfold. The development of black consciousness, the stature and articulate utterances of prominent Zulu leaders using separate development platforms, the inauguration of Prince Goodwill, the celebration of Shaka Day and the commemoration of Chief Luthuli’s life and ideals may all be inter-acting to create a renewed self-awareness among rank-and-file Zulu workers.

“During the disturbances there was also some evidence to suggest that black workers were becoming increasingly aware of their relative deprivation, and that they were using objective studies of poverty to justify their claims and advertise the desperate financial straits in which they found themselves.

“Other structural causes such as skilled manpower shortages eroding legal and conventional job reservation with resulting Africanisation of certain industries, together with the accelerated industrial decentralisation heightening job insecurity among the permanently settled urban proletariat, and tensions associated with rapid Indian occupational mobility may also have played a part in bringing matters to a head.

“The police, in their accustomed ‘fire-engine’ rôle, acted with commendable restraint in all but a few instances, as did the black workers. The courts, too, treated the comparatively few black workers who were prosecuted with some leniency. It should be emphasised, however, that these industrial disturbances were, to all intents and purposes leaderless . . .”

At the beginning of March the National Development and Management Foundation held a “conference on avoiding labour unrest”. This was addressed by the Minister of Labour but the press was excluded at the Minister’s request.⁷ The South African Institute of Personnel Management held a symposium called “Strike” at the Holiday Inn at Jan Smuts Airport on 14 March.

⁷ *Financial Mail*, 2 March.

The symposium was opened by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and papers presenting both employers' and employees' views were presented. Spro-cas issued its dossier No. 3 entitled "Strike".

Strikes and work stoppages continued throughout the year reaching a climax with the tragic events at Carletonville (see section on mining). Press reports indicated that about 70 000 workers (mainly African) were involved in strikes and work stoppages between mid-January and mid-October 1973.

BANTU LABOUR RELATIONS REGULATION AMENDMENT BILL

The New Provisions

As stated earlier, this Bill replaced the Bantu Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Amendment Bill. It was later enacted as Act No. 70 of 1973 and the long and short titles of the principal Act were duly changed. Among the most important provisions introduced were the following:

1. Definition of labour dispute

In terms of the old definition only certain disputes could be dealt with under the Act. The new definition covers all disputes in which African workers are involved.

2. Regional Bantu labour committees

The Minister of Labour is empowered to appoint members of the various types of committees at plant level for which the Act provides, to regional Bantu labour committees in the regions concerned.

It is now *mandatory* for a regional committee to co-opt *at least* one member of an existing liaison committee, works committee, or co-ordinating works committee when dealing with a labour dispute in a trade and/or area concerned in such a dispute. A regional committee is also allowed to co-opt such members from the existing types of committee for the purpose of dealing with any other matters affecting employees in the trade concerned.

3. Liaison Committees

A liaison committee in any establishment consists of members appointed by the employer and other members elected by his employees. At least half the members of a liaison committee must be elected by the African employees but the chairman may be designated by the employer, and need not be a member of the liaison committee, or may be appointed by the committee itself. (The initiative clearly rests with the employer.)

4. Works Committees

Provision is made for the *election* rather than the *establish-*

ment of works committees where no liaison committee exists. The upper limit of membership of a works committee has been increased from five to twenty provided that the number of members does not exceed a quarter of the total number of employees in the establishment.

5. Inspectors and works committees

See the section on the earlier Bill for changes in this respect.

6. Functions of works committees

The functions of a works committee have been extended to communicating "the wishes, aspirations and requirements of the employees in the establishment or section of an establishment in respect of which it has been elected, to their employer and to represent the said employees in any negotiations with their employer concerning their conditions of employment or any other matter affecting their interests".

7. Co-ordinating works committees

If works committees have been elected in two or more sections of an establishment they may establish a co-ordinating works committee but only after consulting their employer.

8. Industrial Council meetings

African members of regional Bantu labour committees, including members of the various committees at plant level co-opted for this purpose *may* now attend and participate in the deliberations of an industrial council when matters affecting African workers' interests are discussed. (This is a permissive and not a mandatory provision. The representatives of the African workers do not have voting rights. Their last resort if they have serious objections to proposals affecting their interests is an appeal to the Minister of Labour.)

9. Wages

With the exclusion of trades covered by registered industrial councils, the Minister is empowered, after consultation with the Wage Board and the Central Bantu Labour Board, to accept, at any time, proposals concerning African wages or other conditions of employment in their trade and area from a *sufficiently representative group or association of employers* and to make an order embodying such proposals binding upon all employers and employees in the trade and area concerned. The Minister is also empowered to extend the provisions of a wage determination or an order under this Act, beyond the trade and area for which it was made to other trades and/or areas. (This could short-

circuit the cumbersome delays associated with the Wage Board's operation. However, the initiative, yet again, rests with the employer.)

10. **The right to strike**

The principal Act prohibited *all* strikes and lock-outs of African employees. The new provisions legalise strikes or lock-outs of African employees in certain circumstances. The prohibition on such strikes or lock-outs remains:

- (a) where a wage regulating measure or order is binding and where it has been in operation for less than one year;
- (b) during the period of currency of any agreement, award or determination made under the Industrial Conciliation Act, 1956;
- (c) where the African workers are employed by a local authority;
- (d) where the African workers are employed in essential services providing light, power, water, sanitation, passenger transportation or a fire extinguishing service, within the area of a local authority;
- (e) where they are employed in the supply, distribution and canning of perishable foodstuffs, or the supply and distribution of petrol and other fuels to local authorities or others engaged in providing essential services, if the Minister has extended the prohibition on strikes to such industries;
- (f) where the Central Bantu Labour Board has referred a proposed industrial council agreement which it finds unsatisfactory to the Minister for a Wage Board recommendation;
- (g) where the Central Bantu Labour Board has reported an unresolved dispute to the Minister for a Wage Board recommendation.

In *all* other instances a dispute must be referred to the liaison committee, co-ordinating works committee or works committee, as the case may be, which exists in the plant concerned. If the committee is unable to settle the dispute, or where no committee exists, a report must be made to the Bantu labour officer in the area concerned. After thirty days from the date of such a report have elapsed a strike or lock-out may legally take place.

11. **Victimization**

A stronger provision prohibiting the victimization of African workers participating in the establishment, election or activities of liaison committees, co-ordinating works committees, or works committees has been included.

Parliamentary Debate on the Bill

The Bill was not opposed in principle by the opposition parties but they did express certain reservations about its pro-

visions. Some important points were made in the House and certain distinctions were drawn.

The Minister of Labour pointed out that:¹ "Where an employer and his Bantu employees are not desirous of having a liaison committee or cannot agree on the establishment of such a committee, the employees may in terms of the new section 7A request their employer to take the necessary steps to enable them to elect a works committee. The employer may also on his own initiative make arrangements for the election of a works committee if the employees do not take the initiative themselves." He also had this to say of African trade union rights:² "With reference to what certain persons and bodies still have to say about Bantu trade unions I want to express it as my considered opinion that this measure offers our Bantu workers every opportunity to look after their own interests, and that they will be able to do so better to effect in this way than any way which could be envisaged by the advocates of Bantu trade unions." The Minister's attitude to the new legislation was put rather succinctly in his final summing up:³ ". . . if we had wanted to prohibit those trade unions, Minister Schoeman would already have done so in 1953. This has never been done; we have felt that they could simply struggle on like that. I think that the establishment of these works committees will really deprive those favourite Bantu trade unions of the hon. member of their life's blood and any necessity for existence. I therefore think that such a prohibition is unnecessary."

Mr. S. J. Marais Steyn, M.P., then the United Party's leading spokesman on labour matters, said:⁴ "But there are weaknesses in this attempt. For example, there is this weakness that the Minister has abandoned his original draft, which he published in the *Government Gazette*, in terms of which the Department of Labour, too, could take the initiative in the establishment of works committees where liaison committees did not exist. I think that it was a retrograde step to remove this from the Bill, but I can understand that the Minister did this on the recommendation of interested parties who were concerned about it. As it is I can only express the hope — and I hope that the Minister will support me in this — that while this will not be done in future under statutory authority, the Department of Labour will never the less avail itself of its tremendous administrative powers and opportunities so as to encourage and expedite this process of the establishment of works committees in as many undertakings and industries in South Africa as possible."

Dr. G. F. Jacobs M.P. (United Party) expressed the following views:⁵ "I think it is universally accepted that there are mainly

¹ Hansard 17 col. 8391, 6 June.

² *Ibid.*, col. 8397.

³ Hansard 18 col. 8779, 11 June.

⁴ Hansard 17 cols. 8405, 6 June.

⁵ Hansard 18 cols. 8732-3, 11 June.

three rights which labourers ought to have. The first is the right to unite; in other words, to organise, and to do it at a national level as well. In this legislation we have before us, this right is, of course, not being granted to the Black workers. The whole basis here is that of decentralisation. They are being granted the right to unite on a local basis, but they are not being granted the right to organise on a national basis. The second right which is universally accepted, is the right of collective bargaining. To a certain extent this right is being granted in this legislation, but the whole idea in this legislation is once again the concept of fragmentation. Although the idea of bargaining is indeed being embodied in this measure, it is once again, by way of the procedure we are discussing now, being done in a fragmentary manner. The third general right which is universally accepted, is the right to strike. This is being provided for in this legislation, although the right to strike is being made subject to certain strict reservations.⁵

Mrs. H. Suzman M.P. (Progressive Party) while not opposing the Bill put forward the following arguments:⁶

"I want to point out that there is in fact a very considerable difference between Black workers under this Bill and the prohibition to strike and White workers who are not allowed to strike under the Industrial Conciliation Act. In the case of White workers it is perfectly reasonable, for instance, not to allow them to strike while an industrial conciliation agreement is in operation, because they have been party to the agreement which was reached—they were part and parcel of the negotiations which laid down the conditions of work, the wages, etc., to which they agreed at the time. For that reason the prohibition is perfectly reasonable, but surely it is very different in the case of the Black workers. Under the Bill, as I see it — if I am wrong I hope the hon. the Minister will correct me — a few Black workers may attend the industrial conciliation board meetings. What I want to know is when will they have the right to take part in discussions and when will they have the right to vote? As I read this Bill, no such right is extended to them. They may attend as observers and may perhaps even put forward a point of view, but when the actual decision is voted upon, for conditions of work, wages and so on, I do not believe these Black workers will have any part in the negotiations. If I am right in that, what I said originally is correct, and that is that what applies to the White workers in prohibiting them from striking under the Industrial Conciliation Act is very different indeed from what applies to Black workers. . . . If I may point out another example of how the strike provisions are out of context and how they have been grafted on to a totally different system of legislation, and I should like to point to the

⁶ *Ibid.*, cols. 8755-7, 11 June.

works committees. The Bill places a prohibition on strikes by Black workers engaged in essential services. This works committee system, with its liaison and co-ordinating and works committees, has also been grafted on to a law which is very different in basis from the Industrial Conciliation Act, which prevents White workers who are working in essential industries from striking. I think it was last year that the hon. the Minister took me to task in this House and said that I never told people overseas that the same prohibition that was placed on Black workers to strike in essential industries applied also to White workers in essential industries. I agree that I did not tell people overseas that, for the simple reason two entirely different systems apply, because even though the White workers in essential industries are prohibited from striking, they have behind them powerful and well-organised trade unions. The trade unions can arrange work to the rule and threaten all sorts of actions against the hon. the Minister including that they are no longer going to vote for the Nationalist Party. That is a very different situation indeed from the situation of the vast number of Black workers who have no trade union or organisation behind them and who of course have no vote. Therefore their position vis-à-vis the Government is very different from the position of White workers who are also working in essential industries and are not allowed to strike."

BANTU LABOUR ACT OF 1964

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that there were 23 inspectors of African labour appointed in terms of Section 17(1) of this Act in 1972.¹

¹ Hansard 18 col. 1004, 13 June.

EDUCATION

NATIONAL EXPENDITURE

In reply to questions in the Assembly on 21 May,¹ the Minister of Statistics said that the total expenditure on education had been as follows for the financial years stated, the amounts being shown in R-million:

	<i>R-million</i>	
	<i>Revenue Acct.</i>	<i>Loan Acct.</i>
<i>1970-1</i>		
The provinces (White education)	238,2	53,1
Department of National Education (mainly Whites)	71,7	3,0
Other government departments (all racial groups)	5,2	17,4
Department of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs	45,0	—
Department of Indian Affairs	19,8	—
Department of Bantu Education	32,9	—
Homeland governments	22,3	—
	435,1	73,5
 <i>1971-2</i>		
The provinces	284,6	60,2
Department of National Education	85,8	7,5
Other government departments	5,4	15,7
Department of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs	51,0	—
Department of Indian Affairs	23,8	—
Department of Bantu Education	41,7	—
Homeland governments	28,0	—
	520,3	83,4

The expenditure by "other government departments" apparently includes capital expenditure by the Department of Public Works on educational buildings for students of all racial groups.

PER CAPITA COSTS

Per capita costs for school pupils of the various racial groups, based on current expenditure from public funds, were given by the responsible Ministers in reply to further questions in the Assembly.²

¹ Hansard 15 col. 901.

² Minister of Statistics, Hansard 12 col. 772; Minister of Indian Affairs, Hansard 11 col. 673; Minister of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs, Hansard 17 col. 974; Minister of Bantu Education, Hansard 11 col. 727.

Racial group	Year	Primary school	Secondary and	General
		pupils	High school pupils	average
		R	R	R
Whites	1971-2	366*	624*	461*
Indians	1972	112,49	155,74	124,40
Coloured	1972	91,04	120,18	94,41
Africans	1971-2	20,64*	112,71*	25,31

*Estimate.

It would appear that the Minister's figure indicating the general average for Africans in 1971-2 may have been too high. The Deputy Minister said, later, in the Assembly³ that the general average in 1972-3 (a year later) was R22,70. However, according to *The Star* of 11 November the estimated *per capita* cost for 1973 was R27,20.

BANTU SCHOOL EDUCATION

ESTIMATED TOTAL EXPENDITURE IN 1973-4

In reply to a series of questions in the Assembly on 26 April,⁴ the Minister of Bantu Education gave figures indicating the estimated total expenditure on Bantu Education in the 1973-4 financial year. The amounts mentioned, he said, were subject to approval by Parliament and by the homeland governments.

Revenue Account	Republic	South West Africa
	R	R
Bantu Education Department ⁵	42 843 000	2 001 000
Special Vote for augmentation of salaries ⁶	658 000	214 000
Estimates of homeland governments	50 045 500	2 504 000
Salaries of seconded White personnel in the homelands	3 235 500	22 500
	<hr/> 96 782 000	<hr/> 4 741 500
<i>Loan Account</i>		
<i>Buildings for educational purposes</i>		
Homeland governments' departments of works	3 306 500	1 123 600
S.A. Bantu Trust	1 967 000	877 500
Public Works Department, S.W.A. ⁷	—	100 050
	<hr/> 5 273 500	<hr/> 2 101 150
<i>Combined totals</i>	<hr/> 102 055 500	<hr/> 6 842 650

As mentioned on pages 345-6 of last year's *Survey*, the Department of Bantu Education is now responsible, *inter alia*, for the education of Africans in white areas and in Reserves which do not yet fall under Legislative Assemblies, and for financing

³ Hansard 18 col. 1018.

⁴ Hansard 11 cols. 725-6.

⁵ Vote 17 (Republic) and 7 (South West Africa).

⁶ Vote 47 (Republic) and 27 (South West Africa).

⁷ Vote 19.

the current expenditure on universities for Africans. In its estimates for 1973-4⁸ the Department set aside R6 766 000 for financial assistance to the universities.

Homeland governments frame their own estimates in the light of the money available to them, and of advice from the Department. Their budgets for 1973-4 have not in all cases been published.

SCHOOL BUILDINGS AND EQUIPMENT

Official funds available for school buildings

In the Assembly on 21 February⁹ the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education said that increased loan funds for the building of schools for urban Africans would be made available through Bantu Administration Boards. Extensions to existing high schools would be permitted, but the Government encouraged the building of high schools in homelands in cases where these homelands were near the industrial areas.

Even before the establishment of the Bantu Administration Board that controls Bantu affairs in Johannesburg and on the West Rand, it was announced¹⁰ that the Johannesburg City Council had been authorized to raise a loan of R1 000 000 for the building of more schools in Soweto. It was hoped to borrow R750 000 of this from uncommitted funds in the city's Bantu Services Levy Account, at 6 per cent interest over 30 years. The rest would come from State loan funds. Mr. Sam Moss, M.P.C., chairman of the municipal Non-European Affairs Committee, said that this sum would make possible the erection of about 500 classrooms, about half the number currently needed in Soweto, but the shortage would grow because of a natural population increase of about 2 000 families a year. The housing section of the municipal department would be expanded considerably to undertake the erection of the 500 classrooms during the course of the 1973-4 financial year.

Urban local authorities are authorized to impose a levy of up to 20 cents a month on all African heads of families to cover, or help pay for, the costs of building schools. As mentioned in previous issues of this *Survey*, the African heads of families in Soweto voluntarily pay 38 cents a month. Press commentators pointed out that this education levy fund would be expected to cover the interest on and redemption of the new loan, besides past loans. It was stated in the minutes of the Soweto Urban Bantu Council for 28 June that a very high proportion of the levy funds was used for maintenance, water supplies, and sanitary services, and for repaying past loans. There was too little money over to

⁸ Vote 17.

⁹ Hansard 5 col. 7063.

¹⁰ *Star*, 15 and 16 March; *Rand Daily Mail*, 17 March.

cover new loans, hence the delay in the provision of adequate numbers of schools.

At the opening of the Ciskeian Legislative Assembly on 24 May,¹¹ the Prime Minister said that the Department made R-for-R contributions to the costs of classrooms built by communities in the homelands. About 400 had been completed in the Ciskei alone in this manner during the past year.

Number of schools

The table that follows is a summary of a detailed analysis of the number, distribution, and types of schools in 1972, contained in the August issue of the *Bantu Education Journal*.

Public	Republic		Total	South West Africa
	White areas ¹²	Homelands		
Government or homeland authority	103	1 771	1 874	7
Community	1 210	3 791	5 001	407
Farm	3 382	—	3 382	4
Mine, factory, hospital, etc. ...	161	25	186	1
Special (handicapped children)	—	12	12	—
<i>Private</i>				
Roman Catholic	163	232	395	25
Other churches or organizations	11	10	21	7
Night schools and continuation classes	63	14	77	—
	5 093	5 855	10 948	451

Double sessions

In the Assembly on 20 February,¹³ the Minister of Bantu Education furnished information about the number of classes in which double sessions were operating in the Republic as at the first Tuesday of March in 1972, and the numbers of pupils involved. Statistics for South West Africa were not given. The percentages of the total number of children in the classes concerned who were involved in double sessions have been calculated by the writer from enrolment figures (given later).

	No. of classes	No. of pupils involved	Percentage of total no. of pupils in these classes
Sub A	5 212	498 834	72,5
Sub B	4 997	394 127	73,4
Std. I	760	55 310	11,6
Std. II	677	36 218	10,1
Stds. III and IV	—	—	—
	11 646	984 489	

¹¹ State Information Office News Release.

¹² Including Reserves not controlled by homeland governments.

¹³ Hansard 3 col. 156.

Shortage of schools

The Minister of Bantu Education said in the Assembly on 23 February¹⁴ that approximately 76 per cent of African children in the age group 7 to 15 years were enrolled in schools in 1972 (but, as is shown later, the drop-out rate is very high.)

On 24 January *The Star* reported that more than a quarter of the registered schools in Soweto, Johannesburg, were "shadow" schools of varying sizes, with no school buildings of their own. The various classes generally had to be held at different venues — church and other halls, tents, classrooms borrowed from other schools in the afternoons. Principals had to travel sometimes considerable distances from one group to another. As soon as a new school was built, it was allocated to one of these "shadow" schools.

The shortage of schools and the overcrowding in those that exist is probably more acute at Soweto than in other urban townships, because of the large population involved. On 9 January *The Star* estimated that about 35 000 children there could not be admitted to school because of the lack of adequate accommodation. At its meeting on 28 June the Urban Bantu Council put the figure at an estimated 42 000, but it included dropouts, children who could not continue because they had failed Std. II or Std. VI twice, and pupils who had obtained a third class Std. VI pass which did not entitle them to proceed to secondary schools. Very many of these children would, in normal circumstances, still have been at school, it was considered. They were the products of afternoon sessions, or had received inadequate attention from overloaded teachers, or had not attended school regularly because both parents worked and were unable to supervise their children's activities.¹⁵

In order to encourage people to contribute to its TEACH fund (described below), *The Star* has run a series of feature articles on the needs of Soweto. On 9 January it pointed out that, coincidentally, Soweto and the white areas of Johannesburg each had about 145 schools. But the enrolment was just over 75 000 in the white schools, as against some 115 000 in Soweto. Most white schools had heating, a school hall, a library, audio-visual facilities, sports fields, etc. Soweto schools were, in the main, austere brick buildings, lacking these facilities. Yet, in proportion, Africans paid more for their education than did pupils of other racial groups attending public schools. They had to provide many of their own text books, and heads of families contributed to the education levy. It was pointed out on 23 January that there were only six high (senior secondary) schools in Soweto. Although classes at these schools were severely overcrowded, each year they had to turn away many applicants. This bottleneck would

¹⁴ Hansard 3 col. 173.

¹⁵ From official minutes.

increase as more junior secondary schools were provided.

The shortage of schools is not confined to urban areas. In March, for example,¹⁶ the Minister of Education for Bophutha-Tswana stated that, on the basis of 40 pupils per classroom, 3 000 more classrooms were needed in his government's area. But, in view of the inadequate funds available, it would take a very long time to overcome this backlog.

African children in white farming areas are probably worst-off. There are far too few schools because the farmers have to provide the buildings, and many are unwilling to do this. Should an owner of a neighbouring farm object to the establishment of a school, his objection is sustained by the authorities. It is difficult to attract well-qualified teachers.

School buildings and equipment donated by private organisations and persons

As mentioned in previous years, in 1970 the Department relaxed a previous policy, deciding that in approved cases private donations could be made to the building or equipping of schools. The Department indicates where schools are needed, and of what type. The usual arrangement then is that the local authority concerned provides the site and undertakes the construction, the Department later supplying equipment and the necessary staff.

The TEACH fund launched by *The Star* in October 1971 was described in last year's *Survey* (Teach Every African Child). By 1 November 1972 it had collected about R224 000, this money being donated by the newspaper itself, business firms, and members of the public of all racial groups. It covered the costs of building ten schools at Soweto, providing accommodation for more than 7 000 pupils.

During June the chairman of the Argus group, Mr. L. E. A. Slater, announced that *The Star* would itself make a further contribution to the fund, of R25 000, to pay for the erection of a complete school. He challenged business firms to follow this example. One firm, Twins Pharmaceutical Holdings Ltd., announced next day that, prior to this challenge, it had decided to donate the entire costs of a school. During the five months following, Mr. Slater's challenge was taken up by five firms: Associated British Foods (a British firm with interests in South Africa), Spicers (Pty.) Ltd., a member of the Reed International group, S.A. Breweries (Pty.) Ltd., Frank and Hirsch (Pty.) Ltd., and the S.A. Permanent Building Society.

Other firms or individuals made donations to cover the costs of one or more classrooms, and members of the public, including Indians and groups of White school children, sent contributions. By 1 November, the TEACH fund had mounted to R558 410,

¹⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 March.

practically enough for a 23rd TEACH school at Soweto. Six of those completed or planned were junior secondary schools, with libraries, laboratories, and rooms for woodwork and homecrafts. The others were primary schools.

It was announced during July that Pick 'n Pay Stores Ltd. had donated R5 000 each to the TEACH and LEARN funds.¹⁷ It offered to contribute R2 500 each to the funds of the first two suburbs that undertook to raise money for a complete school by the end of the year: Randburg and Constantia, Cape, are reported to have accepted this challenge. Pick 'n Pay also set aside R10 000 to establish TEACH funds in other cities.

S.A. General Electric presented R25 000 to the East Rand Bantu Administration Board to improve educational facilities in the African township of Benoni.¹⁸

The Bantu Welfare Trust, administered by the S.A. Institute of Race Relations, has continued, *inter alia*, to make donations for the erection of complete schools or additional classrooms at various centres, for example, during the year under review, at Harrismith, Kei Road, and Graaff Reinet.

In September, three prominent Indians in Durban formed an Indo-KwaZulu education committee with the object of raising funds, mainly from Indians, for the building of schools in the Zulu homeland.¹⁹ Zeta (the Zulu Education and Teaching Assistance) Committee is an African body raising funds for school buildings. By August it had sufficient money for a high school at Edendale.²⁰

Further help has been given in the provision of equipment for schools. S.A. Breweries (Pty.) Ltd. allocated R15 000 for schools in Johannesburg, Pretoria, and on the Reef, to be distributed on the basis of 50 cents' worth of equipment per pupil. Forty-five post-primary schools were invited to apply, stating their main needs.²¹

Industrialists at Isando and Elandsfontein have recently established an education fund for Tembisa, where most of the African employees live. During the first two months about R34 250 was collected or pledged. It will be used to provide literacy training, where necessary, for employees, and to purchase books and equipment for the schools their children attend.²² General Motors S.A. (Pty.) Ltd. is assisting children of its employees in the Eastern Cape who are attending secondary schools. The company pays their contributions to school funds, and donated 600 sets of text-books.²³ A firm in Witbank provided 100 desks for local schools.²⁴

¹⁷ *Star*, 18 July. LEARN is a scholarship fund launched by the *Natal Daily News*.

¹⁸ *Star*, 21 September.

¹⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 September.

²⁰ *Natal Witness*, 13 January and 27 August.

²¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 May.

²² *Star*, 21 September and 26 October.

²³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 January.

²⁴ *Star*, 31 May.

There are many other such efforts, too numerous to record, but it should be mentioned that White children are helping, too. Pupils of the H.A. Jack primary school in Johannesburg, for example, were shocked to find out how very much better their school was equipped than was the A.B. Xuma school in Soweto. Over some two years they have themselves raised about R2 500, which has been used to provide stoves to warm the bare classrooms of the African school, as well as to buy desks and other furniture, audio-visual equipment, and other items.

AFRICAN EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

As mentioned in earlier *Surveys*, ASSECA (the Association for Educational and Cultural Advancement of Africans) was formed in 1968 by a group of leading citizens of Soweto who were disturbed over poor matriculation results. One of its first activities was to provide tuition for pupils who had to write supplementary examinations. It has received large grants from the Polaroid Corporation as well as donations from the Chase Manhattan Foundation, the General Motors Corporation, and others, and contributions from Africans. ASSECA's accounts of expenditure have not been made public, but it appears that most of the money has been used to establish about 23 branches in various parts of the country, open and equip offices, and for general administration.²⁵ The Association has conducted seminars to discuss problems facing black people and possible solutions, and has made a number of representations to the authorities on such matters as media of instruction, teachers' salaries, and the need for free and compulsory education.

It was announced in October that ASSECA had launched a drive for R1-million, to be raised by means of voluntary levies of 10 cents on heads of African families. The Bantu Education Department agreed to this money being collected by teachers provided that the school boards for the areas approved, and that the teachers were willing to do the work outside normal school hours. Many parents are, apparently, contributing, but not all are willing. The Dube Parents' Vigilance Committee is reported to have objected on the grounds that while ASSECA had expanded its organization, it appeared to have given little practical help to African children, and that no financial statements had been published.²⁶

Early in 1973 a second body named the African Bureau of Education was established under the convenership of Dr. D. P. Marolen, who told the Press about its programme.²⁷ He stated that its first project would be an educational library in Soweto. In response to an appeal it had collected some 10 000 text-books

²⁵ *Star*, 28 February; *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 September.

²⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 and 26 October (Townships editions).

²⁷ *Star*, 22 January.

and teachers' professional books from publishers, booksellers, and individuals, together with furniture and cash donations.²⁸ The constitution of the Bureau has not been made public.

POLICY DECISIONS BY HOMELAND GOVERNMENTS

As recorded on page 147 of the 1964 *Survey*, soon after it had been constituted the Transkeian Government rejected many of the provisions of the Bantu Education Act and of regulations under this Act. It took over control of community schools, did away with school boards, altered syllabuses, and re-introduced the previous system in terms of which English or Afrikaans (as selected by parents) would, in stages, be substituted for Xhosa as the medium of instruction from Std. III on.²⁹ In practice, English was selected. During the year under review the Transkeian Government appointed the Kakana commission of inquiry into all aspects of education in its area. It is particularly concerned about the high drop-out rate in schools and high failure rates in public examinations.

Other homeland governments are altering the Bantu Education system. During June, for example, the Gazankulu Government introduced an Education Act, to come into force from 1974. English will be used as the main medium of instruction after Std. II. Afrikaans will be taught as a subject, but used as a medium of instruction only in certain non-examination subjects. Private schools will be allowed. The Minister of Education will be empowered to introduce compulsory education when he considers that the school accommodation and number of teachers in any area are adequate to make this possible.³⁰

KwaZulu passed a Medium of Instruction and Language Act as its Act 5/1973. From 1974, English will be the medium of instruction after Std. II, Afrikaans and Zulu being taught as subjects. However, should any group of pupils in classes above Std. II prefer to be instructed through the medium of Afrikaans, the Executive Councillor responsible for Education will make such arrangements as he may deem necessary.

It is understood that other homeland governments are making similar changes.

PUPILS

According to the *Bantu Education Journal* for April, the total enrolment of African school pupils in 1972 was as follows:¹

²⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 February and 14 September.

²⁹ Schools under the control of the Bantu Education Department use the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction to the end of Std. VI. As described later, from 1976 English or Afrikaans or both will be substituted for the mother-tongue after Std. IV.

³⁰ *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 June.

¹ The enrolment at technical and trade schools and teacher training institutions is not included; this is given later. Percentages calculated by the writer.

		<i>South Africa</i>		<i>South West Africa</i>	
		<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Sub A	... ..	687 990	22,34	32 360	30,68
Sub B	... ..	536 818	17,43	19 513	18,50
Std. I	... ..	475 848	15,45	15 925	15,10
Std. II	... ..	359 339	11,67	12 020	11,40
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
		2 059 995	66,89	79 818	75,68
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Std. III	... ..	301 232	9,78	9 005	8,53
Std. IV	... ..	222 913	7,24	6 536	6,20
Std. V	... ..	176 109	5,72	4 472	4,24
Std. VI	... ..	161 472	5,24	3 722	3,53
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
		861 726	27,98	23 735	22,50
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Form I	... ..	63 733	2,07	805	0,76
Form II	... ..	47 256	1,54	575	0,55
Form III	... ..	32 074	1,04	378	0,36
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
		143 063	4,65	1 758	1,67
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Form IV	... ..	9 909	0,32	110	0,10
Form V	... ..	4 814	0,16	51	0,05
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
		14 723	0,48	161	0,15
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
		3 079 507	100,00	105 472	100,00
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

(According to *The Star* of 6 November, the Department of Bantu Education estimated that the enrolment in 1973 was 3 316 000.)

In the Assembly on 16 February,² the Minister of Bantu Education gave figures indicating the distribution of secondary pupils as between classes in the homelands and classes controlled by his Department (these include schools in "white" areas and in Reserves which do not fall under a homeland government). The Minister's figures excluded the Transkei, but official statistics for this territory have been added by the writer in order to arrive at the distribution figures that follow.

The percentages of secondary pupils who in 1972 were attending schools situated in the homelands were:

Form I	... ..	67,3
Form II	... ..	69,5
Form III	... ..	66,9
		<hr/>
<i>Average</i>	... ..	<i>67,9</i>
		<hr/>

² Hansard 2 col. 122.

Form IV	...	71,3
Form V	...	69,9
<i>Average</i>	...	<u>70,9</u>

REVISED STRUCTURE FOR BANTU EDUCATION

The proposed structuring of classes and curricula in schools for all racial groups was described on page 352 of last year's *Survey*. It was mentioned that the various education departments would be free to vary the arrangement to suit their own requirements.

Writing in the *Bantu Education Journal* for December 1972, the Minister of Bantu Education described the system to be used in schools under his Department's control. The existing 13-year structure would be reduced to 12 years, the class that would disappear being Std. VI. This change was planned for 1976 to allow time for the revision of syllabuses and text-books and the re-training of teachers in service.

The new Std. V syllabus would be introduced in 1975, the first new Std. V examination being conducted at the end of that year. Thereafter, this would be the final examination of the primary school. At the end of 1975 pupils who passed this examination, together with those passing Std. VI, would all be eligible for admission to Form I. (The Transkei is making a slightly different arrangement, but the end result will be the same.³)

The four stages of education would be:

Lower primary: Sub-standard A to Std. II

Higher primary: Stds. III to V

Junior secondary: Forms I to III

Senior secondary: Forms IV and V (or, in some schools, Forms I to V).

The mother-tongue would be the medium of instruction from Sub-standard A to Std. IV, the Minister continued. Thereafter, it would be used for religious education and certain other non-examination subjects. But from Std. V on, all examination subjects would be taught through the medium of English, or Afrikaans, or both on a 50-50 basis. Homeland governments would make their own decisions as to which of these three options to adopt. The decision in respect of schools under the central Department, however, would be made by the Secretary, on the recommendation of the school board, the circuit inspector, and the regional director concerned. The main factor to be taken into consideration would be the dominant language of the White community in the area where the school was situated.

A number of African educationalists have expressed the fear

³ *Debates of the Legislative Assembly, 1973, page 246.*

that, since Afrikaners constitute a majority of the Whites, the use of Afrikaans, or both languages, as the medium of instruction may be enforced. They would prefer English because this is a world language.⁴ On 8 May *The Star* reported that the 20 000-strong African Teachers' Association of S.A. (ATASA) considered that homeland governments should decide on the medium of instruction for all of their citizens, wherever these people lived.

SUPPLY OF TEXT-BOOKS

The extent to which African pupils are supplied with free text-books was described on page 258 of the 1971 *Survey*.

The Department's Deputy Director of Planning, Mr. K. B. Hartshorne, is reported⁵ to have said that from the beginning of 1974, all pupils in Forms I, II, and III in schools controlled by the Department would receive free text-books with the exception only of prescribed set-works.

STANDARD SIX EXAMINATION

The Std. VI examination is not a public examination of the Senior Certificate type. The papers are set by the Department, but because of the large numbers concerned — about 150 000 — marking has to be done by teachers on a local basis rather than by centralized marking teams. Circuit inspectors moderate the results.⁶

Early in 1973 the African Teachers' Association of S.A. is reported⁷ to have alleged that the Department deliberately restricted the percentage of pupils who qualified to proceed to secondary schools by adjusting examination results. It was stated that circuit inspectors had been instructed to ensure that roughly 10 per cent of pupils obtained first class passes, 35 per cent second class passes, 35 per cent third class passes, and that 20 per cent should fail. Those with third class passes did not qualify for admission to Form I.

The Secretary for Bantu Education, Dr. H. J. van Zyl, stated⁸ that percentage figures were based on past experience. They were intended as a guide, and by no means as a hard and fast rule. The object was to ensure that uniform standards were maintained over the whole country and that the examinations and the marking were realistic. There was no rigidity; between 1960 and 1972 the percentage of passes over the whole country had varied from 77,8 per cent to 84,7 per cent.

During August Dr. Van Zyl announced⁹ that, some time

⁴ e.g. *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 April, 1 May, 22 May.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1 September.

⁶ From a letter by the Secretary for Bantu Education published in the *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 March.

⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 February; *Star*, 5 March.

⁸ e.g. *Star*, 3 March; *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 March.

⁹ *Star*, 13 August.

previously his Department had decided to moderate the examination on a subject basis instead of as a whole. Instead of adjusting (if necessary) the overall results, the average scored in each subject would be adjusted to match the average achieved in that subject during the preceding five years. (This is, apparently, the practice in other education departments.) In an interview with representatives of the Progressive Party in September,¹⁰ Dr. Van Zyl agreed to consider the suggestion that a panel of moderators be appointed for each circuit, to avoid the situation where the final decision was the responsibility of only one inspector.

Furthermore, Dr. Van Zyl said that his department had decided to abolish the third class pass system from 1975.

JUNIOR AND SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION RESULTS

Provisional Junior Certificate examination results were published in the *Bantu Education Journal* for March. They applied to full-time candidates only, including those in South West Africa.

	Number	Percentage
Number of candidates	30 539	—
Candidates who passed:		
With distinction	161	0,5
First class	3 314	10,8
Second class	10 980	36,0
Third class	8 137	26,7
<i>Total passes</i>	<u>22 592</u>	<u>74,0</u>

The *Journal* gave the results obtained by full-time candidates in the Republic and South West Africa who wrote the examination of the Joint Matriculation Board or the Senior Certificate examination of the Department of National Education:

	Number	Percentage
Number of candidates	4 541	—
Passed with matriculation exemption		
First class	105	2,3
Pass	1 696	37,4
Obtained School Leaving Certificates	1 110	24,4
<i>Total passes</i>	<u>2 911</u>	<u>64,1</u>

Of those who obtained matriculation exemption (entitling them to proceed to universities), 595 took mathematics as a subject, 508 physical science, and 1 578 biology.

AFRICAN TEACHERS

Replying to a question in the Assembly on 13 April,¹¹ the Minister of Bantu Education stated that the following numbers of Africans were serving in senior educational capacities as at the first Tuesday in June, 1972:

¹⁰ *Star* report, 5 September.

¹¹ Hansard 10 col. 656.

Inspectors of schools	93
Assistant or subject inspectors ...	323
Professors	7
Lecturers	64
School principals	10 747
Other senior capacities	287

According to the April and October issues of the *Bantu Education Journal*, the numbers of teachers employed in 1972, including those in special and night schools and continuation classes, were:

		<i>Schools under:</i>		
		<i>Bantu Education Dept.</i>	<i>Homeland Governments</i>	<i>Totals</i>
Africans		21 416	31 830	53 246
Whites		242	561	803
Coloured		39	9	48
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
		21 697	32 400	54 097

Another 2 445 teachers were employed in schools in South West Africa: their racial groups were not stated.

The Deputy Minister said in the Assembly¹² that in March 1972 there were 41 593 African teachers in the Republic (excluding the Transkei) who were being paid by the Department, and 3 340 privately paid.

Asked in the Assembly about the qualifications of African teachers in the Republic, including the homelands, the Minister gave the following figures, also relating to March 1972:¹³

		<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
<i>Professionally qualified and:</i>			
had a university degree		835	1,57
passed Matriculation or equivalent		5 529	10,37
passed Junior Certificate or equivalent		23 987	45,01
passed Std. VI		14 373	26,97
had other qualifications (e.g. technical)		136	0,26
<i>No professional qualifications but:</i>			
had a university degree		60	0,11
passed Matriculation or equivalent		300	0,56
had technical or other vocational qualifications		81	0,15
had not attained Matriculation level and held			
no technical or other qualifications		7 993	15,00
		<hr/>	<hr/>
<i>Totals</i>		53 294	100,00

As from 1 April, white teachers were given a 15 per cent increase in salaries, while black teachers received a 17½ per cent increase. In the Assembly on 9 February, the Minister of Bantu Education gave certain examples of salary scales for Africans. If 17½ per cent is added to the Minister's figures the result is: Professionally qualified, employed in a primary school:

¹² 2 March, Hansard 4 col. 267.

¹³ 13 April, Hansard 10 col. 655. The Minister's total figure is slightly different from that given earlier. Percentages calculated by the writer.

M R846 rising to R1 904

F R677 „ „ R1 586

Matriculation plus three years' training, employed in a secondary school:

M R1 269 rising to R3 102

F R1 058 „ „ R2 538

Matriculation plus four years' training, employed in a secondary school:

M R1 586 rising to R3 384

F R1 481 „ „ R2 820

The comparison of teachers' salaries made by Mr. Franz E. Auerbach in 1972, and the methods he used, were described briefly on page 356 of last year's *Survey*. Mr. Auerbach concluded that, on average, African teachers then earned 45 per cent of the amounts paid to Whites with similar qualifications, employed in similar posts. Mr. Auerbach calculates that this proportion has now risen to 46 per cent.

During the mid-year vacation the Foundation for Education, Science, and Technology again arranged a convention for African teachers of science and mathematics.

AFRICAN STUDENT TEACHERS

In the Assembly on 16 February¹⁴ the Minister of Bantu Education gave detailed figures relating to the enrolment of African student teachers in 1972 in each of the courses of training available, and the numbers who qualified at the end of that year. The enrolment figures include those in each of the years of training: the length of the courses was not stated. Percentage figures have been calculated by the writer. The statistics for the Republic were as follows:

	<i>Enrolled in 1972</i>		<i>Qualified at end of 1972</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Lower Primary Teachers' course	208	2,03	192	4,42
Primary Teachers' course ...	8 791	85,61	3 650	83,98
Junior Secondary course ...	625	6,09	261	6,00
Secondary Teachers' course	415	4,04	99*	2,28
University Education				
Diploma (non-graduate)	20	0,19	10*	0,23
Post-graduate U.E.D. ...	76	0,74	56*	1,29
Arts and crafts course ...	33	0,32	33	0,76
Homecraft course	44	0,43	39	0,90
Trade instructors' course ...	15	0,15	6	0,14
Course for teaching deaf children	28	0,27	None yet in final year	
Course for teaching blind children	13	0,13	None yet in final year	
	<u>10 268</u>	<u>100,00</u>	<u>4 346</u>	<u>100,00</u>

¹⁴ Hansard 2 cols. 120-1.

*Re-examinations not yet finalized.

Statistics for South West Africa, as given by the Minister in the Assembly on 13 April¹⁵ are:

	<i>Enrolled in 1972</i>		<i>Qualified at end of 1972</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Lower Primary Teachers' course	353	83,06	170	88,54
Primary Teachers' course ...	72	16,94	22	11,46
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	425	100,00	192	100,00

ADULT EDUCATION

Bureau of literacy and literature¹⁶

The Bureau of Literacy and Literature, with headquarters in Johannesburg, continues to produce primers from which Africans learn to read simple sentences and to write. These are available in English, Afrikaans, seven African languages of the Republic, and four African languages of South West Africa. In May, more than 8 700 Africans were attending classes run under its auspices, the majority of them in mine compounds, and the next highest number in prisons. Classes are organized, too, by church groups, housewives, and farmers. The Bureau selects potential teachers from amongst groups, and gives them crash courses in the use of its material. Instructors from the Bureau visit the classes conducted by these teachers to give further guidance.

Follow-up reading material is then available. It is based on stories written by Africans with content relevant to the reader's life, dealing with such matters as hygiene, nutrition for small children, improved agricultural methods, or hospitals versus witchcraft. The material is scientifically programmed by experts to extend the reader's abilities, using a graded vocabulary.

Operation Upgrade

Operation Upgrade, based in Durban, uses the "Each One Teach One" method, but also runs classes for instructors who afterwards return to their communities or business firms to organize classes of their own. Reading, writing, elementary arithmetic, health, and other subjects are taught. Follow-up reading material is available in English, Afrikaans, Zulu, Tswana, and Xhosa. Classes to train instructors have been conducted in Durban, Umtata, on the Reef, in Pretoria, and in Bophutha-Tswana.¹⁷

¹⁵ Hansard 10 col. 672.

¹⁶ Extracts from Newsletter issued in January and Press interview with chairman of executive committee, *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 May.

¹⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 February, 9 April, 30 August.

DISTURBANCES AT AFRICAN SCHOOLS

According to reports by the Ministers of Justice and of Police in the Assembly on 11 and 23 May,¹⁸ 296 African pupils were arrested during 1972 as a result of disturbances at five African schools. The charges against them included public violence, malicious damage to property, and contraventions of the Riotous Assemblies Act. Of these pupils, 221 were released without trial, and 37 were convicted. (The sentences imposed were not stated.)

The number arrested during 1973 is likely to be higher. Various Press reports have given accounts of disturbances at six schools or teacher training institutions in the Lebowa area of the northern Transvaal, two schools in the Transkei, and one each in Zululand and the Ciskei. The Lebowa and Transkeian Governments appointed committees of inquiry. Two institutions were closed temporarily, the pupils being told to re-apply for admission. Other students were suspended. Full details were not recorded, but it appears that at least 572 were charged with various offences and at least 472 convicted, the sentences ranging from strokes with a light cane to imprisonment for a year (half suspended) plus a fine of R25. The 94 students (from a teacher training college) who received this severe sentence were granted leave to appeal.

Their appeal was heard on 26 November. The effective jail sentence was reduced to three months because the students had shown remorse, having repaid most of the cost of the damage to property that they had caused.

SCHOOL EDUCATION FOR MEMBERS OF THE COLOURED COMMUNITY

COLOURED PERSONS EDUCATION AMENDMENT ACT No. 53 OF 1973

This measure laid down that no person shall provide education for Coloured people for reward (except at a State or Aided school or through a registered correspondence college) unless the person concerned has been registered with the Department as a private school, and complies with prescribed requirements. Any private school may be inspected by officials. If it is deemed that the requirements prescribed are not being complied with, registration may be cancelled.

The Minister of Coloured Relations was empowered to grant financial assistance to university and other senior students (he already had the power to grant such assistance to school pupils).

During the second reading debate on the Bill Mr. D. M. Streicher (U.P.) pointed out¹ that, in terms of the principal Act, a

¹⁸ Hansard 13 col. 860, Hansard 15 col. 917.

¹ 28 March, Assembly Hansard 8 cols. 3635-6.

private school did not have to be registered unless it had more than 14 pupils. The amendment might prevent private coaching for reward, he said, which was particularly undesirable in view of the shortage of classrooms and teachers. The U.P. opposed the second reading.

The Minister insisted² that extra-mural tuition should be under control. Qualified teachers who gave extra instruction to pupils would not have to register, he said, but they needed official permission to accept fees for this work.

FINANCE

According to the table set out on page 292, in 1971-2 the Department of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs spent about R51 000 000 on all forms of education. This, presumably, includes expenditure by the Coloured Persons' Representative Council. The figure does not include capital expenditure on school buildings by the Department of Public Works.

There are no published figures indicating the total estimated expenditure on education for members of the Coloured community in 1973-4. The Public Works Department³ budgeted R11 418 950 for various educational buildings. The Revenue Vote of the Department of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs⁴ does not indicate this Department's estimated total expenditure on education, but one of the items in its budget was R2 109 300 for the administration of the University of the Western Cape.

As mentioned in an earlier chapter, the allocation from Revenue Account to the Coloured Persons' Representative Council was R111 091 000 in 1973-4. The allocation from Loan Account was R52 500. The Council plans to spend R69 287 800 on education.

It is reported earlier in this *Survey* that, according to the Minister,⁵ the *per capita* expenditure on Coloured pupils in 1971-2 was:

Primary classes	... ..	R91,04
Secondary classes	... ..	R120,18
General average	... ..	R94,41

INTRODUCTION OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION

Until 1963, education for members of the Coloured community was controlled by the provinces. A Natal Ordinance of 1942, as amended in 1952, rendered education compulsory for children aged seven years and over until they had completed their fifteenth year or had passed Std. VIII. A Cape Ordinance of 1945 provided that if sufficient and suitable accommodation existed, school boards

² Cols. 3654-6; 3739.

³ R.P. 3/1973, Loan Vote B.

⁴ R.P. 2/1973, Vote 44.

⁵ Assembly Hansard 17 col. 974.

might request that education be made compulsory for children between the ages of 7 and 14 years who lived within a radius of three miles of an undenominational school, unless they had passed Std. IV or were in regular employment. By 1963 these permissive powers had been exercised in six school board areas only, including Keiskammahoek and Alice. There was no compulsory education for Coloured children in the Transvaal or Free State.

As mentioned in previous issues of this *Survey*, a Government Notice of 1968 as amended in 1972 rendered it compulsory for a Coloured child in the Cape, Transvaal, or Free State, irrespective of the age or standard he had attained, to attend a class regularly until the end of a year if he had enrolled in that class at the commencement of the year, and if the class was conducted within 5 km of his home.

Further steps were taken in 1973, in terms of Government Notice R1709 of 21 September. They are to come into effect from 1 January 1974.

- (a) In Natal, education will be compulsory for all Coloured children who reach the age of seven years before 1 July 1974, and before 1 July of every succeeding year, until the end of the school year in which the child reaches the age of 16 years or passes Std. VIII. This will apply irrespective of how far a child lives from a State or Aided school.
- (b) In the Keiskammahoek and Alice districts, education will be compulsory for every Coloured child who, before 1 July 1974 and before 1 July of every succeeding year, has reached the age of seven years and has not reached the age of 14 years, provided that the child lives within 5 km of a school specified in the Government Notice.
- (c) In the rest of the Cape and in the Transvaal and Free State, education will be compulsory for Coloured children who reach the age of seven years between 1 July 1973 and 30 June 1974, if these children live within 5 km of a State or Aided school or of a boarding point for transport to the school.

Explaining this last provision,⁶ the Minister of Coloured Relations said that it was the first stage of a campaign to make education compulsory up to the age of 13 by 1979. Each year, school attendance would be enforced for children in an additional year's age group (i.e. in 1975 for seven- and eight-year-olds, etc.). There would not be truant officers. School officials and inspectors would see that the regulation was carried out. At least R500 000 had been provided for new schools and teachers, and it was anticipated that there would be adequate accommodation for the additional influx of pupils in 1974. The double shift system would have to be retained at some schools for the time being.

⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 September.

DOUBLE SESSIONS

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 7 June,⁷ the Minister said that the double session (or shift) system operated in 1 797 classes, mainly between Sub A and Std. I, but in a few cases in Stds. II to IV as well. There were 61 098 pupils involved.

PUPILS

On 25 April the Minister gave the following statistics in regard to Coloured pupils.⁸ Those for the Republic relate to the end of the third school quarter in 1972, while those for South West Africa are as at 6 March 1973.

	<i>Republic</i>		<i>South West Africa</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Sub A	104 092	18,95	2 130	14,74
Sub B	88 450	16,11	2 063	14,28
Std. I	78 883	14,36	1 990	13,78
Std. II	66 649	12,14	1 842	12,75
Std. III	57 916	10,55	1 617	11,19
Std. IV	48 485	8,83	1 377	9,53
Std. V	38 524	7,01	1 196	8,28
<i>Total primary</i>	482 999	87,95	12 215	84,55
Std. VI	29 313	5,34	1 024	7,09
Std. VII	17 894	3,26	619	4,28
Std. VIII	11 715	2,13	379	2,62
<i>Total junior secondary</i>	58 922	10,73	2 022	13,99
Std. IX	4 766	0,87	164	1,13
Std. X	2 483	0,45	48	0,33
<i>Total senior secondary</i>	7 249	1,32	212	1,46
<i>Combined totals</i>	549 170	100,00	14 449	100,00

According to information given by Mr. Tom Swartz, chairman of the executive of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council,⁹ at the beginning of the 1973 school year the enrolment in the Republic was:

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Primary	508 564	87,06
Junior secondary	67 248	11,51
Senior secondary	8 309	1,42
<i>Totals</i>	584 121	99,99

⁷ Hansard 17 col. 972.

⁸ Assembly Hansard 11 cols. 716-7. Percentages calculated by the writer.

⁹ *Rand Daily Mail* report, 18 August. A summary made by the writer is given here.

Calculating from information given by the Minister in the Assembly on 28 February,¹⁰ during 1972 about 62,64 per cent of the pupils were in government schools, 36,70 per cent in aided schools, and 0,66 per cent in private schools.

EXAMINATION RESULTS

The examination results achieved by Coloured pupils in 1972 were given by the Minister in the Assembly on 7 June.¹¹

Junior Certificate	<i>Republic</i>		<i>South West Africa</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Number of candidates ...	11 222	—	365	—
Candidates who passed:				
First class	640	5,70	18	4,93
Second class	6 963	62,05	256	70,14
<i>Total passes</i>	7 603	67,75	274	75,07

Senior Certificate or Matriculation

Number of candidates ...	2 499	—	51	—
Candidates who passed:				
First class	113	4,52	2	3,92
Second class	1 488	59,54	42	82,35
<i>Total passes</i>	1 601	64,06	44	86,27

Of the candidates who passed the Senior Certificate or Matriculation examinations, 831 in the Republic and 26 in South West Africa obtained matriculation exemption passes.

On 25 February the Minister indicated¹² that a number of pupils had entered for supplementary examinations. Their results were not reported.

COLOURED TEACHERS

Asked in the Assembly about the qualifications of Coloured teachers, the Minister gave information contained in the table below.¹³ The statistics for the Republic relate to the position on 31 March 1973, while those for South West Africa are as at 9 May 1973.

¹⁰ Hansard 4 col. 250.

¹¹ Hansard 17 col. 976. Percentages calculated by the writer. Slightly different figures for Junior Certificate passes were given in the issue of *Alpha* for March.

¹² Hansard 4 cols. 250-1.

¹³ 15 June, Hansard 18 cols. 1025-6. Percentages calculated by the writer.

	<i>Republic</i>		<i>South West Africa</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
<i>Professionally qualified and:</i>				
had a university degree ...	680	3,69	1	0,32
passed Matriculation or equivalent	3 985	21,64	80	25,89
passed J.C. or equivalent	12 756	69,25	171	55,34
<i>No professional qualifications but:</i>				
had a university degree ...	108	0,59	1	0,32
passed Matriculation or equivalent	297	1,61	21	6,80
had technical or other qualifications	76	0,41	—	—
had not attained Matriculation level and held no technical or other qualifications	518	2,81	35	11,33
<i>Totals</i>	18 420	100,00	309	100,00

The 17½ per cent increase in the salaries of Coloured, African, and Asian teachers from 1 April, as against a 15 per cent increase for White teachers, is mentioned earlier. Mr. Franz E. Auerbach calculated in 1972 that, on average, Coloured and Asian teachers were earning 65 per cent of the amounts paid to Whites with similar qualifications, employed in similar posts. He estimates that since 1 April this ratio has risen to 66½ per cent.

COLOURED STUDENT TEACHERS

In the Assembly on 7 June the Minister gave information¹⁴ about the courses of training for which Coloured student teachers were enrolled in 1972, and those who qualified at the end of that year:

<i>Number enrolled</i>	<i>1st year</i>	<i>2nd year</i>	<i>3rd year</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Lower primary Teachers' Certificate	1 381	1 176	—	2 557	53,48
Primary Teachers' Diploma ...	724	626	415	1 765	36,92
Lower Primary Specialist Certificate	—	—	—	103	2,15
Lower Secondary Teachers' Diploma	109	43	19	171	3,58
Secondary Teachers' Diploma (non-graduate)				10	0,21
Secondary Teachers' Diploma (graduate)				36	0,75
Adaptation Classes Diploma ...				11	0,23
Post-graduate degrees in education				14	0,29
Commercial Teachers' Diploma	44	34	17	95	1,99
Technical Teachers' Diploma ...	7	4	8	19	0,40
<i>Totals</i>				4 781	100,00

¹⁴ Hansard 17 cols. 973-4. Percentages calculated by the writer.

<i>Qualified at the end of 1972</i>		<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Lower Primary Teachers' Certificate ... ..	...	768	52,9
Specialist certificates for teachers with the L.P.T.C.	...	62	4,3
Primary Teachers' Certificate ... ..	...	362	24,9
Primary Teachers' Diploma ... ..	...	194	13,4
Lower Secondary Teachers' Diploma ... ..	...	14	1,0
Secondary Teachers' Diploma (non-graduate) ... ..	...	4	0,3
Secondary Teachers' Diploma (graduate) ... ..	...	19	1,3
Adaptation Classes Teachers' Diploma ... ..	...	7	0,5
Post-graduate degree courses in education ... ..	...	1	*
Commercial Teachers' Diploma ... ..	...	14	1,0
Technical Teachers' Diploma ... ..	...	6	0,4
<i>Totals</i> ... ..	...	<u>1 451</u>	<u>100,0</u>

* less than 0,1 per cent

ADULT EDUCATION

On 11 May the Minister said in the Assembly¹⁵ that 4 019 Coloured adults were attending academic primary part-time classes, and 3 730 were enrolled in academic secondary part-time classes.

SCHOOL EDUCATION FOR INDIANS

FINANCE

The Indian Affairs Vote in the Estimates of Expenditure from Revenue Account for 1973-4¹ contains information about proposed expenditure on education, apparently excluding certain administrative expenses at Head Office:

	<i>R</i>
Salaries: Division of Education	700 000
" Primary and high schools	17 070 000
" Training of teachers	510 400
" Schools of industries	45 900
Administration of schools, and adult education	2 873 000
" Training of teachers	414 000
Financial assistance to M. L. Sultan Technical College	1 382 500
" to special schools	242 500
University of Durban/Westville	4 221 000 ²
Miscellaneous	800
	<u>R27 460 100</u>

The Public Works Department budgeted for the following capital expenditure on buildings:³

	<i>R</i>
Springfield Training College	500 000
University of Durban/Westville	1 624 000
Technical high school at Lenasia	218 000
School buildings	1 255 950
	<u>R3 597 950</u>

¹⁵ Hansard 13 col. 847.

¹ R.P. 2/1973, Vote 45.

² About R396 770 recoverable.

³ R.P. 3/1973, Loan Vote B.

As mentioned in an earlier section, the Minister of Indian Affairs said in the Assembly on 24 April⁴ that during 1972 the *per capita* expenditure had been R112,49 on primary pupils and R155,74 on secondary school pupils, the general average being R124,40.

INTRODUCTION OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION

Section 31 of the General Law Amendment Act, No. 62 of 1973, strengthened the powers of the Minister of Indian Affairs to introduce compulsory education. The amended Section reads, "The Minister may by notice in the *Gazette* declare that regular attendance at a State school or State-aided school shall, to such extent and under such circumstances as may be specified in such notice, be compulsory for every Indian belonging to a category or class so specified". This section was deemed to have come into operation on 1 December 1972.

Government Notice R63 of 12 January laid down that regular attendance at school will be compulsory for every Indian child who enrolls in Class I (equivalent to Sub A) from 1973 or thereafter, until the end of the year in which the child reaches the age of 15 years. Exemptions may be granted.

It was pointed out in the issue of *Fiat Lux* for February that the average pupil reached the end of the Junior Secondary phase at the age of 15. There had been a high drop-out rate, it was stated. For every 100 pupils who were in Std. I in 1966, only 73,5 reached Std. VI in 1971 and 50,2 reached Std. VII in 1972.

NUMBER OF SCHOOLS AND PLATOON CLASSES

According to the Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for 1 July 1971 to 30 June 1972,⁵ at the end of that period the Department controlled 70 high schools and 297 primary schools. There were, also, two special schools (for blind and deaf, respectively), a school of industries, a private school, and four infant schools. In the Cape Province, 3 587 Indian children were attending schools falling under the Administration of Coloured Affairs.

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 26 February,⁶ the Minister of Indian Affairs gave statistics relating to the platoon or double session system in 1972:

	<i>No. of classes</i>	<i>No. of pupils involved</i>
Classes I and II	182	6 672
Stds. I and II	142	5 315
Stds. III and IV	32	1 054
Stds. V and VI	8	241
	<hr/> 364	<hr/> 13 282

⁴ Hansard 11 col. 673.

⁵ R.P. 36/1973, pages 69 and 66.

⁶ Hansard 4 col. 205.

According to the Minister,⁷ the number of pupils involved had dropped to 11 940 in 1973.

PUPILS

The Minister stated in the Assembly on 5 April⁸ that the total enrolment of Indian pupils as at the first Tuesday of March 1972 (excluding the 3 587 children attending Coloured schools) was as follows:

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Class 1	20 728	12,04
Class 2	19 958	11,59
Std. I	19 100	11,10
Std. II	17 161	9,97
Std. III	15 837	9,20
Std. IV	14 661	8,52
Std. V	16 863	9,80
<i>Total primary</i>	124 308	72,22
Std. VI	17 199	9,99
Std. VII	11 622	6,75
Std. VIII	8 999	5,23
<i>Total junior secondary</i>	37 820	21,97
Std. IX	5 739	3,33
Std. X	3 840	2,23
<i>Total senior secondary</i>	9 579	5,56
Special classes	435	0,25
<i>Combined totals</i>	172 142	100,00

EXAMINATION RESULTS

The examination results achieved by Indian pupils in 1972 were given by the Minister in the Assembly on 30 April:⁹

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Standard VI		
Number of candidates	11 354	—
Candidates who passed:		
Normal high school course	6 214	54,73
Practical course	3 647	32,12
<i>Total passes</i>	9 861	86,85

⁷ 30 May, Assembly Hansard 16 col. 952.

⁸ Hansard 9 col. 612. Percentages calculated by the writer.

⁹ Hansard 12 cols. 757-8. Percentages calculated by the writer.

	Number	Percentage
Junior Certificate		
Number of candidates	8 433	—
Candidates who passed:		
A level	2 992	35,48
O level	3 283	38,93
C level	274	3,25
<i>Total passes</i>	6 549	77,66
Senior Certificate or Matriculation¹⁰		
Number of candidates	3 494	—
Candidates who passed:		
with merit	78	2,23
A level without merit but with Matri- culation exemption	410	11,73
A level without exemption	540	15,46
O level	1 203	34,43
<i>Total passes</i>	2 231	63,85

INDIAN TEACHERS

Replying to a question in the Assembly on 1 March,¹¹ the Minister of Indian Affairs gave a detailed list of senior educational posts that were held by Indians in the public service, at the University of Durban-Westville, and at the M. L. Sultan Technical College. A summary is:

Senior Educational Planners	2
Inspectors of schools, subject inspectors, school guidance officer	12
Professors or heads of department ...	5
Senior lecturers	21
Lecturers or junior lecturers	95
Principals of schools	366
Deputy or Vice-Principals	410
Registrar or accountant	2
Senior assistants at schools	698
Principal or senior clerks, stores officers, social workers	53

Asked in the Assembly¹² about the qualifications of Indian teachers, the Minister gave the following information, relating to the position as at 30 June 1972:

¹⁰ Excluding the results of supplementary examinations.

¹¹ Hansard 4 cols. 264-5.

¹² Hansard 12 col. 756. Percentages calculated by the writer.

	Number	Percentage
<i>Professionally qualified and:</i>		
had a university degree	946	15,1
passed Matriculation or equivalent	3 844	61,4
passed J.C. or equivalent	1 183	18,9
<i>No professional qualifications but:</i>		
had a university degree	44	0,7
passed Matriculation or equivalent	103	1,7
had technical or other qualifications	2	*
had not attained Matriculation level and held no technical or other qualifications	140	2,2
Totals	6 262	100,0

* less than 0,1 per cent

INDIAN STUDENT TEACHERS

The Minister announced in the Assembly on 5 April¹³ that, as from 1971, courses for student teachers, embodying both academic and professional training, and leading to a degree of Bachelor of Pedagogics, had been introduced at the University of Durban-Westville in the departments of Arts, Commerce, Science, and Primary Education. Bursaries were available for these courses as well as for the one-year post-graduate professional diploma course (U.E.D.).

The Departmental report for the year 1 July 1971 to 30 June 1972¹⁴ contained a detailed list of student teachers enrolled in 1972 at the Springfield Training College (Durban), the Transvaal College of Education (Johannesburg), the M. L. Sultan Technical College, and the University of Durban-Westville. It also gave examination results at the end of 1971. Summaries are as follows:

<i>Enrolment in 1972</i>	<i>1st year</i>	<i>2nd year</i>	<i>3rd year</i>	<i>Total</i>
Basic first-year course at colleges of education	294	—	—	294
Primary (infant) Teachers' Diploma ...	—	36	40	76
Senior Primary Teachers' Diploma ...	32	125	143	300
Lower Secondary Teachers' Diploma ...	45	142	154	341
Diploma courses in commerce, domestic science, physical education, or in- dustrial art	45	45	50	140
Diploma courses in remedial or special education	5	1	—	6
Graduate or post-graduate courses ...	103	48	43	194
	524	397	430	1 351

<i>Qualified at the end of 1971</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Primary Education Diploma or Certificate	102	26,7
Lower Secondary Teachers' Diploma	186	48,7
Diplomas for specialist teaching	58	15,2
Degrees in education or Secondary Teachers' Diploma (graduate)	36	9,4
	382	100,0

¹³ Hansard 9 col. 607.

¹⁴ R.P. 36/1973 cols. 71-4.

It was stated in the report that 1 090 of the 1 351 student teachers were in receipt of departmental bursaries, which varied from R300 to R400 a year according to the nature of the course being taken.

ADULT EDUCATION

The report mentioned¹⁵ that on 1 January 1972 the Department of Indian Affairs took over from the M. L. Sultan Technical College the control of adult education classes that were being provided at five centres. According to the Minister,¹⁶ 1 094 persons were enrolled at the end of 1972, all for academic secondary part-time classes.

SCHOOL EDUCATION FOR WHITE PUPILS

FINANCE

According to the table given on page 292, the expenditure on all forms of education for Whites in 1971-2 was:

	<i>Revenue Account</i>	<i>Loan Account</i>
The provinces	R284 600 000	R60 200 000
Department of National Education (expenditure mainly on Whites)	R85 800 000	R7 500 000
	R370 400 000	R67 700 000

Certain expenditure by other government departments is excluded. Estimated *per capita* costs in 1971-2 were:

Primary classes ...	R366
Secondary classes ...	R624
General average ...	R461

In the Assembly on 12 June,¹ the Minister of Statistics indicated that R8 392 000 was spent by the provinces during the year ended 31 March 1972 on the provision of free books and stationery for White school pupils.

PUPILS

The following is a summary of information given by the Minister of Statistics in the Assembly on 6 June,² relating to the enrolment figures at schools for Whites in 1972:

¹⁵ *Op cit.* page 67.

¹⁶ 1 March, Assembly Hansard 4 col. 265.

¹ Hansard 18 col. 996.

² Hansard 17 cols. 963-4. Percentages calculated by the writer.

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Primary schools	495 570	55,6
Secondary schools	234 816	26,4
Combined primary and secondary schools (separate figures not available) ...	114 917	12,9
Technical schools	39 544	4,4
Special schools ³	5 748	0,7
	<hr/> 890 595	<hr/> 100,0

According to a recent report⁴ issued by the Department of Statistics entitled *Education: Principal Statistics: 1972*, 821 944 of the pupils were attending provincial schools, 18 166 provincial-aided schools, and 44 737 private schools. (The remaining 5 748 pupils were attending special schools.)

No recent figures relating to examination results have been published.

TEACHERS AND STUDENT TEACHERS

The report by the Department of Statistics gives the following information about the number of White teachers in 1972:

	<i>Approved posts</i>	<i>Vacant posts</i>
Provincial schools	39 069	132
Provincial-aided schools	1 029	—
Private schools	2 332	—
	<hr/> 42 430	<hr/> 132

In the Assembly on 22 May⁵ the Minister of National Education said that, according to a report by the Human Sciences Research Council relating to 1971, only 50,5 per cent of teachers in secondary schools had received training for two years or more in the subject that they were teaching.

The report of a committee appointed to inquire into the teaching personnel needs in the Transvaal was made public for the first time in August, although it had been submitted about eighteen months earlier and related to the position in 1970.⁶ It found that in that year, 53,7 per cent of the teachers in Transvaal secondary schools and 12,4 per cent of those in primary schools were university graduates.

High percentages of teachers had no post-Matriculation training in the subjects they taught, it was found. Some examples were:

³ Including schools for the physically handicapped, schools of industries, and reformatories.

⁴ Report 21-07-06. Provisional figures for public schools as at the first Tuesday in March, and for private schools as at the first Tuesday in June.

⁵ Hansard 15 col. 7211.

⁶ *Star* report, 17 August.

General science	19,2%
General mathematics ...	38,3%
Geography	22,4%
History	21,9%
Commerce	19,0%
English higher	16,7%
Afrikaans lower	15,9%

The committee drew attention to the increasing "feminisation" of the teaching profession, which led to disciplinary problems in schools for boys.

TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

AFRICANS

TRADE SCHOOLS

Trade schools are all situated in the homelands. In 1973 there were eleven trade schools and six trade sections attached to other schools in the Republic (a new school was opened at Zwelitsha early in the year). In South West Africa there were five schools with trade sections.

In an address to the National Development Foundation on 2 August¹ the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education, Mr. T. N. H. Janson, said that fourteen types of courses were available in the Republic and six in South West Africa. For electricians and wiremen the course took 3 or 5 years after J.C. (i.e. 3 years' full time or 5 years on block training in-service system). For motor mechanics and watch-makers the course took 3 years after J.C. The duration of other courses was 2 years after Std. VI. Enrolment figures were:²

	<i>Republic and Transkei</i>	<i>South West Africa</i>
1st year ...	1 608	198
2nd year ...	1 139	70
3rd year ...	324	8
4th year ...	29	—
5th year ...	19	—
	3 119	276

The numbers of successful candidates in the Republic and South West Africa in examinations at the end of 1972 were:³

Concreting, bricklaying, plastering	206
Carpentry, joinery, cabinet making	189
Plumbing, drainlaying, sheet metal work	107
General and motor mechanics	83
Tailoring	52
Panel beating and motor upholstery	38
Leatherwork and upholstery	34
General mechanics	27
Electricians and wiremen	15
Painting and glazing	9

¹ State Information Office Press Release.

² 1973 statistics except for three schools. The Dube Vocational Training School (described later) is included.

³ *Bantu Education Journal*, April, and Minister of Bantu Education, 13 April, Assembly Hansard 10 cols. 665-6.

Watchmakers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9
Brickmaking	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5
Trade instructors	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6
Radiotricians	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	No candidates as yet.

On successful completion of their courses the youths receive a Certificate in Vocational Training. In most cases their theoretical training has been inadequate to enable them while at school to enter for National Technical Certificate (N.T.C.) examinations, and they need in-service training before they enter for trade tests. At the Dube Vocational Training Centre, however, the standard is such that boys can take these tests before leaving the centre. (This centre, formerly run by the Johannesburg municipality, now falls under the West Rand Bantu Administration Board.) In 1973, 58 of its students passed building trade tests conducted by the Department of Labour. Besides this, 67 of the boys wrote examinations at the N.T.C. I level, and 69 at the N.T.C. II level.

In his address on 2 August, quoted earlier, the Deputy Minister said that trade courses were given in prisons to those with sentences of two years or longer, the training being graded according to the prisoners' educational status. On release, the men were placed in employment.

An apprenticeship scheme devised specifically for Africans had been approved in principle, Mr. Janson continued, and would be implemented when the various homeland governments passed the necessary legislation.

Trade testing of African building workers has, in the past, been carried out by the Department of Labour. Testing in other courses, and N.T.C. examinations, have been conducted (for trainees of all racial groups) at a centre at Olifantsfontein run by the Department of National Education. The Deputy Minister said that the Department of Bantu Education was taking over such testing, beginning with the building trades. Since the beginning of 1972 tests had been conducted at Boitseanape near Mafeking in BophuthaTswana, Umlazi (KwaZulu), and Polokwane at Seshego (Lebowa), also at a number of prison centres. During 1972, 232 prisoners and 299 students at trade schools passed such tests. Nine of them achieved full artisan status. The department was planning at least one testing centre per homeland. New ones were to be established shortly at Giyani (Gazankulu), Finyazwanda (Venda), and Babelegi (BophuthaTswana).

The Bantu Investment Corporation stated in its report for 1971-2 that it had established a centre at Temba (to the north of Pretoria) where courses for commercial drivers and supervisors were conducted.

Trade instructors for African schools are trained at Boitseanape. It is, apparently, a two-year course. The Minister

said on 13 April⁴ that 15 men were taking this course, and that 6 qualified at the end of 1972.

TECHNICAL SECONDARY SCHOOLS

There are five technical secondary schools, at Mamelodi (Pretoria), Jabulani (Johannesburg), Edendale (near Pietermaritzburg), Umlazi (Durban), and Kwazakele (Port Elizabeth), to which boys who have obtained a first- or second-class Standard VI pass may be admitted for a three-year course leading to a Junior Certificate (technical) examination. All study three languages, arithmetic or mathematics, physical science, and, in the first year, social studies. During the second year they add workshop calculations and a technical subject. A Senior Certificate (technical) course was recently introduced.

There are ten technical subjects available, including building construction, workshop drawing, woodwork, plumbing and sheet metal work, or courses for electricians or motor mechanics.

Enrolment figures at these schools in 1973, as given by the Deputy Minister in the address quoted above, were:

Form I	...	134
Form II	...	108
Form III	...	107
Form IV	...	86
Form V	...	20
		455

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 13 April,⁵ the Minister said that 74 boys passed the Technical J.C. at the end of 1972, and 2 the Technical Senior Certificate.

Boys with the Technical Junior Certificate need at least a further year's training at a trade school before they are able to take trade tests. The object of the course is not really to train tradesmen, however, but to train youths who will afterwards be able to set up businesses as, for example, building contractors. Those who wish to do so can proceed to take one of the more advanced courses, described later.

TECHNICAL COLLEGES

The Transkeian Government runs a technical college at Umtata, offering part-time classes for electricians and motor mechanics, and in woodwork, welding, and panel-beating, leading to the National Technical Certificates I, II, and III. Besides this, practical in-service courses of ten weeks' duration are held in bricklaying, plastering, welding, and other trades.

⁴ Assembly Hansard 10 col. 672.

⁵ Hansard 10 cols. 670-1.

Two technical colleges have been established by the Department of Bantu Education, at Edendale near Pietermaritzburg and Mmadikoti near Pietersburg. The Deputy Minister stated that the courses available (not all were provided at both colleges) were:

Engineering technicians and survey technicians — 4 years after S.C.

Geology technicians — 3 years after S.C.

Health inspectors — 2 years after S.C.

Medical laboratory technologists — 1 year after S.C.

Public health nurses — 1 year for qualified nurses.

Health assistants and water and sewage purification operators — 1 year after J.C.

The enrolment in the Republic and Transkei in 1973 was:

	<i>Year of study</i>				<i>Total enrolment</i>
	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	
Engineering technicians	21	10	12	15	58
Survey technicians	11	7	11	7	36
Geology technicians	13	8	—	—	21
Health inspectors	27	26	—	—	53
Medical lab. technicians	23	—	—	—	23
Public health nurses	24	—	—	—	24
Health assistants	34	—	—	—	34
Water and sewage purification operators	20	—	—	—	20

As most of these courses are of very recent introduction, few students have as yet qualified. Thirteen passed the course for engineering technicians at the end of 1972. (Results achieved by health personnel and nurses are given later.)

Most of the students enter the service of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development or of a homeland government when they commence the courses, and are paid salaries covering all expenses.

OTHER COURSES

In the Assembly on 16 February⁶ the Minister of Bantu Education said that 7 students were training as land surveyors (at the University of Fort Hare) and 2 as mechanical engineers (presumably at the University of the Witwatersrand).

Courses of training for agricultural extension officers were described in previous issues of this *Survey*.⁷

VOCATIONAL TRAINING FOR GIRLS

The entrance qualification for the courses listed below is Std. VI. According to the Deputy Minister and to information given by the Minister,⁸ these courses are:

⁶ Hansard 2 cols. 119-20.

⁷ Also see *The African Homelands of South Africa*, published S.A.I.R.R., page 83.

⁸ Assembly 13 April, Hansard 10 col. 671.

Course	No. of schools	Length of course	Enrolment, 1973	Passes during 1972
Assistants for pre-school institutions	3	2 years	55	43
Home management	3	1 year	51	25
Dressmaking	11	2 years	338	95
Dressmaking	7	3 months	280	178
Spinning and weaving	2	3 years	78	?
Seamstresses and clothing alterations	1	2 years	11	new course

AD HOC INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS

Ad hoc industrial schools provide pre-service training for factory operatives in border industrial areas. The Deputy Minister said that there were 15 of these (6 in Natal, 7 in Eastern Cape, 2 in Transvaal). The industrialists provide the accommodation, equipment, and instructors, but the Department subsidizes the salaries of the training staff.

The first of these was opened in 1964 at Mdantsane near East London, to give initial training to textile workers (weavers, spinners, and winders). Further courses were planned for 1973 but the response was poor. Schools opened subsequently provide pre-service training for operatives in factories producing such items as stockings, clothing, cosmetics, batteries, paper, floor tiles, electric cables, and sweets.⁹

PRE-SERVICE TRAINING IN THE HOMELANDS

In the address quoted earlier, the Deputy Minister said that industrial schools had been opened at Babelegi (to the north of Pretoria) and Isithebe (KwaZulu) to provide crash courses, lasting about ten weeks, for workers to be employed by industrialists in the homelands. Training was given in certain basic skills such as welding, carpentry and joinery, sheet metal work, bricklaying, and stone masonry. A certificate was issued to those who passed a test at the end of the course.

TRAINING OF INDUSTRIAL WORKERS FOR EMPLOYMENT IN WHITE AREAS

A further development was announced in the Budget Speech during March. The Minister of Finance indicated that an inter-departmental committee had been set up to investigate the desirability and practical feasibility of establishing systems of pre-service and of in-service training for African workers for industrial work in white areas.

The chairman of this committee is Dr. H. J. van Zyl, the Secretary for Bantu Education. He told the Press¹⁰ that it was composed of representatives of the Departments of Bantu Educa-

⁹ Minister of Bantu Education, Assembly Hansard 7 of 1972, cols. 578-9.

¹⁰ *Star*, 31 March.

tion, Bantu Administration and Development, Labour, and Economic Affairs, and of the Bantu Investment Corporation. It had already held discussions with leaders of industry and commerce on training schemes within the framework of government policy for Africans in white areas.

In the Assembly on 24 April,¹¹ the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development said that the intention was to provide training in the categories of industrial work which, by law, Africans were permitted to carry out in white areas, i.e. jobs on semi-skilled and operative levels.

According to various statements by Dr. Van Zyl and by the Minister,¹² two types of training are to be provided. Firstly, the Bantu Education Department plans to establish eight industrial training centres in African residential areas such as Soweto, at a capital cost of about R2 000 000. Std. V and Form I pupils will attend one of these centres, wherever possible, to study a basic trade, for at least an hour a week, as part of the school curriculum. Basic training will be available in such subjects as woodwork, metalwork, welding, plastics, mechanical practice, building practice, electrical practice, punching computer cards, and "any other directions which are later found necessary".

At the beginning of their Form II year, pupils may elect to follow a practical J.C. course. Those doing so will choose one or two of these practical subjects to study together with academic subjects, attending the industrial training centre for about four hours per subject per week. Adult factory workers will be offered after-hours training at the centres, especially in vocational orientation, languages, and arithmetic. After the Department has provided this basic training, it will be the task of industrialists to give further in-service training.

Secondly, the Bantu Education Department will establish industrial training centres in white industrial complexes to serve industrialists with common training needs. Eight centres are planned initially, at a cost of R1 200 000. Either the local authorities or the industrialists will be expected to make the sites available and to undertake responsibility for running costs. The centres will provide basic scholastic training together with courses in subjects such as motor and machine maintenance and service, fork-lift operation, machine dismantling, sewing machine operation, basic mechanical practice, woodwork and machining, finishing, spraypainting and polishing, basic electrical work, laboratory practice, and punchcard and computer operation.

Apart from the establishment of the centres, the Government will allow tax concessions for approved training centres, and it will set up a standing committee (including representatives of

¹¹ Hansard 11 col. 685.

¹² *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 and 21 June, 24 October; *Star*, 24 October.

organised industry) which will be responsible for implementing the scheme and for liaison and co-operation.

The Minister said that priority had been given to the needs of manufacturing industry, but attention would also have to be given to the needs of commerce, agriculture, service industries, building, and mining, as soon as circumstances permitted.

COLOURED STUDENTS

APPRENTICES

In reply to a series of questions in the Assembly on 7 June,¹ the Minister of Coloured Relations said that 360 apprentices were attending classes at the Peninsula Technical College, and 2 661 were enrolled in departmental or continuation classes at other centres.² As from the beginning of 1971 these lads have written the National Technical Certificate (N.T.C.) examinations of the Department of National Education. The Minister said that the numbers passing such examinations in 1972 were:

N.T.C. I—739.

N.T.C. II—631.

N.T.C. III—182.

PENINSULA COLLEGE FOR ADVANCED TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Altogether, there were 151 full-time and 772 part-time students attending the Peninsula Technical College in 1972 (including the apprentices), the Minister stated. Other courses passed by students during the year were:

N.T.C. Parts I to III — 186 (students not apprenticed).

N.T.C. Parts IV to V — 14.

N.T.C. in Hairdressing — 14.

Certificate for building foremen — 6.

Diploma in Public Administration (1st year) — 3.

Diploma in State Accounts and Finance (1st year) — 1.

Diploma in Accounts and Auditing — 1.

Diploma for Health Inspectors — 8.

Diploma in Public Health Nursing — 14.

Teachers' Diploma, technical — 6.

Teachers' Diploma, commerce — 14.

Dyeing and finishing — 3 (*Alpha* report, February).

Two new hostels are being built at the College, to accommodate about 50 girls and 150 boys.³

TRAINING OF MOTOR MECHANICS

The Minister of Coloured Relations announced in the Assembly on 30 May⁴ that, because of the critical shortage of trained artisans in the motor industry, a course of training for

¹ Hansard 17 cols. 977-8.

² The location of these centres was given on page 378 of last year's *Survey*.

³ *Star*, 13 October.

⁴ Hansard 16 cols. 7961-3.

Coloured motor mechanics was to be started at the Peninsula Technical College in 1974. A special building was being erected for the purpose. This course would supplement, and not replace, the existing apprenticeship training scheme.

Initially, 40 youths will be selected annually for training, those eligible being lads between the ages of 17 and 21 who have passed Std. VIII. To begin with, they will have to find their own accommodation. They will be paid R16 a week, and receive a free issue of two overalls a year. On successful completion of a three-year course leading to N.T.C. III they will be given a free set of tools. The Department of Labour will help trainees to find employment. They will have to agree to work in the motor trade for at least three years or to repay the costs of their training.

FARM WORKERS

According to the report of the Department of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs for the year ended 31 March 1972,⁵ 1 816 Coloured farm workers were sent by their employers to attend courses at the Kromme Rhee training centre during that year. Short courses of two weeks' duration are offered, those most in demand being the maintenance of tractors, pruning techniques, the maintenance of buildings, and the classing of wool.

TECHNICAL SECONDARY SCHOOLS

The same report stated⁶ that a technical secondary school course can be taken at schools in Athlone (Cape Town), Port Elizabeth, Worcester, Kimberley, and Oudtshoorn. The Minister said in the Assembly on 7 June⁷ that 102 boys passed a technical J.C. in 1972, and 25 a technical S.C.

INDIAN STUDENTS

CONTROL OF M. L. SULTAN COLLEGE FOR ADVANCED TECHNICAL EDUCATION

It was stated in the report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 30 June 1972⁸ that the control of the Pietermaritzburg branch of the M.L. Sultan Technical College had been transferred to the Department of Indian Affairs as from 1 April 1972. It would be run as a high school with a technical basis.

The main section of the college, in Durban, remains under the control of its council.⁹ The enrolment as at 30 June 1972 was 6 317 students, of whom 1 265 were studying on a full-time basis.

⁵ R.P. 44/1973, page 6.

⁶ Page 22.

⁷ Hansard 17 col. 978.

⁸ R.P. 36/1973, page 83.

⁹ See 1968 *Survey*, page 250.

		<i>Technical</i>	<i>Commercial</i>
Std. IX	... ..	82	113
Std. X	... ..	93	96

Examination passes in 1972 were:

		<i>Technical</i>	<i>Commercial</i>
Junior Certificate	... ..	152	198
Senior Certificate	... ..	—	12

WHITE STUDENTS

There are much greater numbers of technical classes and types of courses available to Whites than there are for other groups. No comprehensive statistics have been published recently except in regard to the number of N.T.C. passes in 1972, given by the Minister of National Education in the Assembly on 9 April:¹³

N.T.C. I—3 108.

N.T.C. II—2 966.

N.T.C. III—1 980.

N.T.C. IV—958.

N.T.C. V—1 161.

Further information is given in the chapter of this *Survey* dealing with employment.

¹³ Hansard 10 col. 630

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

ENROLMENT AT UNIVERSITIES

For statistical purposes, universities furnish the central authorities with enrolment figures for the first Tuesday in June of each year. Each of them was kind enough, in reply to requests, to send their total enrolment figures, as at this date, to the Institute of Race Relations. These figures were as follows:

University	Number of students				Total
	White	Coloured	Asian	African	
Cape Town	8 057	384	116	5	8 562
Durban-Westville			2 192		2 192
Fort Hare				1 053	1 053*
Natal	6 829	86	348	244	7 507
Orange Free State	5 841				5 841
Port Elizabeth	1 735				1 735
Potchefstroom	5 891			1	5 892
Pretoria	13 752				13 752
Rand Afrikaans	1 897				1 897
Rhodes	2 163		39	1	2 203
Stellenbosch	8 845				8 845
South Africa	25 388	1 014	1 937	3 765	32 104
The North				1 274	1 274
The Western Cape		1 600			1 600*
The Witwatersrand	9 803	21	385	26	10 235
Zululand				979	979
	90 201	3 105	5 017	7 348	105 671

* As explained later, attendance decreased very considerably during the year.

The University of South Africa does not keep separate records of Indian and Chinese students. For the other universities concerned the figures were:

	Indians	Chinese
Cape Town	81	35
Durban-Westville	2 192	—
Natal	341	7
Rhodes	1	38
The Witwatersrand	158	227

The University of South Africa (Unisa) provides extra-mural tuition only. Included in its total enrolment figures were the following numbers from outside South Africa:

Whites	1 024
Coloured	17
Asians	19
Africans	371
	1 431

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 13 March,¹ the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education gave figures indicating the number of students who, at the beginning of the academic year, were refused admission to the universities catering exclusively for Africans.

<i>Reason</i>	<i>Fort Hare</i>	<i>The North</i>	<i>Zululand</i>
Lacked required entrance qualifications ...	205	96	6
Shortage of tuition facilities	—	13	—
Shortage of hostel accommodation	40	—	151

The Minister met a delegation from Asseca (the Association for the Educational and Cultural Advancement of the African People in S.A.) to discuss this situation. Delegates pleaded for the immediate erection of prefabricated classrooms and hostels as a temporary measure, and urged that the Government's policy regarding the admission of Africans to the previously "open" universities should be relaxed, even if only temporarily.²

Speaking in the Assembly shortly afterwards, however, the Deputy Minister re-stated Government policy.³ Applications from Bantu for admission to universities for Whites would be considered only in respect of courses which were not offered at Bantu universities, he said. He added that the following numbers of Bantu were then enrolled at universities catering mainly for Whites:

<i>University</i>	<i>Faculty</i>	<i>Number of students</i>
Cape Town	Commerce	2
The Witwatersrand	Dentistry	7
	Medicine	1
	Engineering	3
	Science	1
	Music	1
	Arts	2
Rhodes	Divinity	1
Potchefstroom	Divinity	1
Natal	Law	7
	Engineering	1
	Medicine	180*
	Nursing	32
		239

* The Natal University authorities state that there were 200 African students.

It was announced in October⁴ that the Rand Afrikaans University and the University of Potchefstroom (which also uses the Afrikaans medium) had decided to admit limited numbers of black post-graduate students and lecturers on study leave, who were recommended by their own universities. Each application would have to be approved by the White university concerned and by the Government. Those accepted would remain registered with their

¹ Hansard 6 col. 425.

² *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 February.

³ 23 March, Hansard 7 col. 507.

⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 19 October; *Star*, 23 October.

own universities, but would be seconded to the White university for purposes of advanced study. They would have to find their own accommodation. The necessary academic facilities would be made available to black students, but they would not take part in extra-curricular student activities.

The Faculty of Dentistry to be established by the University of Stellenbosch in collaboration with the University of the Western Cape was described on page 385 of last year's *Survey*.

DEGREES AND DIPLOMAS AWARDED

The following table has been compiled from information furnished in the Assembly by the responsible Ministers.⁵

<i>Whites</i>	<i>Post-graduate degrees</i>	<i>Bachelors' degrees</i>	<i>Post-graduate diplomas</i>	<i>Non-graduate diplomas</i>
All universities	3 070	7 683	1 286	1 244
<i>Coloured</i>				
Open*	2	31	3	11
Unisa	6	18	1	6
Western Cape	13	74	19	39
Total—Coloured	21	123	23	56
<i>Asians</i>				
Open	8	86	3	5
Unisa	13	51	12	15
Durban-Westville	49	157	31	44
Total—Asians	70	294	46	64
<i>Africans</i>				
Open	1	19	—	—
Unisa	20	103	7	10
Universities for Africans	43	251	70	176
Total—Africans	64	373	77	186

("Open" universities, i.e. Cape Town, Natal, the Witwatersrand, and Rhodes, are those which are prepared to accept suitably qualified black students. Such students have to obtain Government authorization for enrolment.)

Unisa awarded honorary Doctorates in Education to Dr. R. E. van der Ross, the prominent Coloured educationalist, and to Mr. Moses J. Madiba, who had been chairman of the advisory council of the University of the North since its inception.

LEGISLATION

University of the Western Cape

In terms of Sections 36 to 40 of the General Law Amendment

⁵ Minister of National Education, Hansard 14 col. 870; Minister of Coloured Relations, Hansard 17 col. 975; Minister of Indian Affairs, Hansard 14 col. 874; Minister of Bantu Education, Hansard 14 col. 869.

Act, No. 62/1973, provisions of the University of the Western Cape Act (1969) relating to the establishment of a (Coloured) Advisory Council and a (Coloured) Advisory Senate were repealed. (One Coloured lecturer had already been appointed to the Senate, and two Coloured men had been appointed to the Council.)

The Act of 1973 empowered the University, with the approval of the Minister of Coloured Relations, to raise loans.

University of Durban-Westville Amendment Act, No. 60/1973

Similarly, Act 60/1973 repealed provisions relating to the establishment of an Advisory Council and an Advisory Senate at the University of Durban-Westville. In fact, according to the Minister of Indian Affairs,⁶ an Advisory Senate was never brought into being. In time, the Council would become an entirely Indian body.

Bantu Universities Amendment Act, No. 6/1973

This measure amended the University of Fort Hare Act, the University of Zululand Act, and the University of the North Act, all of 1969.

After specifying the seat of each university, the measure added in each case, "provided that the university may conduct its university activities also at such other places as the Minister (of Bantu Education), after consultation with the council, may approve".

The universities were empowered to invest, lend, and borrow money. The Minister's approval is necessary if money is to be borrowed.

BophuthaTswana leaders have for long been pressing for a university, or a branch of one, in their homeland. It is reported⁷ that, by June, they had collected more than R118 000 for the purpose.

Another long-standing request, by the Urban Bantu Council and others, is for a university at Soweto. But the Government's policy is still that universities for Africans should be sited in the homelands.

DISTURBANCES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE¹

It was mentioned on page 389 of last year's *Survey* that there had been unrest at the University of the Western Cape, and that the Security Police were frequently present on the campus. Members of the Security Police are reported to have visited the campus repeatedly during the first half of 1973, and to have raided the homes of several students. This is said to have caused much student resentment.

⁶ Assembly 30 April, Hansard 12 cols. 753-5.

⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, Townships Edition, 13 June.

¹ Report compiled from numerous Press reports, student newsletters, etc., also a Parliamentary debate mentioned later.

During May 1972 the students elected an S.R.C., which was not officially recognized by the university council because its constitution was not considered to be acceptable. Informal negotiations between the two bodies did, however, apparently take place. Mr. Henry E. Isaacs was elected chairman of the S.R.C., subsequently also becoming chairman of the Black S.A. Students' Organization (Saso). He is said to have organized a number of mass student meetings at which grievances were discussed, and to have made statements to the Press without the Rector's permission (which was required in terms of the regulations for students). During May, the university's disciplinary committee fined him R50 for having made such statements. He refused to pay, and was suspended until 15 June. On 9 June he was arrested on a charge of being on the campus in defiance of the suspension order. Then, on 31 July, he was banned under the Suppression of Communism Act.

On 5 June the S.R.C. suspended itself on the ground that, without official recognition, it could not function effectively. A ten-man students' action committee was elected instead. This committee drew up a list of student grievances, which were reported² to include oppressive rules and regulations, the preponderance of white over black teaching staff³ and unequal pay for equal work, and poor lecturer-student relations. Describing this memorandum in the Assembly,⁴ the Minister of Coloured Relations said that it "was riddled on the one hand with political slogans and on the other with grievances which—I grant this—could quite possibly justify an investigation within the university." This memorandum was handed to the Rector, Professor C. J. Kriel, who asked for time to study it.

On 8 June there was a mass meeting of, apparently, some 500 students. They decided to march to the administrative block to ask for Professor Kriel's reply. According to the Minister, they carried banners bearing slogans, one of which was "Dialogue—no; confrontation—yes, yes, yes." The Rector is said to have declined to address this mass gathering, but to have offered to discuss the memorandum with members of the students' action committee. This offer was not accepted. Students are reported to have called upon the Rector to resign, and to have sung songs such as one with a refrain "Arson, rape and bloody murder (repeated three times)—when the Black revolution comes". Some of the students occupied lecture rooms while lectures were in progress, bringing these to a halt. The authorities called in the police, who stood by to prevent violence.

It was then announced that the university would be closed

² *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 June.

³ There were, it was stated, 79 White and 13 Coloured members of the teaching staff.

⁴ 14 June, Hansard 18 col. 9103.

from 12 June (four days before the end of the semester) until 15 July. Students wishing to be re-admitted would have to apply before 11 July on a prescribed form, on which each would have to undertake in writing to obey the rules and regulations of the university. It was reported⁵ that nearly 1 000 of the departing students met off the campus, and called upon the authorities to reinstate the whole student body. It was decided by 531 to about 100 votes that individual students should not apply for re-admission.

On 14 June, Mr. D. M. Streicher moved in the Assembly, on behalf of the U.P., that the House should adjourn to consider the closure of the University of the Western Cape.⁶ He urged that a commission of inquiry be appointed.

The Minister of Coloured Relations announced that he had appointed two committees, both headed by Professor C. F. Gunter, chairman of the University Council. The first, which would investigate student grievances as set out in their memorandum, consisted mainly of members of the Council, eight Whites and a Coloured man, Mr. P. M. Sonn. The second, to regulate the re-admission of students, was composed of four members of the Council and, in an advisory capacity, nine members of staff, including three Coloured lecturers, one of whom was Mr. Adam Small. However, all the Coloured members withdrew from these committees, and Mr. Small resigned from the staff of the university. Mr. Sonn declared that he stood for the unconditional reinstatement of all students.

The students' action committee and others organized a series of meetings of parents and members of the public in various centres—Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Oudtshoorn, Johannesburg—at which they obtained wide support for the attitude that students should not accept reinstatement unless it was unconditional and unless the authorities guaranteed that grievances would be investigated. It was reported that about 1 000 people attended an interdenominational service at Athlone to pray for a peaceful solution of the dispute.

On 6 July the Council of the university issued a Press statement to the effect that it had decided to ask the Minister to appoint a judicial commission to investigate the whole matter. According to reports, only about 190 of the students had by then applied for re-admission.

A mass rally, attended by an estimated nearly 12 000 people, was held in Athlone on 8 July. Parents of students from various parts of the country flew to Cape Town to be present. Speakers included Mr. Adam Small, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Mr. Sonny Leon (leader of the Labour Party), Mrs. Fatima Meer (a prominent Indian sociologist), Mr. Essa Moosa (representing the Muslim

⁵ *Star*, 12 June; *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 June.

⁶ Hansard 18 cols. 9095-8.

community), and representatives of the Black People's Convention. It was the first time that people of these different approaches had shared a platform. There was considerable support for the view, expressed by some speakers, that black people's salvation lay in their solidarity, which in turn could come about only through black consciousness. Mr. Small stated that a People's Free Education Front was to be launched: one of its objectives would be to establish a correspondence university for blacks.

Two days later the Minister of Coloured Relations announced that all the students would be readmitted on 15 July. When they registered at the start of the year, he said, they had all undertaken to abide by the rules and regulations. Legal opinion was that the university authorities had no right to demand a second such undertaking: the mere fact of their return would imply their acceptance of this condition. A decision in regard to further action would be taken in the light of what transpired when the university re-opened.

After their return, the students are reported to have issued an ultimatum that they would boycott lectures unless, within a fortnight, the Minister appointed an impartial judicial commission to investigate their grievances, to replace the committee of University Council members. Representatives of the Council discussed the matter with the Minister, who decided to appoint a one-man commission of inquiry in the person of Mr. Justice J. T. van Wyk, Judge-President of the Cape Provincial Division of the Supreme Court. This was done in terms of Proclamation R193 and Government Notice R1426 of 10 August.

The students' action committee then called a meeting at which a resolution was passed urging the university authorities to suspend all academic activity from the following day until the commission had completed its inquiry. Unless this were done, they would boycott lectures, they stated. Large numbers did so when their demand was not met. As a result, about 18 student leaders were suspended from the university for three months for having organized a demonstration during academic time and having disrupted academic activities. On hearing of this, several hundred students left the campus in sympathy with those who had been suspended. A university official is reported⁷ to have told the Press that 362 of the students who had left would not be allowed to resume their studies in 1973. About 935 were attending daily lectures.

The Minister of Coloured Relations announced on 12 October that the prominent Coloured educationalist, Dr. Richard E. van der Ross, had been appointed Rector of the university. He would not be able to assume duty until the beginning of 1975, however, as he was currently a member of the (Theron) Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group.

⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 August.

At the time of writing, Mr. Justice Van Wyk has not submitted his report. On 4 October, however, he condemned the rôle that had been played on the campus by the Security Police.

DISTURBANCES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF FORT HARE

Unrest and disturbances at Fort Hare during 1972 were described on page 391 of last year's *Survey*. In reply to a question in the Assembly on 13 May,¹ the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education said that, as a result, 13 students had been expelled and 39 left in sympathy.

A commission of inquiry was appointed to investigate the unrest, headed by Mr. Justice Munnik, Chief Justice of the Transkei. Its report was made public in September. Among the recommendations were the appointment of an African dean of students, and the co-optation of Africans on to the University Council. A committee should be created to replace the S.R.C., which was dissolved before 1968 as a result of differences between homeland and urban students. More adequate recreational, sports, and commonroom facilities were required, and there should be less overcrowding in hostels. The commission rejected one of the original grievances raised by the students: that the Rector had refused to address them. He had often done so, it was found. On the occasion to which the complaint referred, the students had merely been seeking a confrontation. No self-respecting academic could tolerate a pistol held to his head. A complaint alleging police harassment was considered to have been exaggerated. The commission found that Saso had contributed to unrest on the campus.²

Asked to comment on the findings, the university's registrar is reported³ to have said that as many as possible of the commission's recommendations would be adopted, including the appointment of a Black dean of students. Africans could not be co-opted to the Council without the Government's authority. In considering appointments to lectureships, preference was given to suitably qualified Africans: there were currently 18 African lecturers out of a total of 135. The university was still too unsettled for the authorities to consider the appointment of a student committee to replace the S.R.C., the registrar said.

Disturbances continued during 1973, apparently arising mainly from student attacks in August on an unpopular African hostel warden, who was in charge of Beda hostel.⁴ It was reported that about 160 students living in the hostel signed a memorandum detailing their complaints against him and threatening him with drastic action if he did not resign. His residence was raided, a

¹ Hansard 6 col. 425.

² *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 September.

³ *Ibid*, 12 September.

⁴ Account compiled from numerous Press reports.

window broken, and some of the furniture removed and hidden. As the atmosphere was threatening the police were called to protect the warden. They are stated to have rounded up 159 students who were causing the disturbance. These students were told that they were to be rusticated for the remainder of the year. The police escorted them to railway stations to catch trains back to their homes.

Next day (a Saturday) there was a meeting of some 750 students who threatened a mass walk-out unless, by the following Monday, the authorities agreed to re-instate the suspended students. On the Monday, the entire student body is said to have boycotted lectures. The Rector, Professor J. M. de Wet, accepted a petition asking for the re-instatement of the students. He is reported to have blamed Saso for the disturbances: the local chairman and secretary of this organization were amongst those rusticated. During the next couple of days some 300 students left the university and returned to their homes.

For about a week, all the students of the Federal Theological Seminary, situated near to the university, boycotted lectures in sympathy with the Fort Hare students. They called off this action on being satisfied that the S.A. Council of Churches was showing deep concern over the situation at the university.

Professor De Wet announced on 12 August that the University Council had decided that students who had left of their own accord were free to return. Those who had been suspended would be readmitted if they apologised to the hostel warden. About 18 apparently did so, and were re-instated. It seems that most of the students who had left voluntarily did return.

The Rector had placed a temporary ban on all campus meetings. In defiance of this a mass meeting was held secretly on the night of 24 August. It was reported that a decision was taken to boycott lectures until a Parents' Committee meeting, due very shortly, had been held. Police were summoned. About five students who had been suspended but not re-instated were charged with trespass, and the names of the others present were taken.

During the next few days, it was reported, more than 500 students boycotted lectures, and some of them intimidated or even assaulted students who were not observing the boycott. All of those who were absenting themselves from lectures were then ordered to leave the campus temporarily, given train tickets home, and escorted by the police to railway stations.

The university authorities then considered the cases of individual students. About 300 were, apparently, informed that they would be permitted to return, but must do so before 12 September. It was reported on that date that the enrolment had risen from some 220 to approximately 500 — about half of the figure earlier in the year.

DISTURBANCES AT OTHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

In reply to the question referred to above, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education said that, during 1972, 23 students had been expelled from the University of the North, and about 250 had left in sympathy. Corresponding figures for the University of Zululand were 9 and 17, respectively.

It was reported in February⁵ that none of those who had left the University of the North would be re-admitted in 1973.

A minor disturbance took place at the (Coloured) Johannesburg College of Education in July. According to Press reports, the approximately 300 students staged a sit-in and decided to boycott lectures, complaining of the composition of the S.R.C. (which was a nominated body) and stating that this body had failed to pass on their grievances to the Acting Rector, Dr. P. W. Bingle. Dr. Bingle met a group of students to hear about these grievances, and is reported then to have addressed a mass meeting, promising certain changes and agreeing to investigate other matters. *Inter alia*, the S.R.C. would be allowed to draft a new constitution providing for fuller student participation; lecturers would be asked to make increased use of the English medium (the home language of very many of the students); and canteen and recreational facilities would be improved.

Disturbances at certain schools are mentioned in an earlier chapter.

⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 February.

STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS

OUTCOME OF STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS IN 1972

On pages 392 *et seq* of last year's *Survey* a description was given of student demonstrations and public meetings that took place in mid-1972, mainly in Cape Town and Johannesburg, but also in Pietermaritzburg, Durban, and Grahamstown, arising from a campaign for free and non-discriminatory education for all. There were a number of clashes between students and policemen. As described, large numbers of students and certain others were arrested and charged with various offences, such as participation in gatherings that had been declared unlawful, and obstructing the police. Some of them paid admission of guilt fines.

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 6 February,¹ the Minister of Police gave statistics relating to persons who had been charged following disturbances on 2, 5, and 9 June 1972.

To summarize, 128 students and 16 others were charged, of whom 138 were prosecuted. Only 15 were convicted, of whom 14 were acquitted on appeal. The sentence of the fifteenth person, a student, was reduced on appeal.²

A considerable number of those in respect of whom charges were withdrawn, or who had been acquitted, instituted claims for damages against the Minister of Police and also, in some cases, individual policemen, for wrongful arrest and detention, or assault. It was reported in July³ that the Minister of Police had agreed to pay at least R22 000 in out of court settlements.

The outcome of disturbances at the universities for Africans was described in the previous chapter.

THE NATIONAL UNION OF S.A. STUDENTS (NUSAS)

The interim report of the Schlebusch Commission on Nusas, and the subsequent banning for five years of eight leaders of the union, are described on page 25 *et seq* of this *Survey*, as are the wide protests that followed. The eight people concerned were the president of Nusas, Mr. Paul J. Pretorius, a former president, Mr. Neville Curtis, two vice-presidents, Miss Paula Ensor and Mr. Phillippe le Roux, the general secretary, Miss Sheila Lapinsky, and Messrs. Clive Keegan, Richard Turner, and Christopher Wood.

¹ Hansard 1 Question cols. 16-18.

² Minister of Justice, col. 53.

³ *Sunday Express*, 8 July.

The banning orders were very severe ones, *inter alia*, preventing the persons concerned from being Nusas office-bearers, and from entering educational institutions to continue their studies. By the time that the orders were issued it was too late for the students to enrol as extra-mural students of Unisa for the current year. The Chief Magistrate of Cape Town did, however, give Mr. Pretorius (a law student) permission to visit the libraries of Unisa and the magistrate's court.⁴

The national council of Nusas met and elected an interim management committee, headed by Mr. Geoff. Budlender, to function until the congress in July. At this congress Mr. Charles Nupen was elected president, and Mr. Budlender chairman of the national council.

On 21 March the Prime Minister met the principals of the Universities of Cape Town, Natal, the Witwatersrand, and Rhodes, who had asked to see him to discuss the terms of the restrictions imposed on the young people, and the likely long-term effects on their careers. Mr. Vorster is reported⁵ to have said in a subsequent Press statement that he had told the principals the bannings were not punitive, but preventive. He had used the opportunity to raise other matters, such as "disgusting" student newspapers, with particular reference to one at Wits, and "what he regarded as weak discipline" at certain universities.

Nused, the educational branch of Nusas, during 1973 ran an educational campaign called "Educational Focus", and continued to provide tutorial services and administer certain scholarships. Nuswel, the welfare department, runs student health services and bookshops. Aquarius, the cultural branch, arranged a national arts festival. Student wage commissions have been set up at the English-language universities. They released a jointly-prepared ten-point "Charter of Workers' Rights", and have tried to bring about an improvement of wages and working conditions for black people.

"Wits Student", the newspaper to which the Prime Minister referred, is not a Nusas project, but it is convenient to mention it here. Early in 1973, five issues of it were banned by the Publications Control Board. The editor, Mr. Derek Louw, and the cartoonist, Mr. Franco Frescura, were brought before a discipline committee of the University of the Witwatersrand in April and May, and were found guilty on three counts of misconduct and one count of breach of discipline in that they had published material that was vulgar and tended to bring the university into disrepute, in contravention of an order by the principal not to do so. The two students were rusticated for the rest of the year.

Shortly afterwards the police arrested them on charges of defamation and contraventions of the Publications and Entertain-

⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 July.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 23 March.

ments Act. They were found guilty on certain of the counts. Mr. Louw was fined a total of R950 (or 475 days), and Mr. Frescura R900 (or 450 days), and both were, in addition, sentenced to nine months' imprisonment. The jail sentences and a portion of the fines were suspended for three years.

S.A. STUDENTS ORGANIZATION (SASO)

Mention is made on page 58 of the banning for five years of eight Saso leaders. This took place shortly after restriction orders had been served on Nusas leaders. The leaders concerned were the president, Mr. Jerome Modisane, two past presidents, Mr. Stephen Biko and Mr. N. Barney Pityana, and Messrs. "Saths" Cooper, "Drake" Koka, B. J. Mafuna, S. R. Moodley, and R. H. Nengwekhulu.

On 8 March, Mrs. Helen Suzman (P.P.) moved⁶ that the House of Assembly should adjourn to discuss the banning of the Saso leaders (it had already discussed the Nusas bannings). She warned the Government that others would rise up in their place, for the Government had spawned an indestructable black nationalism which was, after all, only a by-product of white nationalism. "These drastic bannings will only serve to provoke greater hatred and hostility against the white establishment in South Africa", she said.

The Minister of Justice read out some threatening statements by the Saso leaders. Sir De Villiers Graaff asked why the students concerned had not been brought before courts of law if the statements quoted were correct and were supported by overt acts of any kind. The Minister interjected, "You give them a platform" (by bringing people before the courts).⁷

Other members of Saso took over offices relinquished by people who had been served with restriction orders, but, they, in turn, were banned as well. They included Mr. Henry Isaacs, elected president, and Messrs. Jeff Baqwa, John Issel, Mervyn Josie, Ben Langa, Frank Nhlapo, and two young clergymen, the Rev. Rubin Phillips and the Rev. Hamilton Qambela. Mr. Phillips was allowed to preach, but prohibited from giving religious instruction in classes.

It is reported⁸ that Saso has been banned from the campuses of the Universities of Fort Hare, the North, and the Western Cape, and from the area of the BophuthaTswana government.

The organization has undertaken a few small community development projects, and hopes to establish a Black Education Advancement Trust.

⁶ Hansard 5 cols. 2261-5.

⁷ Cols. 2267-70.

⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, Townships edition, 8 September

RELATIONS BETWEEN SASO AND NUSAS

During June, a conference was held at the University of Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland at Roma, Lesotho, to form a Southern African Students' Movement as an affiliate of the All-African Students' Union, established in Ghana during 1971. African student representatives from S.A., S.W.A., Rhodesia, Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland were invited. So far as S.A. was concerned, Saso was a full participating member, but Nusas representatives were invited as observers until their status had been decided at the conference.

Saso strongly opposed the presence of the Nusas delegates, who were led by Mr. Budlender. Nusas was part of the white S.A. system, it was stated, and should operate among whites. This view apparently gained considerable support. The Nusas members withdrew after the opening ceremony: Mr. Budlender said it had become clear that their presence was a source of divisive conflict. The conference subsequently decided to sever all relations with Nusas.

At its congress in July, Nusas resolved that it accepted Black consciousness as an inevitable and desirable movement that would be the major force for change in South Africa. Members of Nusas would involve themselves on black campuses only when they had been especially requested to do so by the black students of the campus concerned. In spite of the severing of ties by Saso, membership of Nusas should remain open to all S.A. students, it was decided.⁹

AFRIKAANSE STUDENTEBOND (A.S.B.)

The annual congress of the A.S.B. was held at Stellenbosch University during June (although this university is not officially a member of the Afrikaanse Studentebond, but is represented by a society of students).

One of the motions passed asked the Government to aim at the consolidation of each homeland into a single geographic unit as far as possible, even if this meant revising the land quotas decided upon in 1936.

The main discussion was about the future of Africans in urban areas. Delegates were in favour of the eventual resettlement of all women and children in the homelands, the men remaining in the towns for as long as the Whites needed them. When a vote was taken on this proposal, only seven out of about a hundred delegates are reported to have voted against it. A system of "super railways" and "road expressways" was envisaged, to transport migrant workers to and from the towns daily or weekly.

Later during the proceedings (and for the first time in the

* Account based on various Press reports between 22 and 28 June, and 12 and 13 July.

history of the A.S.B.) an African addressed the congress: he was Mr. H. P. Maredi, an urban representative of the Lebowa Government. Mr. Maredi expressed some of the views of Africans about migrant labour and the breaking up of families. Professor Marinus Wiechers is stated to have pointed to the possibility that independent homelands might refuse to grant citizenship to urbanized Africans. A small number of students, mainly women from Stellenbosch and the Rand Afrikaans University, are reported to have questioned the morality of some aspects of the policy of separate development. But a Pretoria delegate maintained that Afrikaners could not accept the concept of the permanence of urban Africans because this would amount to an admission that separate development had failed.

After what was said to have been a heated debate, a delegate from Potchefstroom introduced a compromise motion recognizing the permanent economic interdependence of white and black. This was adopted.

A conservative member, Mr. Pieter Strauss of the University of the Orange Free State, was elected president.¹⁰

During the year under review, students of the University of Pretoria were the hosts at three multi-racial congresses — a symposium on productivity, an annual meeting of the University Science Students' Association, and a conference of the International Association of Commerce and Economics students.¹¹

¹⁰ Account compiled from various Press reports from 26 to 30 June.

¹¹ *Star*, 6 July; *Rand Daily Mail*, Townships edition, 11 July.

SOME BURSARY (SCHOLARSHIP) FUNDS

DEPARTMENTAL BURSARIES

No comprehensive information has been published about the amounts granted in government departmental non-repayable bursaries and in loans during the year under review. The bursaries available are listed in the register of bursary funds referred to below.

EDUCATION INFORMATION CENTRE (E.I.C.)

The Education Information Centre, which is financed almost entirely by the Bantu Welfare Trust, has its office at the headquarters of the Institute of Race Relations.

According to its report for 1972, in August of that year the Centre compiled a fifth list of available bursary funds, containing details relating to 186 such funds. A special register for Indian students was drawn up at the request of the editor of the official publication *Fiat Lux*, and was published in that periodical. A further register issued by the E.I.C. listed vocational schools for blacks and the courses provided at each. These registers are distributed to educationalists throughout the country. Individual students who make enquiries are asked to complete questionnaires, and are then sent the names of bursary funds which may be able to help them. A certain amount of vocational advice is given. Altogether, 832 students were assisted in these ways during 1972.

With the aid of grants from ASSET (described below) and from a private donor, a Students' Contingency Fund operates to assist students, mainly Africans, who find themselves in unexpected financial difficulties. Nearly 50 small grants, totalling R1 606, were made during 1972.

In June 1972, the E.I.C. agreed to administer R6 000 a year donated by International Business Machines for teacher-training bursaries for Africans. From then until the end of the year, 52 students were assisted at a cost of R4 573.

The E.I.C. also administers Donaldson Bursaries of the Bantu Welfare Trust, which are granted for pre-matriculation vocational courses and post-matriculation courses that are not well supported by other funds. During 1972 there were 95 students receiving such bursaries, at a total cost of R12 246.

In July 1972, and again in 1973, the E.I.C. ran winter schools for black matriculants holding bursaries administered through the Institute of Race Relations. Admission is free. Lectures, illustrated by films and dramatised scenes, are given, dealing with

various subjects on the curriculum, and with possible future careers.

ISAACSON FOUNDATION BURSARY FUND

The Isaacson Foundation Bursary Fund is administered by the bursary department of the Institute of Race Relations. It was initiated by the Morris Isaacson Education Foundation, which still supports it. In addition the Fund receives donations from many individuals, business concerns, and other Trusts. This Fund grants bursaries for the matriculation course to Africans in Johannesburg or within a radius of 40 miles, university bursaries to African residents of the Republic who are studying a degree course other than medicine, and miscellaneous bursaries to students taking vocational courses.

According to the Fund's report for the year ended 30 June, during the first half of 1973 it was administering 68 university bursaries and 103 school bursaries (including some granted in earlier years but being continued). The total estimated cost was R22 363.

This bursary department also administers three school bursaries awarded by the S.A. Association of University Women, and makes *ad hoc* emergency grants from money made available by the Bantu Welfare Trust and International Business Machines. During 1972, 35 African students were assisted, at a cost of R3 097.

ASSET

An American-South African Study Educational Trust (ASSET) was created in 1971 by the Polaroid Foundation Inc. Later, Pepsi-Cola Africa (Pty.) Ltd. and American Express International Inc. made substantial grants to the Trust. It is administered by the Institute of Race Relations, through its head office and regional offices. Bursaries are available to African, Coloured, and Indian students throughout the Republic who are taking matriculation courses (or, in exceptional cases, school courses below this level), and vocational, teacher training, or university courses. Miscellaneous grants are awarded to assist organizations concerned with literacy, music and drama, or other projects of an educational nature.

In 1973, 612 bursaries were awarded, totalling R61 885. The miscellaneous grants approved totalled R9 346.

SOME OTHER BURSARY FUNDS

The head office of the Institute of Race Relations administers six smaller bursary funds. Separate Race Relations Educational Trusts are controlled by its regional offices.

The *Rand Daily Mail* continues to sponsor the Rand Bursary

Fund, which is run by African teachers. Nearly R70 000 was raised in 1972.¹ The Natal *Daily News* sponsors a LEARN Fund, and the Port Elizabeth *Evening Post* an ABC Fund.

Among other large bursary funds are those administered by the Anglo-American and De Beers Chairman's Fund, the S.A. Sugar Industry's Trust Fund for Education, and the S.A. Council of Churches.

Members of the Transvaal Coloured Teachers' Association continue to contribute to and raise money for a bursary fund to assist high school and university students. Nused, the educational branch of Nusas, finances and administers a medical scholarships programme. The KwaZulu Government has established the Luthuli Memorial Fund, to assist African pupils throughout the country.² Mention of some of the many other funds has been made in previous issues of this *Survey*.

¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 December 1972.

² *Ibid.*, 7 September.

HEALTH

CONTROL OF HEALTH SERVICES FOR AFRICANS IN THE HOMELANDS

The control of health services for Whites, Coloured people, Asians, and for Africans in "white" areas is divided between the State Department of Health, the provincial administrations, and local authorities. It was decided in 1970, however, that the control of health services and hospitals in the African homelands would be transferred to the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, with the Department of Health acting as the executive authority.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Development announced¹ that as from 1 April 1973, his department would begin a gradual takeover of all mission hospitals, prior to handing over control and financing to the homeland governments. The process would take place over a period of years, beginning in the Transkei, where a Department of Health had been created. There were 21 mission hospitals in that territory.

The churches would be compensated for their previous actual capital expenditure, the Deputy Minister said. Black employees would become officials of the homeland government involved, while whites would become officials of the central government seconded to the homelands until suitable replacements were available.

In a paper entitled "The State and Comprehensive Health Services — South Africa"² Dr. Cora E. Erasmus, Director of Strategic Planning of the Department of Health, said that hospitals in the homelands were being used as centres for comprehensive health services for communities in defined areas. Each would have a district hospital superintendent, to be known as the Chief Health Officer, and a matron, entitled the Chief Nursing Officer. They would be in charge of community health services in their districts, undertaking curative and preventive health work, including health education. Each community health centre would be staffed by nurses, health assistants, and social workers. Every hospital would, if possible, have at least one nurse with a psychiatric qualification and one dietician. Selected hospitals would be developed on a regional basis to render specialist services.

Pending the Government take-over of mission hospitals, they are being subsidized by the Department of Bantu Administration

¹ *Star*, 27 and 28 March.

² Circulated by the State Information Office.

and Development. This created a dilemma for the Roman Catholic Church, as, under the Government's Comprehensive Health Services scheme, hospitals receiving subsidies are obliged to provide advice and equipment for contraception.³

Hospitals in Umtata and Butterworth are being divided into White sections falling under the Department of Health, and African sections controlled by the Transkeian Government.

STATISTICS RELATING TO HEALTH SERVICES IN THE HOMELANDS

The official estimates of expenditure on health services in the homelands in 1973-4 are:⁴

	R
Revenue Account Vote	36 507 000
Income from fees and other sources	2 816 000
Capital expenditure on hospital buildings	6 300 000

The following statistics were furnished by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development in reply to questions in the Assembly on 9 February:⁵

	<i>Republic</i>	<i>South West Africa</i>
Institutions operating in the homelands:		
Mission hospitals	93	21
Other hospitals	12	5
Clinic centres	543	45
Number of hospital beds	23 908	2 987

	<i>White</i>		<i>African</i>	
	<i>White</i>	<i>African</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>African</i>
Medical and health personnel serving in the homelands:				
Medical practitioners	45	9	40	—
Nurses and midwives	586	10 725	142	490
Dentists	4	—	1	—
Chemists and druggists	26	4	6	—
Physiotherapists	18	26	3	—
Radiographers	36	40	4	—
Health inspectors	26	11	7	2
Health assistants	—	72	20	2

Two Turkish doctors who had worked for some years at the Moroka Methodist Mission hospital at Thaba 'Nchu were forced to leave the country when a renewal of their temporary residence permits was refused. This left the hospital critically short of medical staff.⁶

HOSPITALS IN OTHER AREAS

In the paper quoted earlier, Dr. Erasmus said that the ratio of hospital beds per 1 000 of the population in 1972 was:

³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 February.

⁴ R.P. 2/1973 Vote 16; R.P. 3/1973 Vote N.

⁵ Hansard 1 Question col. 46.

⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 February; *Star*, 16 April.

Republic: whites	...	10,00
blacks	...	5,57
Homelands	... ..	3,48

Black doctors are not allowed to treat their own patients in provincial hospitals if this would involve their being placed in a position of authority over white nurses. Most of the hospitals in larger towns are staffed by black nurses, so the problem does not arise; but when patients of Coloured or Indian doctors serving in country areas are hospitalised, these doctors generally have to hand over their treatment to the white medical staff of the hospital. The Director of Hospital Services in the Cape stated that he would try to make special arrangements for the staffing by Coloured nurses of certain wards of hospitals in areas where Coloured doctors are practising;⁷ but medical men and others then expressed the fear that this would be a step towards rigid apartheid in hospital services. African doctors have been prevented from serving in senior specialist capacities in large African hospitals because this would in most cases mean that they would be in a position of authority over junior white doctors, interns, or medical students. Because of this, several leading African medical practitioners have left South Africa.⁸

The scales of hospital fees described on page 408 of last year's *Survey* have been changed. New tariffs have been introduced in the Transvaal, increasing fees, but raising the income limit for classification as a "hospital" rather than as a "private" patient. Fees for black patients are now assessed on the same basis as for whites. This arrangement works to the advantage of black in-patients, especially those from large families; but it means that the out-patient fee for blacks has been raised from a minimum of 20 cents to the amount that whites pay, i.e. 50 cents. (This is the fee applicable to people in the lower income groups.)⁹

MALNUTRITION

Towards the end of 1972, Kupugani¹⁰ circularised mission hospitals, asking about nutritional needs in their areas. The replies indicated¹¹ that there was generally a high degree of malnutrition. In a paper given at a congress of the S.A. Association for the Advancement of Science, Professor John Hansen (head of the Department of Paediatrics at the University of the Witwatersrand) is reported¹² to have said that such conditions could be found at almost any hospital or clinic in the country, the causes being poverty, ignorance, unstable or broken families, and overpopulation in many African rural areas.

⁷ *Star*, 2 August.

⁸ See 1969 *Survey*, page 235.

⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 May.

¹⁰ See 1969 *Survey*, page 238.

¹¹ *Star*, 12 December, and *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 December 1972.

¹² *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 June.

It would appear that insufficient use is still being made of the State's scheme for distributing heavily subsidized skimmed milk powder. In the Assembly on 25 April the Minister of Health said¹³ that the participants in this scheme in 1972, and the quantities of milk powder that were distributed during the year, were:

	<i>No. of participants</i>	<i>Quantity distributed</i> kg
Local authorities ...	169	644 000
Bantu authorities ...	3	6 250
Mission hospitals ...	58	303 000

MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS AND DENTISTS

The S.A. Medical and Dental Council has kindly informed the writer¹⁴ that at the end of 1972 there were 11 709 registered medical practitioners and 1 703 registered dentists in the Republic.

Questioned in the Assembly on 8 May,¹⁵ the Minister of National Education said that the numbers of undergraduate medical and dental students in 1972, and the numbers who obtained a MB.ChB. or who qualified in dentistry at the end of that year or early in 1973, were:

	<i>Students</i>		<i>Qualified at the end of year</i>	
	<i>Medical</i>	<i>Dental</i>	<i>MB. ChB.</i>	<i>Dentistry</i>
White	3 710	708	440	67
Coloured	142	6	19	—
Asian	445	16	47	1
African	202	7	15	—

A first Coloured man qualified as a dentist at the University of the Witwatersrand in June.

According to information furnished by the universities, the numbers of black medical students in March 1973 were:

<i>Medical school</i>	<i>Coloured</i>	<i>Indian</i>	<i>Chinese</i>	<i>African</i>
Cape Town	98	49	6	—
Natal	44	264	—	200
The Witwatersrand	10	97	30	1
	152	410	36	201

Students who enter the Natal Medical School usually take a general preliminary course for one year, followed by a six-year medical course. The preliminary year may be omitted by applicants with degrees in the basic science subjects or, in certain circumstances, with first-class matriculation passes. The Minister of National Education said in the Assembly on 24 April¹⁶ that, in 1972, 249 Africans applied for admission to either the preliminary or the first year course. Of these, 47 were accepted, 5 of whom failed to register. Another 28 were promoted from the preliminary year's course.

¹³ Hansard 11 col. 720.

¹⁴ Letter O 5/73 of 12 June.

¹⁵ Hansard 13 col. 839.

¹⁶ Hansard 11 cols. 703-4.

Only 60 students could be accommodated in the preliminary year and 80 in the first year course, the Minister added, these numbers including Indian and Coloured students. In a Press interview in March¹⁷ Professor E. B. Adams, Dean of the Medical School, said that strict selection was necessary not only because of the shortage of staff and facilities, but also because in past years there had been a high drop-out rate. Many applicants had relied on their memories at school, and had not been trained to reason or to originate ideas. Large numbers had difficulty with English and mathematics.

In a letter to the Institute of Race Relations in September, Professor Adams said that since the first student qualified at the Natal Medical School in 1957, there had been 168 African, 239 Indian, and 32 Coloured graduates. At the end of 1972 and in June 1973, 49 students graduated. This total, he said, should increase by at least 50 a year, reaching 90 or 100 per annum by the end of 1974.

Since 1966, Africans have been prohibited from studying medicine at universities other than the Natal Medical School unless with special Ministerial permission. During June,¹⁸ the Vice-Chancellor and Principal of the University of the Witwatersrand, Professor G. R. Bozzoli, urged the Government to allow this university to resume the training of Africans.

It was mentioned in an earlier chapter that the University of Stellenbosch, in co-operation with the University of the Western Cape, has commenced training Coloured dentists. The enrolment of black dental students in March 1973 was:

University	Coloured	Indian	Chinese	African
Stellenbosch and W. Cape	16	15	1	7
The Witwatersrand	5	15	1	7

During February¹⁹ two Johannesburg City Councillors, Dr. Selma Browde and Mr. Sam Moss, M.P.C., made a joint appeal for the improvement of dental services in Soweto. Dr. Browde said that because of inadequate dental facilities, many people had to have extractions when they only needed fillings. Mr. Moss pointed out that there was no school dental service. Black children, he said, were becoming more and more prone to the same dental problems as Whites, due to their changing eating habits.

The Johannesburg City Council employed three White, one African, and one Asian full-time dentists. It decided in February to adopt the same salary scale for them all.²⁰ (During 1972 it made a similar decision in regard to doctors.)

Black doctors employed in government hospitals in the Transkei are also paid the same salaries as their white colleagues

¹⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 March.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 8 June.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 28 February.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 26 February.

receive;²¹ but this is not the case in government and provincial hospitals elsewhere in the Republic. During March,²² a group of black doctors produced statistics to show that the salary gap between White and African doctors had been widening. In 1964 African housemen earned 79 per cent of the salaries of Whites: by 1972 the figure was 68 per cent. Over the same period, the salaries of African medical registrars decreased from 80 per cent of those of Whites to 65 per cent, it was stated. Two of the salary scales quoted in the report are:

Medical Officer and Registrar:

White: R5 700 x 300 — 8 100.

Coloured and Asian: R4 350 x 150 — 4 800 x 240 — 6 000 x 300 — 6 600.

African: R3 750 x 150 — 4 800 x 240 — 6 000.

Intern:

White: R4 050.

Coloured and Asian: R3 120.

African: R2 760.

The writer made a comparison of the scales for the various posts, coming to the conclusion that Coloured and Asian doctors earned between 70 and 81 per cent of the salaries of Whites with equal qualifications, and Africans between 65 and 76 per cent.

It was reported in October²³ that the *British Medical Journal* had decided not to accept advertisements from South Africa unless equal salaries were offered for equal work.

NURSES

The S.A. Nursing Council kindly furnished the following statistics, showing the number of registered nurses and student nurses (men and women combined) as at the end of 1972.

	Coloured		
	White	and Asian	African
Trained nurses and midwives:			
General nurse	9 805	854	3 421
General nurse with additional qualifications	14 013	2 069	8 714
Midwife only	1 047	265	1 707
Other nurses ²⁴	1 270	73	434
Totals	26 135	3 261	14 276
Auxiliary (enrolled) nurses and midwives ...	1 291	728	8 496
Student nurses	3 781	699	3 220
Student midwives (excluding trained nurses)	967	306	1 108

Every one of the African student nurses at Baragwanath Hospital (serving Soweto) who wrote final examinations at the end of 1972 succeeded in passing, three of them obtaining honours passes.²⁵

²¹ *Ibid.*, 11 July.

²² *Ibid.*, 16 March.

²³ *Ibid.*, 4 October.

²⁴ Psychiatric, mental, fever, children's, etc.

²⁵ *Race Relations News*, June.

After passing a Sister Tutor's course at the University of the North, Miss Lydia Makgopela was awarded a Fullbright Scholarship for further study in the United States. She obtained a Master's degree in nursing education at the University of Connecticut.²⁶

The Minister of Bantu Education said in the Assembly on 16 February²⁷ that, during 1972, 16 Africans qualified as Sister Tutors, and 56 as public health nurses.

As from 1 April, improved salary scales were announced for black nurses and for white nurses in the lower grades. As well as this, black nurses would receive a 17.5 per cent increase, and white nurses 15 per cent. The following figures show the resulting changes in the top notches of certain salary scales:²⁸

	<i>Previous notch</i>	<i>Revised notch</i>	<i>Add</i>	<i>New maximum</i>
<i>Nursing sisters</i>				
White	R3 450	R3 600	15% = R540	R4 140
Coloured and Asian	R2 040	R2 520	17½% = R441	R2 961
African	R1 620	R1 920	17½% = R336	R2 256
<i>Student nurses</i>				
White	R1 800	R1 920	15% = R288	R2 208
Coloured and Asian	R1 170	R1 440	17½% = R252	R1 692
African	R 840	R 990	17½% = R173	R1 163

A percentage comparison of salaries would work out as follows.

	1972	1973
<i>Nursing sisters</i>		
White	100	100
Coloured and Asian	59	72
African	47	54
<i>Student nurses</i>		
White	100	100
Coloured and Asian	65	76
African	47	53

PHARMACISTS

According to the responsible Ministers,²⁹ the numbers of pharmacy students in 1972 were:

	<i>1st year</i>	<i>2nd year</i>	<i>3rd year</i>	<i>Post-graduate</i>
Whites	413	732	515	—
Coloured	63	31	10	—
Indians ³⁰	?	33	21	—
Africans	38	23	5	3

During 1972, 6 Coloured students, 16 Indians, and 2 Africans obtained the B.Sc. (Pharmacy) degree. The number of Whites was not stated.

²⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, 3 October.

²⁷ Hansard 2 col. 120.

²⁸ Information from S.A. Nursing Association.

²⁹ Minister of National Education, Assembly Hansard 1 Question col. 50; Minister of Coloured Relations, Hansard 2 col. 92; Minister of Indian Affairs, Hansard 4 col. 258; Minister of Bantu Education, Hansard 2 col. 79.

³⁰ Indians take a B.Sc. course during the first year, and at the end of this are selected for the B.Sc. (Pharmacy) course.

PARA-MEDICAL PERSONNEL

Questioned in the Assembly on 16 February,³¹ the Minister of Bantu Education said that the following numbers of Africans qualified during 1972 as para-medical personnel:

Health inspectors	...	...	...	...	...	31
Health assistants	...	...	...	...	...	35
Medical laboratory technicians	...	...	...	...	...	1
Physiotherapists	...	...	...	...	...	8
Radiographers	...	...	...	...	...	3

TUBERCULOSIS

It was stated in the Assembly on 6 March on behalf of the Minister of Statistics³² that no information was available about the number of Africans who had died of TB. The figures for other racial groups were:

		<i>White</i>	<i>Coloured</i>	<i>Asian</i>
1970	...	100	1 135	73
1971	...	110	1 084	69

According to a Press report,³³ "a spokesman for the State Health Services" said in February that TB was so prevalent in the Transkei that almost every child was affected with it at some stage, although many of them showed no actual signs of illness. About 6 per cent of the population of the Transkei needed treatment for TB at some stage of their lives. Twenty-one centres with about 2 000 beds had been established for patients. A pilot scheme at Kentani to combat the disease was proving very successful. Babies were immunised, and all school children tested regularly.

EYE DISEASES

The Director of the S.A. National Council for the Blind, Mr. S. Wentworth, was reported in March³⁴ to have said that since October 1952, when a mobile clinic scheme had been started, 11 790 successful major eye operations had been performed on Africans in country areas. Of these people, 8 402 had cataracts in both eyes. All could now see again. Many others had had sight restored.

The need for the mobile clinic was less acute to-day, Mr. Wentworth continued, because there were more established clinics and hospitals. Further, there were far fewer cases of diseases such as trachoma, because Africans in remote areas were paying more attention to personal and environmental hygiene, and teachers were co-operating in preventive work.

³¹ Hansard 2 col. 119.

³² Hansard 5 col. 329.

³³ *Rand Daily Mail*, Townships edition, 23 February.

³⁴ *Report from South Africa*, March.

At a conference of the S.A. National Council for the Blind held in December 1972, Dr. J. Graham Scott described a project in the Potgietersrus area of the Northern Transvaal which he had headed for 15 years. Each year, about 60 000 African children had been treated for trachoma. Over this period, the incidence had dropped from 40 per cent to 6 per cent, and the gravity of the disease had been so much lessened that it was highly unlikely that any more school children would become blinded.³⁵

The Department of Optometry at the Witwatersrand College for Advanced Technical Education, in co-operation with Witsco (a welfare organization at the University of the Witwatersrand) has been running clinics at Riverlea for Coloured people, and at Alexandra Township for Africans. Under the supervision of registered optometrists, optometry students conduct eye tests and make up spectacles, charging about R4 if people can afford to pay, otherwise making no charge. Grants are obtained from various sources to cover costs. Previously, only people who could prove that they were indigent could obtain free spectacles, through the St. John's Eye Hospital.³⁶

³⁵ *Bantu*, January.

³⁶ *Star*, 26 April.

SOCIAL WELFARE

SOCIAL PENSIONS

In reply to questions in the Assembly during February,¹ the Ministers in charge of the Departments concerned furnished the information that is summarized in the tables below. The figures apparently refer to the end of 1972. No information was given about Chinese people; and it appears that Africans in the Transkei were not included. African pensions are paid every two months. The numbers of persons receiving social pensions were:

	<i>Whites</i>	<i>Coloured</i>	<i>Indians</i>	<i>Africans</i>
Old age pensions	115 155	67 236	10 632	397 416
Blind pensions	890	1 659	174	13 776
Disability grants	23 793	26 154	10 039	106 209
War veterans' pensions	16 434	5 133	158	—
Grants to ex-members of military forces	—	—	—	180

A means test is laid down, defining the free income permitted, which includes assets other than cash, up to certain amounts. In the case of married couples, part of the wife's earnings may be deducted from the combined income. So far as Africans are concerned, payment in kind as well as in cash is taken into consideration, as are family circumstances. As a person's income rises above the free income permitted, the pension is progressively reduced. As one example, an African with an income of just over R10 a month does not qualify for any pension. According to the Ministers, the numbers of people receiving the maximum pensions were:

	<i>Whites</i>	<i>Coloured</i>	<i>Indians</i>
Old age pensions	102 961	59 960	10 066
Blind pensions	810	1 525	146
Disability grants	21 940	24 795	9 674
War veterans' pensions	15 274	4 614	148

No figures were furnished in respect of Africans.

In his Budget speech² the Minister of Finance announced that as from 1 October there would be an approximate ten per cent increase in the maximum amounts payable. The bonuses paid to war veterans would be raised. (Africans do not qualify for war veterans' pensions.) The free income permitted, which was increased for Whites during 1972, would now be increased for Coloured and Asian pensioners. Later, on 24 August, the Minister

¹ Minister of Social Welfare and Pensions, Hansard 2 col. 85; Minister of Coloured Relations, Hansard 4 cols. 252-3; Minister of Indian Affairs, Hansard 2 col. 86; Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Hansard 1 Question cols. 58-9.

² Assembly, 28 March, Hansard 8 cols. 3537-9.

stated that slightly larger increases in pensions than those promised earlier were to be paid.

During the first nine months of 1973, the free income allowed per month, and the maximum pensions payable monthly, were:

	Whites ³	Coloured and Indians ⁴	Africans ⁵
Free income	R42	R8	R6,66
Maximum pension:			
Old age, blind, disability	R47	R23,50	R8,00
War veterans	R51	R25,50	—

Corresponding figures as from 1 October, in so far as ascertained at the time of writing, were:

	Whites	Coloured and Indians	Africans
Free income	R42	R21	R6,66
Maximum pension:			
Old age, blind, disability	R47	R23,50	R8,00
War veterans	R57	R28,50	—

In the Assembly on 16 February, Mr. G. N. Oldfield (U.P.) moved a Private Member's Motion,⁶ "That this House expresses its concern at the plight of pensioners and urges the Government (a) to review the present rate of social pensions and the means test applicable to such pensions, and (b) to consider the advisability of introducing a national contributory pension scheme".

The Deputy Minister of Social Welfare and Pensions agreed⁷ that the rate of pensions was small, but said it would be very costly indeed to increase it. South Africa was not a welfare state, he said. A national contributory scheme would not help those who were not economically active and could not contribute. Private pension schemes should be extended.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

During the year under review three further lists, totalling about 16 000 names, were published of awards under the Workmen's Compensation Act that had been unclaimed for twelve months or more.⁸ Again, roughly 80 per cent of the persons concerned were Africans, and in large numbers of cases no particulars were given except the man's first name. Most of the sums due were small, but several people had large amounts awarded to them, indicating that their injuries must have been severe.

The Star ran a feature article on the subject on 11 September. The writer had been in touch with the Workmen's Compensation Commissioner, who pointed to the difficulty of tracing members of a highly mobile work force consisting largely of migrant labour. He circulated names of missing workers to police stations, Bantu

³ Speeches by the Minister, quoted earlier.

⁴ Government Notices 1403-6 of 10 August, and 2402-4 of 29 December 1972.

⁵ Government Notice 1180 raised the maximum pension for Africans to R7,50 from 1 April. Government Notices 2104-6 again raised the maximum, as from 1 October.

⁶ Hansard 2 cols. 801-11.

⁷ Cols. 839-46.

⁸ *Gazettes* of 8 December 1972, 9 March, and 24 August.

Affairs Commissioners, and labour officers, he said. It appeared that a major difficulty was that many employers failed to record full details about their employees (often because they were employing the men illegally). Also to blame were doctors who failed to send in the necessary forms, and hospitals that did not keep proper records of patients.

SHELTERED EMPLOYMENT

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 6 March,⁹ the Minister of Labour said that 1 316 Whites, 411 Coloured people, 15 Indians, and 14 Africans were working in sheltered employment schemes falling under his department. No further Africans were to be admitted to such schemes. Coloured and Indian women were not eligible.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Development said on 9 February¹⁰ that there were ten centres or workshops in the homelands for disabled Africans. In November 1972, about 1 200 people were employed there.

⁹ Hansard 5 cols. 338-9.

¹⁰ Hansard 1 Question col. 46.

NOTES ON THE ARTS AND ENTERTAINMENT

SOME NOTES ON BLACK WRITERS AND ARTISTS

Miss Nadine Gordimer has expressed the view¹ that no fiction of any real quality by black South Africans has been published in the country since the early 1960's, when leading prose writers went into exile and their works were banned. Instead, black writers have been turning to poetry.

One of the noteworthy books published during the period under review, by Renoster Books, was a collection of poems by Mongane W. Serote, entitled *Yakhal' inkomo*.² Ravan Press and Ophir Publications jointly published *Sing for our Execution*, containing poems and woodcuts by Wopko Jensma (whose racial group was not disclosed). As mentioned in an earlier chapter, the Publications Control Board banned a collection of poems by James Mathews and Gladys Thomas entitled *Cry Rage*, published by Spro-Cas/Ravan Press.

Oswald Mtshali of Johannesburg accepted an invitation to read some of his works at the Poetry International festival in England held during June. In July, paintings by Louis Maqhubela were exhibited in the London Arts Gallery.

The Institute of Race Relations (Natal Region), together with the S.A. Association of Arts (Natal) and the Durban Art Gallery, organized the sixth biennial exhibition entitled "Art: South Africa: To-day". An exhibition of paintings and sculptures by Africans was arranged in Germiston by the East Rand Bantu Administration Board in collaboration with the Katlehong Art Society. Another such exhibition was organized in December by the Montford Art Club in Durban. Sydney Kumalo held a one-man exhibition in Johannesburg of his sculptures and drawings. Other black artists have held one-man exhibitions and have also shown their works at joint exhibitions arranged by a number of galleries.

A donation from the Church of Sweden Mission made possible the opening of an exhibition hall at Rorke's Drift, Natal, to display the tapestries, carpets, ceramics, works of graphic art, and sculptures produced by Africans at the mission there. Impressive exhibitions of works from Rorke's Drift were held early in the year at the National Art Gallery in Cape Town and subsequently in other centres.

¹ e.g. *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 October.

² A rough translation is "the crying of a cow being slaughtered".

AFRICAN THEATRE

African theatre has flourished during the past year. Although few South Africans of other racial groups have been able to see performances, overseas audiences have delighted in them.

Welcome Msomi's *Umabatha*, a Zulu musical loosely based on *Macbeth*, was again presented by a company of 55 Zulu players at London's Aldwych Theatre. Shortly before, Alton Kumalo's musical, *Temba*, opened in the West End. Mr. Kumalo is an ex-South African who is now resident in England, and for some years was a member of the Royal Shakespeare Company.

Athol Fugard, John Kani, and Winston Ntshona visited London to act in a play which they had evolved, entitled *Sizwe Bansi is Dead*. It received very favourable reviews in leading newspapers.

The Phoenix Players were invited to visit Japan to present *Meropa*, a song and dance revue. It was planned that, before leaving, they should give a performance before a multi-racial audience in a private church hall in Johannesburg. A few minutes before it was due to start the show was cancelled because plain-clothed policemen had gathered outside the hall, and the organizers did not want to jeopardise the cast's chances of going abroad, although they were convinced that the performance would have been legal. The Players made a highly successful tour of Japan, and then accepted invitations to visit the Philippines and Hongkong.

The cast of another singing and dancing revue, *Ipi-Tom-Bi*, made a popular five-weeks' tour of Australian cities. This show was devised in Johannesburg by Bertha Egnos and Gail Lakier. A long-playing record of its music was produced. Gibson Kente staged his musicals, *Lifa* and *How Long?* in Johannesburg; and a newly-formed theatre and jazz group called The People presented *Not His Pride* by the East London playwright and actor, Julius Mtsaka.

Under the wing of the Cultural Section of Johannesburg's Non-European Affairs Department, Mrs. Doreen Lamb has been running a dramatic society, teaching the theoretical and practical aspects of conventional theatre work. She has been assisted by Sam Mhangwane, a playwright and producer whose morality play, *The Unfaithful Woman*, has been running for the eighth year in succession. The society formed the Jubilee Theatre Group, which staged a suspense drama, *The Frightened Lady*, written by Mrs. Lamb.

In association with the Southern Transvaal Region of the Institute of Race Relations, Mr. R. MacLaren and Mrs. Bess Finney continue to organize an unconventional Experimental Theatre group. During October they presented *uNosilimela*, by Credo Mutwa.

A periodical called *S'Ketsh'* has been launched in Soweto to give news of black theatre and entertainment.

HOLIDAY RESORTS FOR MEMBERS OF BLACK COMMUNITIES

In a statement issued on 15 October, the Minister of Planning said that the Government had laid down policy guidelines for the development of holiday resorts, rest camps, and stopover facilities for members of the Coloured and Indian communities.

- (a) Inland holiday resorts and rest camps for members of these groups should (like beach resorts) be controlled primarily by provincial administrations and local authorities in consultation with the Departments of Planning, Community Development, Coloured Relations, and Indian Affairs, and with the aid of funds provided by the Government.
- (b) In Coloured or Indian group areas, rural Coloured areas, and predominantly Indian rural areas, facilities could be provided by the Coloured Development Corporation, or by Indians, or by any undertaking in which Coloured or Indian people had a controlling interest, as appropriate.
- (c) In controlled areas (not allocated to any specific group) facilities could, in deserving cases, be established on approved sites by private White entrepreneurs, or private Coloured or Indian entrepreneurs, provided that the necessary permits were obtained. Permits would be required from the local authority and the provincial administration concerned before application for approval was made to the appropriate government department.
- (d) In cases where White entrepreneurs provided overnight facilities for Whites along national roads or main roads, and wanted, "with the necessary guarantees", to provide similar but entirely separate facilities for Coloured and Indian travellers, this might be allowed, under permits specifying the conditions.

The Natal Parks Board announced in October³ that it was making a start with the provision of holiday and recreation facilities for black people. The first accommodation for Africans visiting Natal game reserves was to be made available at the Masinda Camp, in the corridor between the Umfolozi and Hluhluwe reserves. Chalets, camping sites, and a restaurant for Indians had been built at Midmar dam, and similar facilities were being developed at the new Hazelmers dam on the north coast. Holiday accommodation for Coloured people was to be available at Albert Falls.

(Facilities available at and adjoining the Kruger National Park and elsewhere have been described in previous issues of this *Survey*.)

³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 October.

SPORT

GOVERNMENT POLICY ON MIXED SPORT

In the Assembly on 25 May¹ the Minister of Sport and Recreation, Dr. P. G. J. Koornhof, outlined the Government's policy on mixed sport which, he said, was not a new policy, but a developing one. He repeated that no mixed sport would be allowed at the club, provincial, or national levels. There would, however, be no ceiling on opportunities for international competition. The policy was described in some detail on pages 314 *et seq* of the 1971 *Survey*.²

One exception from the general rule was allowed in 1973. As mentioned later, teams selected from each of the four main racial groups in South Africa were allowed to compete against one another in soccer during the S.A. Games, although no teams from other countries were participating.

The Government has taken stringent action to prevent multi-racial sport from being conducted at the club level. The Press reported in May³ that friendly soccer matches had been taking place on municipal grounds in Newcastle between White teams and teams consisting of Indian and Coloured members. The latter did not make use of the club-house facilities. On reading this report the M.P. for the area, Dr. P. J. Viljoen (N.P.) consulted the Minister of Sport and Recreation, who ruled that these mixed games must be stopped.

The formation of the multi-racial Aurora Cricket Club in Pietermaritzburg, and its successful application to play in second-league matches of White clubs in that city, is described on page 112. Other cricketers in Natal opposed this plan because they felt that it might lead to confrontation with the Government. They formed a Cricket Club of S.A., with a non-racial constitution. It would be administered largely by correspondence, and games between whites and blacks would be "friendlies", played on private grounds at all levels of cricketing ability. In a speech made shortly afterwards, however, Dr. Koornhof reiterated that the Government would not allow mixed sport at club, provincial, or national levels. One of the organizers of this Cricket Club, the Natal cricket captain Mr. Andre Bruyns, had discussions with the Secretary for Sport, following which he announced that the

¹ Hansard 5 cols. 7559-71.

² Also see page 106 of *South Africa: Basic Facts and Figures* published by the Institute of Race Relations in 1973.

³ *Sunday Times*, 27 May; *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 May.

Club's programme would be altered. This programme is described later.⁴

For some 20 years a popular multi-racial soccer league existed at Tongaat in Natal. Teams of African players, or of Coloured and Indians, or of all three groups, had come there at weekends from surrounding small towns to play matches at the Watson Park Stadium, which had been donated to all the people of Tongaat by the Saunders family. Later, when group areas were proclaimed, the stadium was included in the Indian area. During June, the police warned players that they were liable to prosecution under the Group Areas Act. They demanded lists of the players and the addresses of club officials.

About a fortnight later, the Town Clerk of the (multi-racial) Town Board wrote to the chairman of the soccer league, stating that although the Board had been pleased to encourage sport at the stadium between any members of the community, it had been advised by a higher authority that inter-racial sport was not permissible unless a permit had been granted under the Group Areas Act. "The Board regrets to confirm that, with immediate effect, it is no longer able to make the Watson Park Stadium available to the community for the purposes of multi-racial sport unless a permit authorizing the fixture is issued".⁵

It was reported in August⁶ that the Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development had caused local authorities to be informed that the Government was opposed, not only to sport between black and white, but also to sport between different black groups. The latter was to be permitted only "in exceptional circumstances and on high levels", and if permits were issued under the Group Areas Act.

The terms of Proclamation R228 of 5 October are set out on page 112. This measure was designed to place strict control over inter-racial social, sporting, and other events. As mentioned earlier, the exact implications are not clear at the time of writing.

BANTU SPORT AND RECREATION FUND

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr. T. N. H. Janson, has established a Bantu Sport and Recreation Fund to provide facilities for Africans throughout the country, but particularly for migrant workers living temporarily in urban areas, away from their families. It will be financed by donations from the public, but all the administrative work will be carried out, without charge to the fund, by a special section created within the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. It was announced in September that donations totalling R275 000 had already been received, from the Anglo American Corporation of

⁴ *Sunday Times*, 17 June and 22 July; *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 June.

⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 19, 20, 25, and 29 June.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1 August.

S.A. Ltd., De Beers Corporation Ltd., Rembrandt Corporation Ltd., and the Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Coy. Ltd.

The fund was officially launched at a meeting held at the Holiday Inn, Jan Smuts Airport, in October, to which White businessmen, African business and cultural leaders, and Press representatives were invited. According to reports, at this meeting the Old Mutual and the Argus Company, among others, promised large donations. By the end of the meeting R370 860 had been collected in cash or in pledges.⁷

S.A. COUNCIL ON SPORT

The "non-racial" sporting associations and their policy were described on page 417 of last year's *Survey*. Briefly, they have non-racial constitutions but in practice almost exclusively black membership — Indian, Coloured, and to a smaller extent African. They refuse to affiliate to White associations on the ground that this would mean acceptance of subservient status, and they hope to achieve direct affiliation to international bodies controlling the various forms of sport, to the exclusion of associations organized on racial lines. They refuse to participate in "open international" sporting events on the ground that, in their opinion, these are merely window-dressing exercises to deceive the outside world. They stand out for non-racial sport from the club level upwards.

Representatives of nine non-racial organizations (swimming, soccer, table tennis, athletics and cycling, tennis, weight-lifting and body building, rugby, cricket, and hockey) met in Durban during March and jointly formed a S.A. Council on Sport (SACOS). Mr. Norman Middleton was elected president, Mr. Hassan Howa vice-president, and Mr. M. N. Pather secretary.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN GAMES

Preparations for the S.A. Games, held in March and April, were mentioned on page 419 of the 1972 *Survey*. Invitations to participate were sent to a large number of sporting bodies in other countries, thus giving the Games "open international" status. This meant that all South Africans of adequate ability could compete, regardless of colour, except that in team events they represented their respective racial groups. In cases where S.A. had been suspended or expelled by international bodies, special dispensation was requested to allow competitors from other countries to participate (this applied in boxing, wrestling, cycling, weight-lifting, and soccer, for example). In some cases dispensation was refused, or individual countries declined to allow their citizens to take part. A few people defied such bans.

According to the issue of *Bantu* for July, there were contests in 28 branches of sport, and competitors from 32 countries, in-

⁷ *Ibid.*, 15 and 17 September and 24 October.

cluding 861 South Africans and 673 sportsmen from other states. The largest contingents came from West Germany, the United States, Britain, Ireland, Switzerland, Japan, Italy, Canada, Israel, France, Holland, Belgium, Austria, and Rhodesia. Malawi sent a hockey team.

Except for the soccer matches, which were played in Johannesburg, the events took place at various venues in Pretoria, the competitors staying in the new luxury Burgers Park Hotel.

Five Africans from S.A. won awards — Moses Khoni a gold medal for boxing, Mzukisi Skweyiya a silver medal for boxing, Titus Mamabula and Joseph Leserwane silver medals for running (Mr. Leserwane also won a bronze medal in another event), and Pferi Mtembu a bronze medal for cycling.

SOCCER

The Federation of International Football Associations (FIFA), which had suspended the (White) Football Association of S.A. (FASA) in 1961, agreed to grant dispensation to allow foreign teams to play in the Games. Mr. Dave Marais, M.P., president of FASA, and Mr. George Thabe, chairman of the affiliated S.A. Bantu Soccer Association, attended a meeting of FIFA in Paris to explain how the tournament was to be run. It appeared that teams from Britain, West Germany, and Brazil were proposing to come. But, according to reports,⁸ FIFA's decision was strongly opposed by SANROC⁹ in Britain and by the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa. FIFA then withdrew its dispensation, on the ground that it had not originally realized that the Games were to be "multi-national", and not "multi-racial".

This meant that teams from overseas could not compete. In spite of this, on being approached by Mr. Marais, the Minister of Sport, Dr. Piet Koornhof, allowed the tournament to be held. Teams to represent the four main racial groups were selected by FASA and its two affiliated bodies, the S.A. Bantu Soccer Association and the S.A. Coloured Football Association. The Indian team (and to a lesser extent the Coloured one) was weakened by the fact that many of its best players were members of the non-racial S.A. Soccer Federation, which did not participate in the Games. After a series of matches, the gold medal was awarded to the Whites, the silver medal to the Coloured team, and the bronze medal to the Africans.

Dr. Koornhof announced in May¹⁰ that another multi-national tournament had been approved for 1974. Overseas teams would be welcome to participate. Mr. Marais had pointed out to him that if FIFA's suspension were to be lifted and S.A. was permitted to send a team overseas, such a team would have to be

⁸ e.g. *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 February.

⁹ The S.A. Non-Racial Olympic Committee.

¹⁰ *Star*, 26 May.

selected on a non-racial basis, since FIFA would not countenance separate teams from the various racial groups. Dr. Koornhof accepted this, but insisted that there should be no mixed trials. The best eleven players could be selected at a multi-racial tournament, he suggested.

According to a Press report,¹¹ in 1974 the S.A. Soccer Federation is to apply to FIFA for direct affiliation, to the exclusion of FASA and its affiliates.

The British Stars XI, a team of professionals, toured S.A. in July, and played one match against an African XI, winning by 3 goals to 2. The Africans had been coached by a member of the (White) National Professional Soccer League.

RUGBY

There are four controlling bodies in rugby, the (White) S.A. Rugby Board (SARB), which works in co-operation with the S.A. African Rugby Board and the (Coloured) S.A. Rugby Federation. National teams selected by these bodies are known as the Springboks, the Leopards, and the Proteas, respectively. The non-racial body, which opposes their policies, is the (Coloured and Indian) S.A. Rugby Union.

The New Zealand Rugby Football Union (NZRFU) invited a South African team to tour its country in 1973. But then more than half of the members of the Commonwealth threatened that, if this tour went ahead on a "racial" basis, they would boycott the Commonwealth Games, scheduled to take place in Christchurch during 1974. The Supreme Council for Sport in Africa insisted that the S.A. team should be selected by a racially-mixed committee at mixed trials: it would not object if a team selected on this basis consisted of White players only.

Groups such as HART and CARE¹² in New Zealand threatened to disrupt the tour unless conditions such as these were met; but they, in turn, were opposed by a group called ADSAT (the Association Defending S.A. tours). It was reported in February that the Labour Party Prime Minister of New Zealand, Mr. Norman Kirk, had an assessment made of the likely effects of the S.A. tour, then told the NZRFU that it would be in the larger interests of the country if this tour did not take place. For the time being the invitation was, however, not cancelled.

Dr. Danie Craven, president of the SARB, stated he still hoped that it would be possible for a representative team (which would be called "South Africans", not "Springboks") to be chosen on merit, although the Government would not allow mixed trials. One difficulty was the uncompromising attitude of the S.A. Rugby Union. Officials of this Union stated¹³ that they welcomed Dr.

¹¹ *Star*, 1 June.

¹² "Halt All Racist Tours", and "Citizen's Association for Racial Equality".

¹³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 April.

Craven's bid for mixed trials, but wanted an assurance that this would lead to non-racial rugby at all levels within 15 years. Otherwise, the efforts of the SARB would be regarded as merely a manoeuvre to get white rugby back into the international arena at the expense of black sportsmen.

During March, Mr. Kirk said¹⁴ that his government's policy was still one of "dissociation and dissuasion". But the police believed that the proposed S.A. visit "would engender the greatest eruption of violence this country has ever known". A few weeks later he wrote to the NZRFU, officially requesting that the invitation to S.A. be deferred until a side was selected on merit. The tour was, thus, called off.

A Dutch Rugby Union decided not to tour S.A. in June-July, as had been planned, because of political objections by some members of the team.¹⁵ However, an Italian team did visit the Republic, playing one match against the Leopards, defeating them 24-4.¹⁶

A new organization called SART (Stop the Apartheid Rugby Tour) has been formed in England with the aim of stopping a tour of S.A. by the British Lions in 1974. It is reported¹⁷ that Dennis Brutus and four other leading members of SANROC are closely associated with it, together with Peter Hain, the Young Liberals, the National Union of Students, the ANC-in-exile, and others.

TENNIS

As reported on page 426 of last year's *Survey*, S.A. was during 1972 re-admitted to the Davis Cup championships, to play in the South American zone instead of the European zone as in the past, where there was danger of withdrawals by eastern European countries that opposed apartheid. The committee of the Davis Cup nations ruled that any country that entered the championships and then withdrew because of S.A.'s presence would be subject to strong disciplinary action.

Mixed trials were not held, but the (White) S.A. Lawn Tennis Union (SALTU) invited the affiliated S.A. National Lawn Tennis Union (SANLTU), which represents African and many Coloured players, to nominate candidates. National selectors of the SALTU watched these nominees play at SANLTU championships, and decided that they were not up to the standard of the White nominees.

New Zealand had applied for the Federation Cup tournament (the women's equivalent of the Davis Cup) to be held in Auckland

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 17 March.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 6 February.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 9 July.

¹⁷ *Sunday Express*, 5 August.

during 1974. It was reported¹⁸ that Mr. Norman Kirk told his country's tennis authorities that if a team from S.A. were to compete, it would be acceptable in his country only if the team was, and was seen to be, chosen on a genuine basis of merit. Mr. Blen Franklin, president of the SALTU, assured the International Lawn Tennis Federation (ILTF) that the S.A. team would be chosen on merit. He added a reminder that the ILTU had ruled that the tournament would be held in N.Z. only if the authorities there accepted entries from all member-countries wishing to participate. Otherwise, the venue would be switched to Italy.

During October the SALTU announced that two methods would be used for judging form for the selection of a S.A. team. Two black women players, nominated by the SANLTU, would participate in the S.A. Breweries Open Championships in Johannesburg in November: this event was regarded as an open international. Secondly, a special tournament would be arranged featuring overseas teams as well as separate White, Coloured, and African teams from S.A. (The non-racial Southern African Lawn Tennis Union had repeatedly declined invitations to affiliate to the SALTU, thus would not participate.)

There was much argument and discussion in New Zealand. Representations from all three of the S.A. tennis bodies were considered, and efforts made to judge the comparative strengths of the SANLTU (African and Coloured players) and the non-racial body (mainly Indian and Coloured). It was eventually announced on 1 November that Mr. Kirk had refused to allow the Federation Cup Tournament to be held in N.Z. He considered that S.A. was making merely a token gesture in inviting African women to compete for selection by participating in the S.A.B. Open Championships, since there was apartheid at all other levels of play.

Mr. Arthur Ashe, the black player from the United States, was granted a visa to participate in these championships (his applications had in previous years been refused). The seven black men and women players from S.A. were eliminated in the early stages. They were given practice games by white players before their matches, but one of them pointed out¹⁹ that, apart from this, he had not had a single really competitive game since the last S.A. Open Championships, eighteen months previously.

During November, the S.A. Tennis Players' Association (representing white professional players) voted unanimously for the creation of an all-races executive committee.²⁰

CRICKET

Differences between the three controlling cricket bodies in S.A. were described on page 422 of the 1972 *Survey*. During

¹⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 July and 18 September.

¹⁹ *Star*, 15 November.

²⁰ *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 November.

March the (white) S.A. Cricket Association (SACA), led by Mr. Boon Wallace, and the S.A. African Cricket Association (SAACA), led by Mr. Harrison Butshingi, jointly formed a Cricket Council.¹ Mr. Wallace is reported² to have said that he would like to ask the Government, as a matter of urgency, to agree in principle to the selection of a South African team, rather than a Springbok team, representative of all who played cricket in S.A.

But Mr. Hassan Howa, president of the non-racial S.A. Cricket Board of Control (SACBOC) opposed this idea. He maintained that merit selection was impossible unless white and black played together from the club level upward. This would be lawful, he said, if private grounds were used and spectators excluded.³

Dr. Piet Koornhof announced in May⁴ that the S.A. Government would allow an open international cricket tournament to be held in the country, and would not interfere with the racial composition of visiting teams provided that no political motive was involved. Black teams from S.A. could compete in such a tournament. But no club-level inter-racial cricket would be allowed.

Mr. Howa had, earlier, agreed to serve on a select committee, consisting of two representatives of each of the three controlling bodies, appointed to try to devise a workable scheme for merit selection at the national level. At a final meeting of this committee, held in May,⁵ all agreed that merit selection should be supported at a national level for senior cricket, and also for schools teams and at provincial levels. It was agreed, too, that all cricketers should have proper facilities. (Few black teams have the use of turf wickets.) Mr. Howa proposed that a "super-league" should be created in various centres, consisting of the best white and black sides, and using private grounds. This would make true merit selection possible. But representatives of the other two organizations considered that such a scheme would patently not be acceptable to the Government, and there would be practical difficulties. Mr. Howa then stated that there was no point in continuing the discussions.

Mr. Howa announced that he intended asking the International Cricket Conference to give recognition to SACBOC.⁶ He planned to attend a meeting of this Conference in London, as an observer, following visits to a number of other countries. But he was refused a passport.

Early in 1973 the International Women's Cricket Council invited five South African women to play, as individuals, in an international team in a World Cup tournament in England. But this invitation was later withdrawn due, it was stated, to political

¹ *Sunday Express*, 4 March.

² *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 May.

³ *Ibid.*, 26 March.

⁴ *Star*, 26 May.

⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 28 May.

⁶ *Star*, 2 June; *Sunday Times*, 17 June.

pressure from the West Indies.⁷ Other proposed events that were cancelled because of the absence of merit selection in S.A. included a tour of Britain by a S.A. team at the invitation of the Test and County Cricket Board,⁸ and a tour of S.A. by the English team that won the Gillette Cup.⁹

The Derrick Robins XI from Britain did tour S.A., though, and the S.A. Government raised no objection to the inclusion in the team of a player from Pakistan and one from the West Indies, both of whom held British passports and played for teams in England. The visiting XI played and defeated an African XI at Soweto.¹⁰

It was mentioned earlier in this chapter that a Cricket Club of S.A. had been formed, with the initial plan of organizing friendly inter-racial matches on private grounds. In view of the Government's attitude, however, it was decided that members would concentrate, for a start, on providing coaching and promoting better playing facilities for blacks. The ultimate objective remained unchanged — to foster comradeship and good relations in cricket, within the framework of the law. Among the leading white members of the club are Andre Bruyns, the Natal captain, and Springboks Dennis Gamsy, Eddie Barlow, and Graeme Pollock.¹¹

The Datsun Company sponsored an international double-wicket tournament, which was held in Johannesburg during September. Couples from England, Australia, New Zealand, and Rhodesia accepted invitations to participate. An African couple from S.A. took part, but Mr. Howa's SACBOC declined to do so. SACBOC also prevented Basil D'Oliveira from playing by resolving that if he did so, he would not be accepted to play and coach under its auspices in Port Elizabeth during the British off-season, as had been arranged. The contest was won by Rhodesia. The S.A. African couple (which included a schoolboy) succeeded in winning one match, against New Zealand, in spite of their unfamiliarity with a turf wicket and lack of practice against experienced players.¹²

Dr. Ali Bacher, the Springbok captain, has announced his retirement from top-level cricket because of the intrusion of politics into the game.

SWIMMING

As mentioned last year, the non-racial S.A. Amateur Swimming Federation refused to affiliate to the (White) S.A. Amateur Swimming Union (SAASU). It declined to participate

⁷ *Sunday Express*, 6 May.

⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 May.

⁹ *Star*, 26 July.

¹⁰ *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 September and 19 October.

¹¹ *Sunday Times*, 17 June and 22 July; *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 August.

¹² *Star*, 30 July, 3 September, 30 September.

in the S.A. Games, and it applied to the International Swimming Federation (FINA) for affiliation in the place of the White body. It prepared a memorandum on the paucity of swimming facilities for blacks.

A new S.A. Swimming Association was formed in February, consisting mainly of African and Coloured swimmers in the Transvaal. It became affiliated to SAASU, being given voting powers equal to those of a White provincial association.¹³

The president of SAASU stated that swimming teams would in future be selected purely on merit; but the Secretary for Sport announced that this would not be in accordance with Government policy. Separate teams would have to be chosen to represent the various race groups. Any black swimmers of adequate ability could compete in the Games, but would be doing so as individuals.¹⁴

During the Games, a fact-finding mission of FINA toured S.A. It was announced on 31 August that the international body had decided to expel SAASU. South Africa would be re-admitted only when a single, integrated, governing body had been constituted.

South Africa is a member, however, of a recently-created International Diving Federation.

OTHER FORMS OF SPORT

Athletics

During June, a group of S.A. athletes, Whites and Africans, took part in the British international games. Joseph Leserwane won the 400 metres event. During a subsequent tour of several European countries, Danie Malan broke the 1 000 metres world record.

Cycling

In February the International Amateur Cycling Federation confirmed S.A.'s expulsion and refused a dispensation to allow cyclists from other countries to compete in the S.A. Games.

Teams from several overseas countries did, however, take part in the "Rapport Tour", a cycle race from Cape Town to Johannesburg which was held in October and was classified as an "open international" event. Teams of White riders were selected by the (White) S.A. Cycling Federation, and a team of Africans by the affiliated S.A. African Amateur Athletics and Cycling Federation. Subsequently the White Federation awarded its colours to the White riders who had competed, but not to the Africans. The African Federation presented its nominees with honours badges.¹⁵

¹³ *Star*, 26 February.

¹⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 February.

¹⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 November.

Golf

Nine golf tournaments or championships which are held regularly in S.A. have been deemed to be "open international" events.

A new co-ordinating body, the S.A. Golf Union, was formed in September, consisting of three representatives each of the (white) S.A. Golf Union, (white) Professional Golfers' Association, (black) S.A. Golf Association, and (black) S.A. Professional Players' Golf Association. In terms of the constitution, the chairman must be a member of the (white) S.A. Golf Union. One of the stated objectives of the new composite body is to work for better facilities for blacks.¹⁶

Boxing

Several black boxers from overseas have been granted visas to fight in S.A., including Bob Foster, the world light-heavyweight champion, to fight Pierre Fourie, and "Doc" Holliday to challenge the S.A. black national welterweight champion, Maxwell Malinga.

Women's Bowls

S.A. was one of the founder members of the International Women's Bowling Board, which arranged world championships in Wellington, New Zealand, in December. The S.A. Women's Bowling Association selected its team of five white players, but was then informed by the president of the N.Z. Women's Bowling Association that, in the interests of other participating countries, her Association had very reluctantly decided not to admit S.A. It transpired that she had consulted the Prime Minister, Mr. Norman Kirk, after Zambia had protested against S.A.'s entry. The S.A. Association pointed out that bowls was not a game that was popular among black women, hence it was impossible to have a mixed team. In the event, Zambia did not send a team because it had no black women bowlers.¹⁷

Basketball

A Chinese woman, Miss Ho Tong, was selected for a basketball team to compete against Rhodesia. She was awarded Springbok colours.¹⁸

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 17 September.

¹⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 July; *Sunday Express*, 29 July and 7 October.

¹⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 October.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA (NAMIBIA)

INTERNATIONAL DECISIONS

It was mentioned in last year's *Survey*¹ that, early in 1972, the United Nations' Security Council instructed the Secretary-General, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, to "initiate as soon as possible contact with all parties concerned" with a view to establishing conditions to enable the people of Namibia, freely and with strict regard to the principles of human equality, to exercise their right to self-determination and independence.

Dr. Waldheim, and subsequently his personal representative in the matter, Dr. A. M. Escher, then made extensive tours of S.W.A., holding private meetings with a wide cross-section of the people, and visited South Africa for discussions with the Prime Minister and others. After considering their reports, on 6 December 1972 the Security Council authorized Dr. Waldheim to continue his valuable efforts to seek a solution.

At a Press conference at the U.N. headquarters in January,² Dr. Waldheim said that he considered it best to continue discussions through normal diplomatic channels. He had had two "extensive" discussions with the S.A. Ambassador to the U.N., Mr. Carl von Hirschberg, he said, asking S.A. for a more specific definition of its attitude to self-determination. Later, Dr. Waldheim had discussions in Geneva with the S.A. Foreign Minister, Dr. Hilgard Muller.

In a report to the Security Council in May,³ the Secretary-General stated that, while S.A. had defined its position on some of the basic questions which arose earlier, it had not provided "the complete and unequivocal clarification of S.A.'s policy in regard to self-determination and independence for Namibia" that was envisaged in the resolution passed by the Council in December. In his discussions he had stressed that the U.N. favoured independence for Namibia as a whole, and opposed S.A.'s policy of creating separate "homelands". He had made clear his position that the right to self-determination should be exercised simultaneously on a common and territory-wide basis.

At a meeting in Addis Ababa later that month, the Organization of African Unity called on the Security Council to end the consultations with S.A.⁴ Later, the U.N. Special Committee

¹ Pages 441-3, 450.

² *Star*, 9 January.

³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 May.

⁴ *Star*, 30 May.

on Colonialism supported this recommendation of the O.A.U.⁵

During November Chief Clemens Kapuuo, who heads the Herero Chief's Council and is a leading member of the National Convention of Freedom Parties, was granted a visa to visit the U.N. According to reports,⁶ the main purpose of his visit was to try to secure recognition by the U.N. of the National Convention as the body most representative of the peoples of Namibia. (The Convention is described later.) It was stated that the leaders of SWAPO and SWANU in the territory, Mr. David Merero and Mr. Gerson Veii, sent a cable to Dr. Waldheim supporting Chief Kapuuo's claims. Thus far, the U.N. has granted recognition only to SWAPO-in-exile — a far more radical body than is SWAPO within the territory. Preliminary reports⁷ indicate that the Chief's representations were not acceptable to a number of the African member-states.

U.N. COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA

Membership of the U.N. Council for Namibia has been expanded from eleven to eighteen nations. The members in 1973 were Burundi, Chile, China, Colombia, Egypt, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Liberia, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Rumania, Turkey, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yugoslavia, and Zambia. Mr. Paul J. F. Lusaka of Zambia was elected president.

He stated¹ that about 80 countries officially recognized the travel documents that the Council issued to Namibians. The Council has begun issuing Namibian stamps.

POPULATION OF S.W.A.

According to S.A.'s Minister of Statistics,² the population of S.W.A. as enumerated in the 1970 census was:

<i>Whites</i>	90 658	<i>Southern Sector:</i>	
<i>Groups classified as Coloured:</i>		Damara	64 973
Coloured	28 275	Herero	49 203
Rehoboth Basters	16 474	Bushmen	21 909
Nama	32 853	Tswana	3 719
		Others	14 756
	<hr/> 77 602		
			<hr/> 154 560
<i>Of Northern Sector origin:</i>			
Ovambo	342 455		
Kaokolanders	6 467		
Kavango	49 577		
East Caprivians	25 009		
	<hr/> 423 508		
		<i>Combined total</i>	<hr/> 746 328

⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 July.

⁶ *Star*, 16 November.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 29 November.

¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 12 June.

² Assembly, Hansard 8 col. 527.

DEVELOPMENT OF SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR NATIVE NATIONS IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA AMENDMENT ACT, NO. 20 OF 1973

Reasons for the introduction of the measure

This Act, amending the principal Act of 1968,³ was accompanied by an Explanatory Memorandum in which it was stated, "With this Bill the Government reaffirms *inter alia* its oft repeated assurance that it is the firm and irrevocable intention of the Government, as in the Republic, also to lead individual nations in South West Africa and the Eastern Caprivi to self-government and independence, and furthermore gives substance to the assurance in a practical manner by making provision by law for further political development".

The measure provides for the progressive introduction, by proclamation, of greater powers of self-government for Damaraland, Hereroland, Kaokoland, Kavango, Owambo, and Eastern Caprivi. When introducing it in the Assembly⁴ the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said, "With this Bill the Government is reaffirming its undertaking to give the various population groups systematic practical experience on a regional basis in the field of self-government, so as to enable them eventually to exercise their right of self-determination in a proper manner . . . When a government or region is of the opinion that it is capable of exercising further powers of self-government, it will be able to request that the legislation concerned be made applicable to it, and the State President may then apply it."

The principal Act

The principal Act provided that, after consultation with a "Native Nation", the State President may establish a legislative council for its area. The powers of these councils will at first be circumscribed, but may gradually be increased. Matters with which the councils may eventually deal were set out in detail. A council may make enactments in regard to these matters, which require the State President's approval. The State President may legislate by proclamation in respect of matters that are not assigned to a legislative council.

Executive councils may be constituted from among the members of legislative councils, and they may establish departments to control the various matters with which the council deals. Employees of the Republic's service may be designated to assist the executive councils.

The Amendment Act

The Amendment Act of 1973 provided that, when the time

³ See 1968 *Survey*, page 307.

⁴ 16 February, Hansard 2 cols. 788-9.

is deemed ripe, self-governing Native areas may be proclaimed by the State President after consultation by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development with the legislative council concerned. Each may have its own flag and national anthem. For each there will be a cabinet consisting of a chief minister and other ministers.

The legislative council of a self-governing area will have power to make laws (not inconsistent with the Act) with regard to matters with which it deals. These laws may amend or repeal Acts of Parliament in so far as the latter relate to members of the nation concerned (whether residing within the area or elsewhere in S.W.A.). Bills passed must be submitted through the Minister to the State President for his assent. He may refer a Bill back to the council for further consideration.

Matters with which legislative councils will *not* be permitted to deal include matters concerning military organizations, arms, ammunition, and explosives; foreign affairs; internal security and the control of members of the Police Force of the Republic who may be in the area concerned; postal and related matters; railways, harbours, national roads, and aviation; currency, banking, customs and excise; and entry to the area of persons who are not members of the nation concerned. Universities will not be controlled by legislative councils.

The matters with which legislative councils *may* be permitted to deal were set out on page 308 of the 1968 *Survey*. To these, the Amendment Act added legal aid; health and hospitalization; housing schemes; and control of entertainments, cultural institutions, places of recreation, tourism, and cemeteries.

Power to establish or disestablish magistrates' courts and native commissioners' courts may be vested in the member of the executive council concerned. Existing such courts may be transferred to homeland governments. Such courts may not deal with persons who are not members of the nation concerned except with the Minister's approval. The Attorney-General with jurisdiction in the area may direct that in any particular case, proceedings shall be instituted in or transferred to any other court.

Any provincial or local division of the Supreme Court with jurisdiction in the area concerned will be competent to pronounce upon the validity of an enactment of a legislative council.

The State President may establish a High Court for a self-governing area, with an attorney-general and judges, to replace a division of the Supreme Court. A judge of the Supreme Court of S.A. may be seconded to such a High Court. Appeals will be heard by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of S.A.

Each self-governing area will have a revenue fund into which will be paid taxes levied on members of the nation, licence fees, fines, rents, etc.; an annual grant from the Consolidated Revenue Fund equal to the net expenditure by the State and S.W.A.

Administration on matters transferred to the government of the self-governing area during the financial year preceding the date of transfer (*less* the salaries and allowances payable by the Government of the Republic to its officials serving in the area concerned); and such an additional sum of money as may be appropriated annually by Parliament.

After the Cabinet of the area has prepared its annual estimates of revenue and expenditure, these must be submitted to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development who, in consultation with the Republic's Minister of Finance, will determine what additional sum of money, if any, Parliament should be asked to appropriate.

The legislative council will then appropriate money from the total revenue fund available to it, and may impose taxes, in both cases after considering recommendations by its Minister of Finance.

Unless the legislative council decides otherwise, all accounts will be audited by the Republic's Controller and Auditor-General.

With the prior approval of the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, given in consultation with the Republic's Minister of Finance, and subject to such conditions, if any, as these Ministers may stipulate, the legislative councils may raise loans.

The State President may by proclamation transfer the ownership of land and other public property to the government of the area from the Government of the Republic, the Administration of S.W.A., or the S.A. Bantu Trust. Conditions may be stipulated.

Members of legislative councils will be indemnified against legal proceedings arising from resolutions, speeches, etc. made by them in the council or in one of its committees.

Duties, powers, and functions lawfully exercised by chiefs and headmen will be unchanged until varied or withdrawn by the competent authority.

Parliamentary debate on the Bill

When the Bill was introduced in the Assembly, Sir de Villiers Graaff said⁵ that the United Party would like an assurance, preferably from the Prime Minister, that he considered the legislation to be in no way contrary to the spirit of, or would in no way affect, his negotiations with the U.N. The U.P.'s policy in respect of S.W.A. included the development of self-government of the various groups, with the hope of an eventual federal arrangement. The suggestions in the Bill were not contrary to these ideas, as long as it was clearly understood that they were not a step in the direction of a unilateral attempt to change the territory's international status by providing for the ultimate independence of portions of it.

⁵ 16 February, Hansard 2 cols, 792-5.

The Prime Minister replied⁶ that he had discussed the general principle of the Bill with Dr. Escher, who had brought it to the notice of the Security Council. The U.N., Mr. Vorster said, saw the territory as a whole and did not take into account the diversity of its peoples. His view was that experience in self-government, which in the circumstances could best be achieved on a regional basis, was an essential element for eventual self-determination. Such experience would assist the various peoples in deciding what was in their interest and in which direction they wanted to move. The ultimate decision would be theirs entirely. All options were being kept open.

The U.P. supported the second reading of the Bill, but during the committee stage objected to certain of the clauses which gave wide powers to the State President. Mrs. Helen Suzman (P.P.) opposed the second reading, however, and subsequently voted against every clause. She considered it most unwise, she said,⁷ to introduce a measure such as this at a time when S.A. was engaged in negotiations with the U.N. She believed that it was in the spirit of the mandate that the territory should be administered as one area, for the benefit of all the inhabitants. She was of the opinion that, before going ahead with the Bill, the Prime Minister should again suggest that a plebiscite be held under joint United Nations—South African auspices.

(In subsequent speeches, for example in Windhoek on 12 October,⁸ Mr. Vorster made it clear that he has no intention of again offering a plebiscite.)

PRIME MINISTER'S ADVISORY COUNCIL FOR SOUTH WEST AFRICA

As mentioned on page 451 of last year's *Survey*, during his talks with Dr. Escher the Prime Minister said that he would be prepared to establish an advisory council drawn from representatives of the various regions, regional governments, or authorities in S.W.A., and he would assume overall responsibility for the territory as a whole — i.e. distinct from the ministries responsible for different sectors.

Mr. Vorster announced in March⁹ that he had appointed Mr. Billy Marais, an official of the S.W.A. Administration, to be the personal representative of his department in S.W.A. An office had been opened in Windhoek.

Early in 1973 organizations representing the White and Coloured groups, the African legislative councils, and Bantu authorities, were invited to nominate representatives to serve on

⁶ 19 March, cols. 944-50.

⁷ Cols. 952-5.

⁸ *Star*, 13 October.

⁹ *Star*, 23 March.

the Prime Minister's Advisory Council. Each would have two representatives except for the Tswana and Bushmen, who would have one each (it is not clear how these were selected). Political groups such as the National Convention of Freedom Parties, the S.W.A. People's Organization (SWAPO), and the S.W.A. National Union (SWANU), were not invited to make nominations, thus the more sophisticated and politically conscious urban black people were not well represented.

The two representatives of the Herero people were drawn from those living in the east, and not from the larger group in the west of the territory who recognize Chief Clemens Kapuuo as their leader. According to various reports¹⁰ he had, earlier, rejected the plan for an advisory council on the ground that S.A. had no legal right to establish it. It was stated¹¹ that, through somewhat roundabout channels, officials invited him to attend, but that he declined to do so in view of a public statement by Mr. Jannie de Wet, Commissioner-General of the Indigenous Peoples of S.W.A., that he was not officially recognized as an Herero Chief.¹² During the proceedings of the Council the chief of the Mbandero group in the east, Chief Munjuku Nguvauva, walked out, stating that he wanted independence for the territory as a whole.¹³

On the eve of the first meeting of the Advisory Council the Rehoboth Baster Volksparty withdrew its two representatives. This party, which in general is opposed to the S.A. Government's policies, won all seven seats in the Basterraad elections held in 1971. The authorities invited a member of the opposition party to attend the meeting instead, as an observer.¹⁴ Similarly an observer was invited to represent the Nama group, which did not send representatives. The people from Kaokoland are reported to have said that they were given too little time to make nominations. The Damara representatives were chosen from the small minority of this group who live in their homeland.

The Council's first meeting, held in Windhoek on 23 March, was attended by two Whites nominated by the Legislative Assembly, two Coloured men nominated by the Coloured Council, two Ovambo (including Chief Filemon Elifas), two Kavango, two East Caprivians, a Tswana, a Bushman, together with the Herero, Rehoboth Baster, Damara, and Nama representatives or observers referred to above.

Discussions were held behind closed doors. Afterwards¹⁵ the Prime Minister described them as having been very successful. Members had agreed that nobody could wish away or deny the

¹⁰ e.g. *Rand Daily Mail*, 17 February; *Star*, 1 June.

¹¹ e.g. *Star*, 22 March; *Sunday Times*, 25 March.

¹² In about 1960, the Chief's Council elected Mr. Kapuuo as the chief-designate, and it confirmed his appointment when the previous chief died in 1970.

¹³ *Star*, 19 July.

¹⁴ *Sunday Times*, 25 March.

¹⁵ *Star*, 23 March; Assembly, 24 April, Hansard 11 col. 682.

diversity of peoples in the territory. The homelands policy as such was not discussed: he had emphasized that the peoples of S.W.A. would decide their own future. The main purpose had been to deliberate on the wider interests of the territory, which jointly affected these peoples. Groups which had not sent representatives would be free to do so at future meetings if they so wished.

It was reported on 4 May¹⁶ that in an official document sent by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to Dr. Waldheim it was pointed out that the Advisory Council was still in the formative stage, but it was the Government's intention to make it a meaningful instrument for the consideration of matters of territory-wide concern and relating to the future of S.W.A. It was hoped that, to this end, the Council would include members truly representative of all the different groups. As it became more experienced and effective, it should progressively become an instrument for the development of co-operation and understanding among the inhabitants of the territory as a whole.

A second meeting, taking place over two days, was held at the Holiday Inn at Jan Smuts Airport during August. The Prime Minister, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, the Minister of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs, and senior government officials were present. The representatives of the peoples of the territory were, according to reports, much the same as those who attended the first meeting. The Prime Minister is reported¹⁷ to have said, at a Press conference afterwards, that during discussions the emphasis had fallen on the development of S.W.A., and the necessity for higher wages and improved race relations.

CHURCHMEN IN S.W.A.

As mentioned on page 41 of last year's *Survey*, during 1972 the Anglican Bishop of Damaraland,¹⁸ the Rt. Rev. Colin Winter, was expelled from S.W.A. in terms of the Undesirables Removal Proclamation of 1920 as amended. The synod of the diocese decided to retain him as Bishop-in-exile. The Rt. Rev. Richard Wood was consecrated as Suffragan Bishop to administer the affairs of the diocese in his absence.

Several more church workers have been required to leave Owambo, or refused entry, during 1973. The Government refused to extend the temporary residence permit of Pastor Gerald Dunze of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. He is a German national, who had been lecturing at a theological seminary. After a short absence, Mr. Justin Ellis of Stellenbosch was refused permission to return to an Anglican mission school. Mr. R. W. Leach of the

¹⁶ *Star*, 4 May.

¹⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 August.

¹⁸ In effect, of the whole territory.

Anglican Medical Missions overseas was refused permission to work at St. Mary's mission hospital at Oshikango. Pastor Wolfgang Kruger of the German Evangelical Lutheran Church, who was in charge of a parish in Otjiwarongo, was refused an extension of his temporary residence permit.

Bishop Leonard Auala headed a deputation from the Ovambo-Kavango Evangelical Lutheran Church and the Evangelical Lutheran Church (between them they have some 333 000 members), which during April met the Prime Minister, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development, and the Commissioner-General of the Indigenous Peoples. They are reported¹⁹ to have complained about restrictions on the mobility of churchmen in the territory, making it very difficult for a clergyman of one race to work among people of another group; about the refusals of residence permits or visas to churchmen; and also about the breaking up of family life caused by the pass laws, and alleged brutality of certain policemen and soldiers.

Shortly afterwards, on the night of 10 May,²⁰ an explosion destroyed the offices and printing press of the Ovambo-Kavango Evangelical Lutheran Church at Oniipa, near to the administrative centre of Ondangwe. Buildings and equipment worth about R600 000 were lost. A police investigation was made, apparently without positive result.

DEVELOPMENTS IN AND CONCERNING OWAMBO

Detentions in 1972 under the emergency regulations

Regulations for the Administration of the District of Ovamboland, gazetted in terms of Proclamations R17 and R26 of February 1972, were summarized on page 439 of last year's *Survey*. They provided, *inter alia*, for detention without trial.

Questioned in the Assembly,¹ the Minister and Deputy Minister of Police said that 303 persons were detained during 1972, for periods ranging from 2 to 111 days. Of these, 114 were charged with various offences under the regulations and found guilty, 28 were charged and acquitted, and 161 were released without charges having been laid.

New Constitution for Owambo

In terms of Proclamation R104 of 27 April, Owambo was declared a self-governing area within the territory of S.W.A., with Ongwediva as the seat of government, and Ndonga recognized, together with English and Afrikaans, as an official language.

The proclamation provided for a legislative council of 56 members, made up as follows:

¹⁹ *Star*, 30 April; *EcuNews Bulletin*, 7 May.

²⁰ *Star*, 11 May.

¹ Hansard 10 col. 631; Hansard 1 Question cols. 1-2.

- (a) five members designated by each of the seven tribal authorities;
- (b) three members elected from each of the seven tribal areas.

Those entitled to vote would be adults (18 years and over) in possession of registration cards issued in terms of the Owambo Nation Registration Enactment.

The legislative council would elect a Chief Minister. He would then appoint six Cabinet ministers from among members of the council, ensuring that each of the seven tribal areas was represented in the Cabinet.

Proclamation 117 of 4 May specified that the designation of members must take place on or before 23 May. The general election for the remaining 21 members would take place on 1 and 2 August.

Disturbances among the Ovambos in Windhoek

The hostel in which contract workers from Owambo are accommodated at Katutura, the African township of Windhoek, was described briefly on page 433 of last year's *Survey*. It was again the scene of various disturbances during the closing weeks of 1972 and in 1973.

Police raided the hostel on 11 December 1972, arresting more than a hundred Ovambos. Some were released after screening, eight paid admission of guilt fines, and 63 were convicted on charges of being in the urban area illegally and/or not being in possession of work permits or identification papers. Their sentences ranged from R10 to R20 (or 10 to 20 days). Those found to be in the area illegally were repatriated.²

It was reported in March³ that a member of the Kavango Legislative Council went to the hostel during the period when the creation of the Prime Minister's Advisory Council was being widely discussed, intending to address the Kavango residents (said to constitute about ten per cent of the total, the rest being Ovambos). He was shouted down by a crowd, and threatened with violence. Stones were thrown at members of the police who went to his assistance; apparently, no one was injured. Some of the Ovambo then rushed off in a rage, burnt down the office building in the compound, destroying all the records, and attacked other buildings. Damage estimated at about R20 000 was caused. Police reinforcements arrived and more than 200 Africans were stated to have been arrested. Some were freed after investigation, but 87 were found guilty of being in the compound illegally (19 were repatriated). Five were convicted on charges of public violence and arson, and jailed for three years.

There was renewed agitation during the period preceding the

² *Rand Daily Mail*, 12 and 13 December; *Star* 13 December 1972.

³ Numerous Press reports from 7 March to 4 April.

election of members of the Owambo Legislative Council. Six men were charged in June with holding a meeting at the compound without permission and inciting about 1 000 men present to destroy their identification documents.⁴

As described in more detail later, members of the SWAPO Youth League were active in urging the Ovambo to boycott the elections. The police and tribal authorities in Owambo took stern action against them, which had repercussions amongst contract workers in Katutura. It was reported⁵ that on 12 August leading members of the Youth League told a crowd estimated at 2 000 that S.W.A. would become independent only after blood had flowed. After the meeting tempers rose, and some of the crowd smashed the gate of the compound. The leaders escaped, but some were captured by the police later. During November, three of them were each sentenced to 8 years' imprisonment under the Sabotage Act. They had been charged with inciting or encouraging others to take up arms and assault or kill black opponents and members of the white community. At the time of writing one man was facing charges of inciting people to burn their identification documents. The police were still searching for other leaders who had addressed the meeting.

Four days after this occurrence, a small group of policemen raided a house in Katutura where Youth League members were holding a meeting. The police were attacked, two of them being slightly injured. Shots were fired, and one member of the League was shot dead. Police reinforcements arrested some of the men.⁶

That same night a mob in the compound began stoning the municipal offices and set fire to the sleeping quarters of the township police. These men managed to escape. Members of the S.A. Police drove the Ovambos back to their quarters, and made certain arrests.⁷

A few days later, during a weekend, it was reported⁸ that members of the Youth League tried to organize a mass strike for the following Monday as a protest against rule by S.A. Most of the hostel residents disregarded the proposal and did go to work, but it was stated that a crowd of between three and four hundred gathered for a meeting outside a shopping centre. They were dispersed by a strong force of policemen armed with automatic weapons.

Several hundred men were arrested during these incidents. Reports of their numbers, and what had actually transpired, were not clear because members of the Press were not allowed to enter the township. On 20 August the chief magistrate of Windhoek temporarily prohibited all meetings in the township. Trials of

⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 June, 12 September.

⁵ *Star*, 13 August; *Rand Daily Mail*, 17 and 22 November.

⁶ *Star*, 17 August; *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 August.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Rand Daily Mail* and *Star*, 20 August.

batches of the arrested men began in August: no full report of the results is available.

Events in Owambo prior to the elections

In terms of the emergency regulations for Owambo gazetted in 1972, all meetings in Owambo (with certain exceptions) were prohibited unless they had been authorized in writing by the Native Commissioner. The exceptions were church services, entertainments, etc., and meetings called by officials, chiefs, or headmen.

It was rendered an offence to say or do anything which was likely to have the effect of undermining the authority of the State, the Owambo Government, officials of these bodies, or a chief or headman. It also became an offence, *inter alia*, to make an intimidating statement, and to fail to obey any lawful order given by a chief or headman, or to treat him with disrespect.

Opponents of the Owambo Government pointed out that, while these regulations were in force, it was impossible to hold free elections. They urged that the elections be boycotted.

Two groups took this course of action. One was SWAPO, led in Owambo by Mr. John Otto. The other was a recently formed political party, the Democratic Co-operative Party (DEMCOP), led by Mr. Johannes Nangutuuala. As mentioned on page 435 of last year's *Survey*, Mr. Nangutuuala had headed the *ad hoc* Workers' Committee formed in Owambo during the 1972 strike. Both groups believed in a unitary S.W.A., and hence opposed the Government's plan to establish self-governing areas within the territory. This official plan was supported by the Chief Councillor, Chief Filemon Elifas, and by the chiefs and headmen.

On 30 April Mr. Nangutuuala went to Ondangwa with a large group of his supporters, some of whom carried placards, and pleaded with Chief Elifas not to accept self-government.⁹

On 7 May,¹⁰ the Legislative Council resolved that political parties would be allowed in Owambo only with the permission of the government of the territory. DEMCOP was not approved.

During the days that followed, Mr. Nangutuuala, Mr. Andreas Nuukwawo (the party's secretary), and Mr. Otto, the SWAPO leader, were arrested and detained under the emergency regulations, together with about eight other prominent members of the two opposition groups. The three leaders mentioned, and Mr. Johannes Amupala of SWAPO, were held in custody until June 5, and charged with holding illegal meetings and (in respect of one or two of them) making statements likely to have the effect of undermining the authority of the Owambo Government or its officials. The magistrate refused to allow them bail, but this

⁹ *Star*, 1 May.

¹⁰ *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 May.

was granted following a successful application to the Supreme Court.¹¹

Members of SWAPO's Youth League continued to hold illegal meetings to campaign against the restrictions on political activity and freedom of speech, and against the policy of separate development. In consequence, at least thirty others were arrested and held in detention. Three of them were convicted in the magistrate's court during July on charges of participation in an illegal meeting, and were sentenced to imprisonment for periods ranging from eight to twelve months.¹²

Full reports of what was transpiring were impossible to obtain, because on 27 July the Commissioner-General announced that, with the exception of the S.A. Press Association, the Press would be barred from Owambo for the time being.

The elections

The Owambo Government declared itself to be the Owambo-land Independence Party (O.I.P.). As mentioned, any other parties were not recognized, and could not hold meetings without the Cabinet's approval, which was not granted. SWAPO's national president, Mr. David Merero, pointed out that this set-up completely negated any promise of legitimate political activity. (As he said, Dr. Waldheim had reported to the Security Council that the Prime Minister was prepared to allow such activity to take place.)¹³

The constitution provided for three members to be elected from each of the seven tribal areas. The O.I.P. nominated its full quota of candidates, but they were opposed in two tribal areas only.

The National Convention of Freedom Parties held a mass meeting in Katutura, which was attended by some 1 500 people, to persuade voters to boycott the elections.¹⁴ The Government-controlled Radio Owambo tried to counter this by urging people to go to the polls, and explaining how to vote.

It was estimated in various Press reports that there were 50 000 eligible voters from the two tribal areas where elections were held. Of these, about 1 300 voted, the percentage poll being 2.5.¹⁵ Three Independents gained seats, two in one of the areas and one in the other. The remaining three seats were won by the O.I.P. The Commissioner-General claimed that this very low percentage poll proved "that a modern election was completely foreign to the Ovambos".¹⁶ (Yet in neighbouring Kavango, the following month, the percentage poll was 66.2.)

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1 August.

¹² *Star*, 26 July.

¹³ *Cape Times*, 3 August.

¹⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 28 July.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 17 August.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

At the first meeting of the reconstituted Legislative Council, Chief Filemon Elifas was again elected Chief Minister.

Events in Owambo after the elections

Mr. Frans Nangutuuala, the younger brother of the DEMCOP leader, was during April convicted by an Owambo magistrate of making a threat against an African policeman, and was sentenced to six months' imprisonment. He appealed successfully to the Supreme Court in Windhoek, being defended by Advocate Bryan O'Linn. The judge found that the magistrate had not given satisfactory reasons for rejecting the defence evidence.¹⁷

Two members of SWAPO appeared in the magistrate's court at Ondangwa on 15 August on charges of holding illegal meetings during the election campaign. A crowd estimated at between 300 and 400 massed outside the courthouse. The police were summoned and dispersed the people, using batons and riot sticks. Tear gas was employed to disperse some men who re-grouped.¹⁸ Further arrests were made.

The Star reported on 22 September that there were thought to be 57 men and 13 women (SWAPO and DEMCOP members) held in jails in Ondangwe and Oshikango. The whereabouts of a further 39 detainees was not known: it was possible that some of them had been released.

It seems that not many of these people were charged and brought before a magistrate. Two trials were reported.¹⁹ One was of eight SWAPO members who were found guilty of participating in an illegal meeting. Each was sentenced to a fine of R100 or 6 months. In the other trial five were convicted on similar charges. Their sentences ranged from 6 months conditionally suspended to R300 (or 6 months) plus a 6 months suspended sentence. Some other trials may have taken place.

But the police adopted new tactics. Clive Cowley reported in *The Star* on 22 September that released detainees (known as "Namibia people") were being handed over to tribal courts for punishment. This punishment appeared to consist of flogging, or a fine, or deprivation of the right to trade or to seek work in the South.

Mr. Andreas Nuukwawo, a teacher at an Anglican school, was handed over to the Ondangwa tribal council, of which Chief Elifas is chairman. The Anglican Bishop Suffragan, the Rt. Rev. Richard Wood, made an urgent appeal to the Supreme Court in Windhoek for an interim interdict. Before this court had given its ruling, however, Mr. Nuukwawo was stated to have been accused of giving information to newspapers, being a member of SWAPO, and distributing pamphlets. He was given no opportunity of

¹⁷ *Star*, 14 August.

¹⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 August.

¹⁹ *Star*, 29 September and 24 November.

defending himself, and, while the Chief watched, was flogged on his bare buttocks in public, being given 16 lashes with the rib of a makalani palm branch. Next day, the court in Windhoek interdicted the tribal authority from punishing him pending an application for a review of his trial.

When applying for the interdict, Bishop Wood had submitted sworn affidavits from eight people, testifying to having been flogged in public. Among them were three women students, who could advance no reason for this punishment. The five men (one of whom received 17 strokes on his bare skin) had been accused of minor SWAPO activities.²⁰

Mr. Johannes Nangutuuala, the DEMCOP leader, was also publicly flogged in the Ondangwa tribal court, being given 21 strokes on his bare buttocks.²¹ Mr. Thomas Komati, a student, alleged that he was flogged 31 times by order of the Okwanyama tribal authority merely because he said he was and intended to continue to be a member of SWAPO. His clothing was not removed, but he lost consciousness after receiving 12 of the strokes. He was ill and in severe pain for a number of days afterwards, having to receive repeated hospital treatment. Two others were flogged on the same occasion, Mr. Komati said, one being given 30 lashes.²²

The Press reported²³ that by 12 November at least 20 people had been flogged. Five others, who were in ill health, were fined amounts varying from R40 to R60. The police were still holding an estimated 50 persons.

Various authorities were quoted²⁴ to indicate the safeguards which are adopted in South Africa when corporal punishment is ordered, but which were not applied by the two tribal authorities in S.W.A. In S.A., the person concerned must be examined by a doctor to ensure that he is fit to receive the punishment. The maximum number of strokes that may be imposed is ten: in practice, courts rarely order more than five or six. This form of punishment may be given only to unmarried men under the age of 30; and a light cane only may be used on juveniles. The whippings must be carried out in private, except that a doctor must be present to ensure that actual injury is not caused.

Asked to comment on the floggings²⁵ the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development is reported to have said that as they were an old custom of the tribe, he wished to have nothing to do with the matter.

On 19 November, Bishop Richard Wood, Bishop Leonard Auala, and Mr. Thomas Komati brought an urgent action before

²⁰ *Star*, 26 October.

²¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 October.

²² *Ibid.*, 21 November.

²³ *Star*, 10 November; *Rand Daily Mail*, 12 November.

²⁴ e.g. in the *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 November; *Star*, 16 November; *Sunday Times*, 18 November.

²⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 November.

the Supreme Court, Windhoek, for an interdict against the two tribal authorities. In a provisional order, effective until 22 February 1974, Mr. Justice G. Hoexter restrained these tribal authorities from:

- (a) flogging any person on the grounds that he is, or is suspected of being, a member, supporter, or sympathiser of SWAPO or DEMCOP;
- (b) flogging anyone unless the magistrate in Owambo and the Registrar of the Supreme Court have first been informed, after which 14 days must elapse before sentence is executed;
- (c) sentencing anyone to a flogging of more than ten lashes;
- (d) flogging anyone on the exposed body in public;
- (e) flogging women.

The tribal authorities were given until 22 February 1974 to show cause why the order should not be made final and why they should not pay the costs of the court action.²⁶

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN KAVANGO

In terms of Proclamation R115 of 4 May, Kavango was declared a self-governing area within the territory of South West Africa, eventually to have its own flag and anthem. The official languages are English, Afrikaans, and Kwangali. Rundu is the seat of government.

The constitution (discussed with the people in advance) is the only one in the Republic or S.W.A. that, so far, provides for equal numbers of designated and elected members in the Legislative Council. The designated members are the chiefs of the five tribes and two persons nominated by each of the five tribal authorities. Three members are elected from each of the five tribal areas, the voters being all adults (of the age of eighteen years or over) who are in possession of registration cards issued in terms of the Kavango Nation Registration Enactment of 1973.

Members of the Legislative Council from each tribal area elect, from among their own ranks, a member to be a Cabinet Minister. From amongst their ranks, these five ministers elect a Chief Minister. The Chairman and Deputy Chairman are elected by the Council as a whole.

Proclamation R127 of 30 May specified that the designation of members should take place on or before 19 June, and that a general election would be held on 29 and 30 August.

The chairman of the previous Legislative Council, Dr. Romanus Kampungu, described as "staunchly pro-apartheid",¹ was ousted from this body in April. He represented the Kwangali tribe, which purported to withdraw his membership on health grounds.

²⁶ *Rand Daily Mail and Star*, 20 November.

¹ *Star*, 23 April.

There was a 66,2 per cent poll in the elections. No political parties had emerged, and candidates were free to express their own points of view.²

When the reconstituted Council met, in November, Mr. Alfons Mayavero was elected Chief Minister. The previous Council decided that Kavango Day (22 October) should be substituted for Kruger Day (10 October) as a public holiday.

EASTERN CAPRIVI

As described on page 446 of last year's *Survey*, Eastern Caprivi has a first-stage legislative council. During 1973 it made enactments providing for the establishment of labour bureaux to place workseekers in employment, for the registration of members of the nation, and for Caprivi Day (23 March) to be a public holiday instead of Van Riebeeck Day (6 April).

DAMARA PEOPLE

It was mentioned on page 447 of the 1972 *Survey* that in 1970 only about 7 700 of the Damara people (less than 12 per cent) were living in the homeland allocated to their group. Their number has since increased, but apparently not to any significant extent. Official plans have been reported³ for moving about 900 people to the homeland from a Roman Catholic mission station at Riemsvasmaak near the Augrabies Falls.

The Damara have no traditional chiefs. Headmen have been elected by those resident in the homeland, and a Council of Headmen formed, led by Senior Headman Justus Garoeb. During 1972 they were offered a first-stage legislative council, and S.A. officials arranged for building work to be started on an administrative headquarters at Xhorixas. But the headmen rejected the offer: it was reported that their priority was a revision of plans for the allocation of land. No further developments have been reported since.

The Damara living outside the homeland reject Mr. Garoeb's authority. They have established an Executive Committee led by Headman Oskar Khuruxab. During March he issued a statement⁴ calling upon S.A. to withdraw from the territory to make way for a territory-wide government.

NAMALAND

Also in March,⁵ Paramount Chief Hendrik Witbooi of the Nama people, supported by other chiefs, sent a telegram to the Secretary-General of the U.N., asking him "to urgently free us from South African colonialism."

² *Rand Daily Mail*, Township edition, 7 September.

³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 September; *Star*, 16 October.

⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 March.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 2 March.

REHOBOTH BASTERS

According to the Minister of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs,⁶ an amount of R141 000 was set aside in the 1973-4 financial year for the development of the town of Rehoboth. A water reticulation scheme was planned. It was hoped to provide an electricity supply, but Baster land-owners were unwilling to grant servitudes across their land.

The central government has imposed no general tax on the indigenous peoples of S.W.A., but some communities have themselves decided to levy local taxes. In terms of Government Notice 1162 of 29 June, a poll tax of R4 a year became payable from the beginning of 1973 by every male Burgher of the Rehoboth Gebiet who is of the age of 18 years or over, unless special exemption is granted. The proceeds are paid into the Rehoboth Community Fund.

NATIONAL CONVENTION OF FREEDOM PARTIES⁷

The National Convention, formed towards the end of 1971, is reported to represent nine political organizations that oppose the S.A. Government's policies. Among them are the following:

- (a) the locally-based SWAPO, which has strong Ovambo support, and is led by Mr. David Merero;
- (b) the National Unity Democratic Organization (NUDO), led by Chief Clemens Kapuuo, composed mainly of a majority of the Herero people in the western part of the territory;
- (c) the locally-based SWANU, led by Mr. Gerson Veii, which includes Herero members, and is said to be a slightly more radical body than the others;
- (d) the Rehoboth Volksparty, which won all the seats in the Advisory Board elections held in the Gebiet in 1971;
- (e) the Voice of the People, which is stated to have support from elements of the Damara and Nama groups;
- (f) the Namib African People's Democratic Organization.

The Convention appointed a committee to draw up proposals for a constitution, which produced a draft document in July. No general agreement has, apparently, yet been reached. There is broad consensus that the U.N. should take over the territory and prepare the people for independence in a unitary state. The creation of homeland governments on an ethnic basis is opposed. In March, the Convention sent a letter to Dr. Waldheim protesting about the creation of the Prime Minister's Advisory Council.

But there are reported to have been differences of opinion on some matters, for example whether dialogue between the U.N.

⁶ Assembly, 30 May, Hansard 16 cols. 7956-7.

⁷ Report compiled from numerous sources, including a paper delivered by Chief Clemens Kapuuo at the 1973 Council meeting of the Institute of Race Relations, entitled "The Internal Situation in South West Africa" (RR, 12/1973).

and S.A. should be continued, and whether White organizations that oppose apartheid should be entitled to membership.

S.W.A. NON-EUROPEAN UNITY MOVEMENT

The S.W.A. Non-European Unity Movement (SWANEUM) was formed late in 1972 as a rival to the Convention, one of the prime movers being Mr. A. J. F. Kloppers, leader of the Coloured People's Federal Party. Other members are reported⁸ to be the Rehoboth opposition group (the Bastervereniging), a minority group of western Hereros called the Association for the Preservation of the Tjamuaha/Maharero Royal House, and some of the Nama people.

SWANEUM's policy is reported to be to co-operate with the S.A. Government in order to pursue black aims. Members consider that the territory is not yet ready for independence as a unitary state, and that minority groups should be protected.

LAND TO BE ALLOCATED TO INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

One Section of the Bantu Laws Amendment Act, No. 7 of 1973, provided for certain further land to be vested in the S.A. Bantu Trust, to be reserved for Natives. According to the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development¹ the land envisaged is the western part of the Caprivi Strip.

The Ministers of Bantu Administration and Development and of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs were questioned in the Assembly about the purchase of land in S.W.A. in furtherance of the "homelands" policy.² They gave the following information:

- (a) a total of 3 227 754 hectares has been purchased from Whites for adding to the "Native" areas, together with 1 295 884 hectares to be allocated to the Nama and Rehoboth Baster areas;
- (b) 209 053 hectares have been excised from previous Nama areas;
- (c) the total cost to the State has been R40 270 245.

BUDGETS OF EXPENDITURE ON BEHALF OF OR BY INDIGENOUS GROUPS, 1973-4

The information that follows has been extracted from the official estimates of expenditure for 1973-4.

⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 12 March.

¹ Assembly, 12 February, Hansard 2 col. 397.

² Hansard 2 col. 91, Hansard 4 col. 254.

Groups classified as Coloured (Central Government expenditure)³
 General development, and education, health and welfare services:

	<i>R</i>
Coloured people	2 218 340
Namas	2 955 940
Rehoboth community	2 160 720
Buildings	961 750
	8 296 750

Groups classified as Native (Central Government Votes)⁴

	<i>R</i>
Refund to S.W.A. Administration of expenses incurred in connection with resettlement	935 000
Contribution to administration of Native Affairs	8 122 000
Salaries and allowances of 216 seconded White personnel ...	697 900
Health and welfare services in East Caprivi	532 800
Grant-in-aid to the S.A. Bantu Trust for services in East Caprivi ⁵	2 324 000
	12 611 700

Groups classified as Native (S.W.A. Account)⁶

	<i>R</i>
General administration	528 000
Health services	3 653 000
Grant-in-aid to the S.A. Bantu Trust	7 223 000
Grants to homeland governments ⁷	3 080 000
Share capital for Corporations	2 693 000
Services provided by the S.A. Bantu Trust ⁸ (housing, works, etc.)	9 112 000
Education	4 450 050
	30 739 050

Each of the three homeland governments passed its own Appropriation Enactment. These were published in the form of Government Notices.⁹ For the sake of brevity certain of the Owambo and of the Kavango departmental budgets have been combined in the table that follows.

<i>Departments</i>	<i>Owambo</i>	<i>Kavango</i>	<i>East Caprivi</i>
	<i>R</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>R</i>
Authority Affairs and Finance ...	63 000	54 500	47 137
Justice and Community Affairs ...	569 400	120 000	138 100
Agriculture and Works	2 590 600	1 668 800	1 344 824
Education and Culture	1 798 000	512 700	281 914
Economic Affairs	8 000	—	—
	5 029 000	2 356 000	1 811 975

³ R.P. 2/1973 Voes 19 and 26.

⁴ R.P. 2/1973 Votes 6, 16, and 17.

⁵ A further R581 000 would be available from the resources of the S.A. Bantu Trust and the E. Caprivi Legislative Council.

⁶ R.P. 4/1973 and 6/1973, Votes 6, 7 and 19.

⁷ It was expected that the homeland governments would contribute an additional R1 683 000 from their own sources of revenue.

⁸ It was expected that the S.A. Bantu Trust would spend an additional R1 650 000 from its own sources.

⁹ Nos. 1222, 1220, and 1066 of 1973.

FARMING, COMMERCE, AND MANUFACTURING IN THE HOMELANDS

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Development said in the Assembly on 6 April¹⁰ that an agricultural school had recently been established in Owambo, starting with seven students.

It was stated on behalf of the Minister of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs¹¹ that, to the end of 1972, the Coloured Development Corporation had made eight loans to Coloured businessmen in S.W.A.

In its report for the year ended 31 March 1972, the Bantu Investment Corporation (B.I.C.) stated that it had made the following loans to African businessmen since 1959/60, when the scheme was started:

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Amount</i> R
Owambo	9	43 400
East Caprivi	10	22 530
Elsewhere in S.W.A. ...	11	57 350

The issue of *Bantu* for November reported that the loans made in Owambo in 1971-2 were for expanding existing businesses and for starting two bicycle shops, a hairdressing salon, a photographic studio, a fish and chips shop, a licensed restaurant, and a cinema.

According to this report and to information given in the Assembly by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development on 26 April,¹² since its inception the B.I.C. has itself established the following concerns, mainly in Owambo:

a sawmill and wood-processing plant;

a furniture factory;

a cold drink factory;

a wholesale hardware firm;

a savings bank;

an abattoir and two butcheries;

nine wholesale and five retail general dealers' stores;

three bottle stores (one wholesale);

five mechanical workshops and three garages;

a light steel industry making building components.

At the end of 1972, these undertakings were providing employment for 587 Africans and 93 Whites. Four of the general

¹⁰ Hansard 9 col. 618.

¹¹ Assembly, 9 January, Hansard 1 Question col. 42.

¹² Hansard 11 cols. 723-4.

dealers' stores and one bottle store had been transferred to African ownership.

The B.I.C. was planning a meat canning factory and a beer brewery, both to be established in Owambo.

EDUCATION AND HEALTH SERVICES

Notes on education and health services are contained in earlier chapters of this *Survey*.

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