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1966
Compiled by
MURIEL HORRELL
Research Officer
South African Institute of Race Relations

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POLITICAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS
POLICIES OF PARTIES ENTITLED TO CONTEST THE
GENERAL ELECTIONS

Nationalist Party
The Nationalist Party's election manifesto followed the lines of policy statements
by the then Prime Minister, the late Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, as summarized briefly in
last year's Survey. (1)

Dr. Verwoerd elaborated on some of his views in a speech delivered at the
Voortrekker Monument, Pretoria, on 31 May, to mark the climax of the Republic
Festival. (2) South Africa's golden age lay ahead, he said, if it could gain the
world's understanding and be given time to solve its racial problems in its own
way.

Dr. Verwoerd made it clear that he regarded the Republic as being part of the
white man's domain in the world, and the anchor of Western civilization in Africa.
The Republic, he said, offered to its non-white peoples a future "as separate
nations or in other ways if necessary". He added, "To those who cannot accept
South Africa as it is and as it grows, but seek to change it into something wholly
new with the resultant chaos as elsewhere in Africa, I have nothing to say".

The country sought peace and friendship with other nations, the then Prime
Minister continued, but would not sacrifice its independence or its way of life. It
did not wish to interfere with others, and would accept no interference. Any
attempt at aggression would be resisted. The Republic respected the existence of
separate independent Black nations in Africa, offered co-operation and goodwill
in their development, but expected to receive goodwill in return. Dr. Verwoerd
assured neighbouring African territories that he would not apply any form of
economic colonialism and that, if the Republic were invited to attend their
independence celebrations, it would be fully represented.

In this speech Dr. Verwoerd did not deal with internal policy. As described in last
year's Survey, he believed that peace could be ensured in South Africa only by
separating Whites and Africans to the maximum extent possible, primarily in the
political sphere. Territorial separation would be brought about gradually, but
would take a long time to accomplish. Meanwhile, in the White areas there would
be strict control of the influx of

(1) Pages 1 et seq.
(2) The summary that follows has been compiled from numerous Press
reports published on 1 June.

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Africans, and residential, educational, and social separation. Africans would have
no political rights in these areas, and limitations would be placed on their
advancement, economically and in other ways. The Bantu homelands would be
developed, and there Africans would have full opportunities of development, even to the point of eventual self-rule and independence. The Coloured and Asian peoples, Dr. Verwoerd maintained, should remain subject to a White Parliament, but should gradually be given self-government in such matters as education, welfare, and municipal affairs. It appeared that, during the last year in which he was in power, Dr. Verwoerd's main emphasis was placed on attempting to secure South Africa's future by a combination of military preparedness and economic prosperity.

Extreme Right-Wing Parties
Two extreme right-wing parties entered candidates in the elections. The first of these was the Republican Party, led by Professor C. F. van der Merwe of the Transvaal. Members considered that Dr. Verwoerd was doing too much for the Black man and not enough for White farmers and the poorer White workers. They opposed the Bantustan concept, maintaining that the Black man was not competent for self-rule, either politically or economically, and that, therefore, Whites must continue to rule over the whole country.

In a pre-election article, (1) Professor van der Merwe indicated that Africans who were not serving the White man in White areas would have to return to the Reserves, live under the tribal system, and contribute towards their own development. Advice and capital loans would be provided. A White parliamentarian would be appointed to control the Reserves and to act as liaison officer.

The Republican Party expressed its opposition to secret organizations with political leanings.

The second group was the Conservative National Party, which appeared to consist mainly of right-wing Afrikaans-speaking trade unionists who were anxious to protect the white worker against non-white competition.

United Party
The United Party, led by Sir de Villiers Graaff, M.P., continued to be the middle-of-the-road group.

In a pre-election article(4) one of its senior members, Mr. S. J. Marais Steyn, M.P., emphasized that the United Party stood for White leadership over the whole of South Africa (and was, thus, opposed to the "Bantustan" concept). This White leadership would be the vehicle for bringing civilization to all the peoples of the country. According to policy statements made at various times(5) and in its election manifesto, the United Party, if it came into power, would restore qualified Coloured men of the Cape and Natal to the common voters' roll. Other Coloured people might, perhaps, be granted representation in the Senate, on a separate roll. The Party would provide for the representation of Africans by not more than eight White members of Parliament and six White senators: any change in this method of representation would require the approval of both White and Coloured people,
voting separately on the issue. Discussions would be held with Asians to
determine their political future.
The Party envisages the creation of democratically-elected communal councils,
possibly one for the Whites and Coloured, one for Asians, and one or more for
Africans, to control the more intimate affairs of the groups concerned. Matters of
national importance would fall under the purview of a central parliament, in
which each racial group would eventually be represented "in accordance with the
standard of civilization it had reached".
The United Party would like to see all discriminatory legislation reviewed. Social
and residential separation, and fairly applied influx control, should be retained, it
considers, but petty restrictions should be abolished. The Party accepts that large
numbers of Africans have become permanently settled in the towns, and it would
help these people to become a propertyowning middle-class.
Progressive Party
Prior to the general election Mrs. Helen Suzman, M.P., stated(6) that the
Progressive Party rejected racial discrimination and, in particular, the concept of
the domination by one racial group over others. It respected the fundamental
rights and liberties of the individual, and aimed to foster among all citizens an
appreciation of the basic tenets of Western civilization rather than a narrow
nationalism.
But at present, Mrs. Suzman said, South Africa was not a homogeneous society.
The major problem was how to reconcile the legitimate claims of a white minority
with those of a nonwhite majority, while maintaining civilized standards and
economic progress on the one hand, and social justice on the other.
The Progressive Party's suggested solution is a qualified non-
(6) Rand Daily Mail, 16 March.

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racial franchise, based on educational standards and/or economic attainment, 7) in
order that South Africa's modern, industrialized society may be controlled by
people with the necessary education and experience. The Party advocates a rigid
constitution in which a Bill of Rights would be entrenched, to safeguard all
groups, and which could be changed only if all groups consented. It suggests that
all senators should be directly elected, requiring not only a majority in their
constituencies but also the support of at least one-fifth of the voters of each racial
group.
If the Progressives were in power, all discriminatory laws would be repealed.
Educational and economic opportunities would be provided to enable people of
all racial groups to qualify as voters and to develop their potential skills for the
benefit of the country as a whole.
The leader of the Progressive Party continues to be Dr. J. Steytler.
Liberal Party
The Liberal Party, headed by Mr. Alan Paton and Dr. the Hon. E. H. Brookes,
believes that the franchise should be extended gradually, on the common roll, to
all adult persons, without any literacy, income, or other qualification.
It has continued to hold national and other congresses, but reluctantly decided not to contest any seat in the 1966 general election because most of its leading members and paid workers had been immobilized by banning orders.

The Front

A new group called "The Front" emerged in Natal early in 1966, describing itself as "a democratic alliance of virtual independents", and its policy as being one of "moderate nationalism". Its immediate object, it stated, was to give as many members of the electorate as possible the opportunity of voting for a group other than the Nationalist or United Parties, and thus to help rid political life of past divisions and hatreds.08)

THE ELECTORATE

The electorate for the 1966 general election was an all-White one except for 351 Coloured men in Natal who were registered on the common roll in that province when the Separate Representation of Voters Act of 1951 came into force. Their numbers are gradually dwindling. Out of a total electorate of some 1,800,000, approximately

(8) Natal Mercury, 23 February.

POLITICAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS

211,000 voters were registered in 19 constituencies which were not contested, leaving a potential of about 1,589,000 voters.

RESULTS OF THE GENERAL ELECTION

Candidates were returned unopposed in 19 constituencies. The Nationalist Party candidate in a Durban constituency was disqualified just before the election because he had not been domiciled in South Africa for the necessary five years. As mentioned in last year's Survey, the Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Act, No. 72 of 1965, stipulated that the existing four White representatives of Coloured male voters in the Cape, and representatives elected in future, should hold office for a fixed period of five years from the time of their election. In terms of the principal Act of 1951, the existing representatives had been elected a week before the polling date fixed for White voters, which was during October 1961. These representatives were, thus, not affected by the dissolution of Parliament on 10 February 1966.

The results of the general election, held on 30 March, were as follows:

Distribution of seats

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nationalist</th>
<th>United</th>
<th>Progressive</th>
<th>Totals Party</th>
<th>Party</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal ....</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>73</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape ........</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Orange Free State</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-West Africa</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>166</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Together with the four Coloured representatives, the total membership of the House of Assembly is 170.
Comparison with previous elections
In comparison with the 1961 and 1965 elections, the numbers of seats won by the various parties were as follows (the Coloured representatives are excluded):
(10) Star, 13 April.
(11) Page 10.

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1961 general 1965 provincial 1966 general election elections election
Nationalist Party .. 105 116 126
United Party .. 49 55 39
Progressive Party.. 1 1
National Union .. 1 -Independents .. 1
156 172 166
The Nationalists gained the second largest majority in South Africa's political history (this majority being exceeded only in 1935). Mrs. Helen Suzman, elected by the Houghton (Johannesburg) constituency, remained the only parliamentary representative of the Progressive Party.

Analysis of votes
Total Average number Percentage Seats votes of votes per of total contested cast"2) seat contested vote
Nationalist Party 136 776,766 5,712 58.6
United Party .. 140 490,971 3,507 37.1
Progressive Party 27 41,065 1,521 3.1
Republican Party 19 7,924 417 0.6
Front .... 10 1,512 151 0.1
Conservative
National Party 1 936 936 0.1
Independents .. 4 5,821 1,453 0.4
1,324,995 100.0
The total percentage poll was approximately 83. The swing in the Nationalists' favour was estimated at 17 per cent, and for the first time they had a clear majority of the total votes cast.
It was estimated by Mr. Edgar Bernstein in the Star of 1 April that, if there had been contests in the 19 constituencies where candidates were returned unopposed, the Nationalist Party would have gained another 122,695 votes, and the United Party another 52,415.
(12) According to the Rand Daily Mail, 1 April. Averages and percentages calculated by the writer.

POLITICAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS
7 TENSIONS WITHIN THE NATIONALIST PARTY
As mentioned earlier, the Republican Party and the Conservative National Party split off from the Nationalist Party some time before the elections (they were formed in 1964 and 1961, respectively).
After the elections, certain tensions within the Nationalist Party became evident to the general public.

Right-wing element

According to accounts in the Sunday Times on 14 and 21 August and 2 October, and to an article by Mr. J. D. du P. Basson, M.P., published in that newspaper on 14 August, a rightwing group of Nationalists has emerged in the Transvaal, known as the "Constantia group" (after the name of its office in Constantia Buildings, Pretoria) or the Afrikaner-Orde.

It is said to have been founded by Dr. Albert Hertzog, M.P. (Minister of Posts and Telegraphs and of Health). His main supporters in Parliament were stated to be Mr. "Jaap" Marais, and Dr. C. P. Mulder. Other supporters were said to be Mr. G. H. Beetge (Secretary of the National Council Against Communism(3)), Professor A. D. Pont of the University of Pretoria, Dr. A. P. Treurnicht, editor of Die Kerkbode, the Rev. D. F. de Beer, the Rev. J. D. Vorster, the Rev. P. W. Jordaan, Mr. Schalk Botha, and other persons in influential positions, for example in the civil service. So far, its only Press support has come from Die Vaderland. (Dr. Hertzog is reported to be one of the three controlling trustees of this paper.) The Afrikaner-Orde is said to have "infiltrated" the Afrikaanse Studentebond (A.S.B.) and other youth organizations. The A.S.B. conference held in July 1966 is described briefly in a subsequent chapter. Few independent opinions were expressed: the discussions and motions passed were in the main strictly in conformity with Nationalist Party policies.

One of the motions passed, however, was in praise of Mr. S. E. D. Brown, the publisher-owner of a monthly paper called the South African Observer. For months past this journal had been attacking so-called "liberalists" and "liberalistic tendencies" - in the English Press, the Christian Institute, the United StatesSouth Africa Leadership Exchange Programme, and other institutions and organizations. Later, however, it turned its attention to questioning the "Afrikanerskap" (loyalty to the Afrikaner people) of certain prominent political, financial, business, and educational persons of Afrikaner origin-including the Principal of the University of Stellenbosch-and of some of the younger Afrikaans writers and artists. The technique of "guilt by association" was

(13) See page 8.

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used. It was reported that extreme Nationalist right-wingers were using the Observer as a mouthpiece.

This move was repudiated by many individual Nationalists and by most of the Afrikaans Press. During August, an estimated")4 1,300 or more students of the University of Stellenbosch signed a petition dissociating themselves from the A.S.B. motion in praise of Mr. Brown, and a mass meeting of students of this university expressed its distaste for his activities.15) The Students' Representative Council of the University of Pretoria supported this stand, as, later, did the executive of the A.S.B.
Members of the extreme right-wing group were leading figures at an International Symposium on Communism, held in Pretoria during September, under the chairmanship of the Rev. J. D. Vorster. It was convened by the National Council Against Communism. Among the local speakers was Major General H. J. van den Bergh, head of the Security Police, but the main speaker was Major Edgar Bundy, executive secretary of the AntiCommunist Church League of America and well-known for his association with the John Birch Society and with Senator J. McCarthy.

Major Bundy alleged that the United States Department of State had been infiltrated by communists. He attacked the World Council of Churches as being a "communist front", and named eight churches in South Africa which, he said, were "tools for advancing communism" because they were members of the World Council. South Africans were advised to leave these churches. Ambiguous warnings were given by several speakers that communism had infiltrated into unexpected quarters in South Africa.

Almost all the members of the English-medium Press who attended were ejected in turn, although they were present by invitation. Some were insulted and manhandled.60

Left-wing

The left-wing element within the Nationalist Party is said to centre on a group of "intellectuals", mainly in the Cape, who deplore a widening gap between the theory and the practice of territorial apartheid.

Two persons have expressed such views recently. In a book Apartheid en Partnership, published in June, Dr. N. J. Rhoodie, a sociologist at the University of Pretoria, said that he had found, in a sample test, that about two-thirds of the Nationalist M.P.'s he consulted were of the opinion that economic integration was the greatest immediate problem facing the Nationalists. Sixteen out of thirty of them accepted, as a factor in the country's racial problem, the view that as long as the permanently-settled Blacks form a majority in the Whites' own area, they have, morally, the potential right to demand an eventual majority government.

It can be accepted, Dr. Rhoodie said, that an increasing proportion of members of the Black labour force in the towns are no longer bona fide migratory workers (he estimated the proportion, in the case of Johannesburg, to be 70 per cent). One cannot deny, he continued, that more and more of the urban Bantu are opposed to the idea of self-governing "ethnic enclaves" spread throughout South Africa. Many identify such ethnic exclusiveness with primitive tribal life, and prefer the material benefits of a racially integrated South Africa.

The author questioned whether the average White would willingly sacrifice his present established interests and high standard of living to accelerate the tempo of
apartheid. Since 1948, he said, the Whites had never been presented squarely with this practical choice.(17)

The second article of note was by Professor J. P. van S. Bruwer, until recently the Republic's Commissioner-General for Ovamboland, and one of the members of the Odendaal Commission on South-West Africa.(8) It was published in the Sunday newspaper Die Beeld on 3 July.

Professor Bruwer's main point was the conflict existing between political theory and its application. After almost twenty years of Nationalist control, he said, the country had come little closer to the true image of separate development. Unless a farreaching and drastic change took place, it was permissible to accept that the distance between theory and practice would grow.

The writer found no fault with the Government's policy as expressed in fundamental legislation, but had certain major criticisms to make of the application of this legislation. He deprecated the "kingdom of dictatorial authority" implicit in the Bantu Affairs code, and the "mass approach" by Whites to Bantu. The White man created laws and regulations for the Bantu without the latter always understanding these. Professor Bruwer was critical, too, of the "patchwork quilt" pattern of the homelands. He considered that White South Africans were living in a dream world.

THE DEATH OF DR. VERWOERD

On 6 September, the then Prime Minister, Dr. the Hon. H. F. Verwoerd, died of stab wounds inflicted on him in the House of Assembly by a parliamentary messenger, Mr. Demitrio Tsafendas. His assassination took place minutes before he was to have made his first major speech in Parliament since the general election.

(17) Condensed from reports in the Rand Daily Mail and other papers on 24 June.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966

Mr. Tsafendas appeared in the Supreme Court, Cape Town, on 17 October, before the Judge-President of the Cape, who was sitting with two assessors, one a psychiatrist. Pro deo counsel were appointed by the State. Before the accused was asked to plead to a charge of murder, expert evidence was heard on his mental state. He was declared by the judge to be insane and unfit to stand trial, and was committed to prison pending signification of the State President's decision.

THE NEW PRIME MINISTER

Various Cabinet Ministers were mentioned as possible successors to Dr. Verwoerd, but after what was reported to be intensive lobbying, all withdrew at an early stage except Mr. B. J. Vorster (then Minister of Justice, Police, and Prisons) and Mr. B. J. Schoeman (Minister of Transport and Leader of the House of Assembly). Shortly before the meeting of the Nationalist caucus which was held to elect a new Party leader, Mr. Schoeman withdrew, too, hence Mr. Vorster was elected as leader by unanimous decision, and became the new Prime Minister.

In a national broadcast made on 14 September, after paying tribute to his predecessor, the Rt. Hon. B. J. Vorster gave a brief outline of his views. So far as
international affairs were concerned, South Africa did not seek hostility from anyone, but, on the contrary, sought lasting friendship from all, he said. It would not interfere in the affairs of others, and asked only to be left in peace to work out its own salvation.

Mr. Vorster then dealt with internal policies. In spite of differences, he said, he believed that there should be unity of purpose between English- and Afrikaans-speaking people, and that this should be expressed in service and love for the Fatherland. He was confident that the will to bring about such unity existed. He believed in the policy of the separate development of the white and the various non-white groups, Mr. Vorster continued, in the interests of everyone in order to eliminate friction, and to do justice to every population group as well as every member thereof. "The best of service to humanity lies herein", he said, "whether one is capable of rendering service to one's own people. * * . There is more work for every leader among his own people than he can do in his lifetime".

In his first statement as Prime Minister in the Assembly, made earlier on the same day,"9) Mr. Vorster affirmed his belief in Parliament as an institution, in the rights and privileges of members, and in the rights of minorities in Parliament. He announced that he had asked Mr. P. C. Pelser, M.P., to serve as Minister of Justice and of Prisons, but that, for the time being, the Police portfolio would remain under his own control, in view of the experience he had gained in matters relating to the country's security.

POLITICAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS 11

REPORTED REFORMULATION OF UNITED PARTY POLICY
It was reported in mid-November that, following a series of provincial congresses, the United Party was re-formulating its policy in regard to the representation of Coloured people in Parliament, and to the concept of communal councils along racial lines.

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THE CONTROVERSY OVER "MIXED POLITICS"
EXISTING REPRESENTATIVES OF COLOURED VOTERS
As mentioned in previous Surveys,(20 the leading Coloured political organizations decided to boycott the election, in 1961, of four White M.P.'s to represent Coloured voters in the Cape, the reason being that they were opposed to separate rolls and separate representation, and regarded this system of representation as ineffectual. In view of their attitude, the Progressive and Liberal Parties decided against putting forward candidates. The Nationalists did not do so, either.

The Coloured people displayed little interest in the elections. It appeared that very large numbers of qualified persons had not troubled to register as voters, and the average percentage poll, among those who had registered, was only about 40 per cent. Three Whites who stood as Independents and one United Party member were elected. Later, there was a by-election in the Karoo constituency, and one of the sitting members changed his party affiliation. In 1966 the Coloured
representatives in the Assembly were Mr. C. Barnett and Mr. A. Bloomberg (Independents with U.P. backing), Mr. G. S. Eden (U.P.), and Mr. M. W. Holland (Independent).

The Progressive Party changed its policy in 1965, however, and, apparently, the Coloured leadership did so too. In spite of the Government's announced disapproval of the participation in Coloured politics by "white-controlled political parties", the Progressives contested both Coloured seats in the Cape Provincial Council elections, against U.P. opposition. Each of these seats had previously been held by the U.P., but they were captured by P.P. members, Dr. Oscar D. Wollheim and Mr. W. J. van Heerden. A very much higher proportion of the Coloured men who qualified to do so had registered as voters. Average percentage polls were 70.5 in the North Cape and 68.8 in the South Cape constituencies.

In September 1965 Dr. Wollheim was prevented from addressing a "report-back" meeting in the Genadendal Coloured Reserve because, on the eve of the meeting, new regulations for Coloured areas were promulgated which made it necessary for Senators, Members of Parliament, and Members of Provincial Councils (who had previously been exempt) to obtain permits if they wished to hold meetings in these areas.

When he wished to meet his Genadendal constituents in April 1961, page 26; 1965, pages 8-9.

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1966, Dr. Wollheim decided that, rather than apply to the Secretary for Coloured Affairs for a permit, he would hold the meeting in a municipal hall in the town of Greyton, near the Reserve. This time he was informed by the Town Clerk that the municipality had debarred mixed political gatherings in their hall.

Dr. Wollheim pointed out(21) that his political meetings could not be other than mixed ones, since he is a Coloured peoples' representative who must, in terms of Government policy, be White.

DECISION OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY TO CONTEST THE COLOURED SEATS IN THE ASSEMBLY
On 7 April 1965, shortly after the provincial elections, the late Dr. Verwoerd said in the Assembly 22) that it was "the duty of this Government, to the best of its ability-and I admit that it is a difficult task-to ensure that the Coloureds, of their own volition, send to this Parliament those Whites who they believe will best represent the true and real interests of the Coloureds".

The leader of the Progressive Party, Dr. Jan Steytler, announced on 9 July 1966(23) that his party would "call the Government's bluff" on the constitutional right of the Coloured people to select their own representatives. In spite of rumours in the Nationalist Press that the Government intended extending for a year the period of office of the existing Coloured representatives in the Assembly, while a plan was devised to prevent the Progressives from capturing the seats, the Progressive Party nominated candidates for all four seats in the elections, which were due to be held in October.
In spite of protests from the Opposition over the delay, the Government had not announced its plans by the time of Dr. Verwoerd's death. Questioned in the Assembly by Sir de Villiers Graaff and others, the Minister of the Interior replied, on 26 August,(24) "There is going to be an election ... at the normal time". The Opposition, he said, would have to wait to hear what the Government's intentions were in regard to preventing members of one racial group from interfering in the politics or in the elections of other population groups.

PROHIBITION OF IMPROPER INTERFERENCE BILL
During the third week of September, a few days after Mr. Vorster had become Prime Minister, the Government published the Prohibition of Improper Interference Bill, the main terms of which were as described below.

(21) Cape Times, 27 April.
(22) Hansard 11 of 1965, cols. 4247-8.
(23) Sunday Times, 10 July.
(24) Hansard 4 col. 1542.

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1. Population groups
For the purposes of the Bill, four population groups were defined-White, Coloured, Asian, and African.

2. Participation in Political Activities of Other Groups
Throughout, the Bill referred to the membership or organization of any political party, or of any group or other form of organization, the objects, or any of the objects, of which are to propagate, discuss, study, or encourage political views. It, thus, became clear immediately that, whatever the Government's intentions were, the Bill could be held to apply, not only to political parties, but also to any organization or group which, among its objects, discussed or studied "political views".

In terms of the Bill, no one might, directly or indirectly:
(a) assist a member of another racial group to register as a voter, under any law, in the elections for any body of whatever nature; or, at an election, convey members of another racial group to a polling station;
(b) be a member of, or take part in the activities of, or assist establish, a political party or other form of organization (as described above) of another racial group;
(c) give any assistance (financial, or by way of propaganda, etc.) in support of, or in opposition to, any such political body or organization of another racial group, or any candidate for election to such a body;
(d) do anything which in the opinion of the Minister of the Interior might have the effect of defeating the objects of the Bill and which he had prohibited by notice in the Gazette.
The Minister was to be empowered to determine the race group of any corporate body.

3. Freedom of speech
According to an Explanatory Memorandum issued with the Bill, the measure would not prevent persons of one racial group (other than Coloured representatives or candidates for election as such) from telling members of another racial group about their own political convictions, as long as this was not done in support of a political party or candidate of a racial group other than that of the speaker concerned. The measure would not prevent anyone from criticizing the actions of the government of the day, but, in any criticism, it would not be lawful for members of one racial group to refer by name to the political party constituting the government of another group.

The Bill stated that the provisions relating to the dissemination of propaganda would not apply to registered newspapers.

THE CONTROVERSY OVER "MIXED POLITICS"

4. Exemptions
In terms of the Bill, the Minister could, by notice in the Gazette, exempt any person or class or group of persons from any or all of the provisions of the proposed Act.

5. Penalties
Proposed penalties on conviction for any contravention of the provisions described above were:
(a) on first conviction, a fine of not less than R300 or more than R600, or imprisonment for not less than 6 months or more than 12 months; or both;
(b) on a second or subsequent conviction, a fine of not less than R1,000 or more than R2,000, or imprisonment for not less than one year or more than two years, or both. The person concerned would be disqualified as a voter under any law for five years, and disqualified from being a member of Parliament or a Provincial Council.

6. Representatives of Coloured voters
It was laid down that candidates for nomination or election as Coloured representatives in Parliament or in the Cape Provincial Council must lodge an affidavit or solemn declaration to the effect that, at no time during the preceding three years, had they been a member of any White political party, or taken any part in the activities of such a party, or been associated with, or received support, from such a party.

Sitting members would be required to sever all connection with any White political party only on the day before their first nominations after the Bill became law.

Candidates were also to be required to lodge an undertaking that, if nominated or elected, they would, during their term of office, have no association with any White political party.

Severe penalties were proposed for contraventions of these provisions. During election campaigns, candidates would be prohibited from mentioning to Coloured persons that they had at any time been members or supporters of any "mixed" political party or organization which, among its objects, discussed political views. It would be unlawful for candidates to enlighten Coloured voters...
about the principles of such a party or organization. They could, however, intimate their views about Coloured political parties. (N.B. The summary given above is a very much simplified version in which the writer has attempted to state briefly what the apparent intentions were of those who drafted the Bill. Certain of the clauses were imprecise; and in places, the terms

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of the Explanatory Memorandum differed from those of the Bill.)

PROTESTS AGAINST THE BILL

Protests against the Bill were published by the Progressive and Liberal Parties, the Institute of Race Relations, the Christian Institute, the Black Sash, NUSAS, and other bodies. The Christian Council of the Witwatersrand planned to call a day of prayer for the modification of the Bill and for the guidance of law-makers. A Citizens' Protest Meeting was held in Johannesburg, presided over by the Rt. Rev. Leslie Stradling, Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, and attended by about 800 people.

The national committee of the Liberal Party met and decided that if the Bill became law, the Party would be dissolved from the moment that the State President signed the measure. This legislation would make it compulsory for every political party to limit its membership to persons of one racial group. Non-racialism was fundamental to the Liberal Party and was not considered by it to be "undue interference". If, however, the Bill were postponed or radically altered in such a way that the Party could rightly continue, this decision of the national committee would not be implemented.

Three professors and a lecturer at the University of Stellenbosch and a professor at the University of Rhodes wrote a joint letter to Die Burger, objecting to the Bill, and, particularly, to the concept of "separate politics". There could be no such thing, they said, so long as all were governed by one sovereign parliament. They pointed out, as others had done, that the Government itself, over some fifteen years, had interfered systematically in the political rights of the Coloured people. The Bill was "an especially distasteful episode" in this history. "Dawie", columnist of the influential Cape Nationalist newspaper Die Burger, made his antipathy to the Bill clear. He urged that there should be "proper" interference as a means of combating "improper" interference, urging that all Coloured elections should be used, directly or indirectly, to carry the Nationalist idea to the voters.

"Dawie" pointed out that on the last occasion when a Nationalist stood in such an election he came within reach of victory. "That trial was not followed up, and with the passage of time a defeatist outlook gained ground that a Nat. or a Nat.inclined candidate had no chance in Coloured politics", he said. "I still refuse simply to accept that this is necessarily correct, and if it should be correct there is still a case to be made that

(25) RR. 115/66.
THE CONTROVERSY OVER "MIXED POLITICS"
the policy of separate development should be taken to the Coloureds through elections . . We can prohibit the Progressives and all other parties from taking part in Coloured elections, but we cannot prevent these elections from becoming contests largely between the Progressive idea and the Nationalist idea. And if the Nationalist idea should lose continually, or still worse, should leave the battlefield in advance, then our policy of co-existence with the Coloured people has no future. Then relations ahead become an endless cold war between White and Brown."

INTRODUCTION OF THE BILL IN PARLIAMENT
The Prohibition of Improper Interference Bill was read for a first time in the Assembly on 19 September.2”) Both the United Party and the Progressive Party opposed its introduction. Sir de Villiers Graaff pointed out that, although the wording of the Minister's motion that leave be granted to introduce the Bill was "somewhat woolly", it seemed clear to the United Party that the Government intended placing further limitations on the political rights of the Coloured people. Supporting him, Mr. S. J. Marais Steyn added that as long as one Parliament controlled the affairs of all race groups in South Africa, it was meaningless to speak about giving the Coloured people separate political rights. It could not be called "interference", he said, if a legitimate political organization tried to put its point of view before Coloured voters who elected members to parliament.
Mrs. Suzman (P.P.) considered it to be clear that the Government's intention was to make it more difficult for the Coloured people to select the kind of candidates that they wanted. She stated that the Nationalists themselves had consistently interfered in the rights of other racial groups.
One of the Coloured representatives, Mr. G. S. Eden (a U.P member) said that, in his experience, any legislation which sought to amend the Separate Representation of Voters' Act found no favour with the Coloured people. He, thus, opposed the first reading of the Bill. Led by Mr. A. Bloomberg, however, the other Coloured representatives decided to withhold judgment until they had seen the contents of the measure.
The first reading was passed by 113 votes to 40.
The second reading was scheduled to start on Monday, 26 September, and it had been announced that it would be carried through its further stages immediately thereafter. Whatever action was decided upon had to be taken swiftly, since the term of office of the existing Coloured representatives was due to expire on 3 October.
(28) Hansard 8 col. 2315-29

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DECISION TO REFER THE BILL TO A SELECT COMMITTEE
During the weekend there were rumours, which originated in the Nationalist Press, to the effect that behind-the-scenes negotiations had taken place between Nationalist and United Party leaders. Then, on 26 September, the Minister of the Interior announced that three days previously an agreement had been signed by the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition, Sir de Villiers Graaff, to the following effect:
(a) the term of office of the existing Coloured representatives would be extended until not later than 31 October 1967;
(b) a Bill to enable this to be done would be an agreed measure;
(c) the Prohibition of Improper Interference Bill would be referred to a Select Committee before the second reading;
(d) this committee would be empowered to convert itself into a commission during the Parliamentary recess, and would be instructed to report not later than 31 March 1967;
(e) the Government reserved the right to place on record unequivocally that it would not tolerate any exploitation by one population group of the political rights of another, among others the Coloured people.
Sir de Villiers Graaff added, at the Minister's request, that a further clause had been to the effect that the United Party was not bound by any principle in the Bill. He added that he was conscious of the fact that there had been abuses in connection with the election of Coloured representatives, particularly in the field of the registration of voters.
Mrs. Suzman objected to the Minister's motion that the order for the second reading of the Bill be discharged, the effect being to delay debate for a day. On 27 September she said, "I think the correct course for dealing with this Bill is not to send it to a Select Committee, but to relegate it to the waste-paper basket". As Mrs. Suzman was the only Member who objected, however, the Minister's motion was agreed to.

THE PRIME MINISTER'S VIEWS ON THE FUTURE OF COLOURED REPRESENTATION
During the debate on his Vote on 22 September the Prime Minister had said, "I am indicating a road for the Coloureds to follow, a road removed from the Whites ... a road ... which is their own. . . . The Coloureds will not be represented by Coloureds in this House. . . . I am leading the Coloureds along the road of self-realization .... What is the constitutional develop

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ment as far as the National Party is concerned? It is to move further and further away from Coloured representation in the House of Assembly .... This trend will continue .... Personally I believe that it will find its natural course on the day the Coloureds tell us that they do not want this kind of representation. And I believe they will tell us that".
SEPARATE REPRESENTATION OF VOTERS AMENDMENT ACT,
No. 34 OF 1966
The Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Bill was introduced in the Assembly by the Minister of the Interior on 28 September. It provided, in effect, that the term of office of the existing Coloured representatives should be extended to 27 October 1967 or such earlier date as the State President might determine. A further clause was to the effect that if a vacancy occurred before that date, it would not be filled until the next general election of Coloured representatives. The United Party supported the introduction of the new Bill at its first reading, but, on behalf of the Progressive Party, Mrs. Helen Suzman opposed it. (32) She had objected in 1965, she said, to the Amendment Act which divorced the Coloured elections from the general election and the normal stream of political life, since this had been a betrayal of Government promises that Coloured representatives would be full members of the House, elected in terms of the normal electoral law. In regard to the present Bill, she could not see why the Coloured people should not have the same right as White voters to change their representatives, if they so wished, after the usual period of five years.
On the following day the Bill was taken through its second reading, committee, and third reading stages in little more than an hour, and was then referred to the Senate. Again, Mrs. Suzman was its only opponent. moving, at the second and third readings, that the Bill be read that day six months. Coloured leaders, she said, had asked the Progressive Party to contest the Coloured seats. It was the gravest insult to Coloured people to assume that they were not sufficiently intelligent to elect candidates whom they believed would best represent their interests, or to know if they were being exploited. Why was the Government terrified at the possibility of a few more Progressive Party members being elected to Parliament? It appeared that neither the Government nor the United Party were prepared to admit that the Coloured people had rejected racial separation in whatever form it was applied.
On behalf of the Coloured representatives, Mr. A. Bloomberg (32) Hansard 9 cols. 3072-3
(33) See page 5.
(34) Hansard 9 cols. 3167-72.

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said (35) that they would not vote on this measure, since it had been suggested that they had a personal interest in the matter. He signified his approval of the Bill, however, considering that the status quo should be maintained until the Select Committee's report was available. Mr. Bloomberg accused the Progressive Party of having been the cause of the introduction of the Prohibition of Improper Interference Bill, and went on to say that when this Party realized that it was making no headway with White voters, it had as a last resort begun to take an interest in the Coloureds.
COMPOSITION OF SELECT COMMITTEE
It was announced on 4 October that the Select Committee on the Prohibition of Improper Interference Bill would be headed by the Deputy Minister of Justice,
Mr. S. L. Muller, M.P. Including Mr. Muller, the committee consisted of six members of the Nationalist Party, three of the United Party, and Mr. Bloomberg. On 19 October the committee was converted into a commission and its terms of reference were extended to include an investigation of any matters concerning the political representation of the various population groups. Evidence by the Institute of Race Relations to this Commission was presented in the memorandum RR. 152/66. In the concluding paragraphs it was stated: "The Institute recognizes the difficulties of applying western democratic ideas in a multi-racial society in which people are at different stages of development and have different cultural and historical backgrounds. It does not believe, however, that a position in which decisive political power is a monopoly of one race can endure. It sees the need for devising a means of peaceful change to a system of government in which political power is shared by all races and in which each race has a real sense of participation. It believes that there can be no long-term political stability for South Africa if this is not brought about. Its ideal aim for South Africa would be a society in which members of a particular group, while holding to their cultural heritage, will have ceased to regard themselves primarily as members of a particular race and will have come to think of themselves as members of a single, South African, national community. A broad South Africanism of this nature does not imply the obliteration of all particular cultural characteristics. The aim for South Africa should be unity in and through difference-ex diversitate vires-and a mutual cultural enrichment."

(35) Cols. 3172-5

NON-WHITE POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS
COUNCIL FOR COLOURED AFFAIRS
As mentioned in previous issues of this Survey"P, a purely advisory Council for Coloured Affairs was established at the end of 1959, with 15 nominated and 12 elected members. All the leading Coloured organizations boycotted the elections. The five-year term of office of members of this Council expired in November 1964, but their period of office was then extended for two years pending the creation of a Coloured Persons' Representative Council, as provided for in Act 49 of 1964."

The Chairman of the Council for Coloured Affairs continues to be Mr. Tom Swartz. As described on page 171 of last year's Survey, in 1964 Mr. Swartz formed the Federal Party. An opposition group to this then emerged within the Council.

PLANS FOR A COLOURED PERSONS' REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL
Act 49 of 1964 provided for the establishment of a Representative Council with 46 Coloured members, 30 elected and 16 nominated by the State President. Of the nominated members two must be Malays, two Griquas, and the rest must represent the provinces: eight from the Cape, two from the Transvaal, and one each from Natal and the Free State. The Republic will be divided into
constituencies for the election of the elected members, and both men and women will have the vote.
The Council will be an advisory body to the Government, but certain legislative powers may be conferred on it in the fields of finance, local government, education, community welfare, pensions, and Coloured rural settlements. No proposed law may be introduced except with the approval of the Minister of Coloured Affairs, however, and all Bills will require the State President's assent. A Coloured Persons' Representative Council Amendment Bill was published in 1966, but was not proceeded with. The object was to render it compulsory for Coloured persons over the age of 21 years and not subject to any of the customary disqualifications to register as voters.
The Minister of Coloured Affairs is reported3) to have said
(2) See 1964 Survey, page 195.
3) Rand Daily Mail, 29 September.

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that the first elections would not be held until 1968, at the earliest, for it was necessary to await the report of the Select Committee on the Prohibition of Improper Interference Bill before any arrangements could be finalized. No registration of Coloured voters has, as yet, been held, but, according to a statement by the Minister on 4 February,(4) preliminary steps in regard to the delimitation of constituencies are in progress, and the Department has made a start with the recruitment and training of staff for the Council.

FEDERAL PARTY
According to its manifesto the Coloured People's Federal Party, led by Mr. Tom Swartz, seeks to make the Coloured people independent, and encourages them to make use of the opportunities offered by the Government's policy of separate development. Autonomous branches of this party now exist in all four provinces. A particularly active one was formed in Natal, under the chairmanship of Mr. E. G. Rooks. It arranged a conference in Durban during November with the object of assessing the role of the Coloured people in South Africa and to ascertain attitudes to the establishment of the Coloured People's Representative Council. It was decided at this conference that the Durban group would constitute itself into a separate party, to be called the Natal Coloured Co-ordinating Council. Prior to a national congress held at Elsies River, near Cape Town, during July,(5) Mr. Swartz announced that two smaller proGovernment bodies were to dissolve and advise their members to join the Federal Party: they were the Coloured People's Bond and the mainly rural Republican Coloured People's Party.

LABOUR PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA
At a first national congress of the Labour Party of South Africa,(7) held in Cape Town during July, Dr. R. E. van der Ross was elected President, Mr. M. D. Arendse vice-president, and Mr. E. A. Deane secretary-treasurer. This party is totally opposed to the apartheid concept, and is striving for the effective participation of all citizens in the government of the country. Dr. van der Ross is reported to have said, at the congress,(7) "The Coloured people do not
believe the myth that we are a people apart. As law-abiding people, we accept obedience to the law, but also the responsibility of constantly reminding the lawmakers of their responsibilities to the
d(4) Assembly Hansard 2 col. 731.
(5) Cape Times, 23 June.
(6) A previous (White) party of this name went out of existence after the 1958 general election, when it failed to gain representation.
(7) Cape Times, 11 July.

NON-WHITE POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS
people of this country. .... We want ordinary, first-class South African citizenship.

COLOURED PEOPLE'S POLITICAL PARTY
A third group is said(8 to have emerged, formed of a previous party of this name, the Coloured Conservative Political Party, and the Coloured People's National Union, under the chairmanship of Mr. P. F. Kivett's. At the time of writing, its policies and alignment are not publicly known.

MR. GRAHAM EDEN'S MOTION IN THE ASSEMBLY
On 2 September a private member's motion was introduced in the Assembly by Mr. G. S. Eden, a United Party member who represents Coloured voters of the Karoo constituency(9' He urged that the House should request the Government to consider the advisability of appointing a commission to enquire into ways and means of affording the Coloured people greater opportunities to participate in the commerce and industry of South Africa.

Coloured people had been deeply humiliated by the apartheid laws, Mr. Eden said. Frustration and inertia had sunk upon many of them as the result of the lack of adequate educational and economic opportunities. The standards of housing in most of the new group areas were unsatisfactory. Because of the drought, many Coloured people in the Northern Cape had migrated from rural areas to the towns, only to find that there were no prospects of jobs or homes for them there.

After debate, this motion lapsed.

SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN COUNCIL
The establishment of a nominated Indian Council was described on page 201 of the 1964 Survey. The main concern of members, when meeting during 1966, continued to be the implementation of the Group Areas Act. At the session held in Cape Town during February, disquiet was expressed over the compensation being offered for Indian "affected" properties. The Council resolved to recommend that the definition of "basic value", as contained in the Community Development Act, be amended to include the market or replacement value, whichever is greater on the day of transfer of an affected property.f0)

So far as is publicly known, no political groupings have emerged within the Council.

The Minister of Indian Affairs said in the Assembly on 20 September(" that preliminary steps were being taken to explore
(8) Evening Post, 14 October.
the conversion of the Council into a statutory elected body, to which statutory functions and administrative powers could be assigned. The Council, he added, would play a direct and increasingly responsible role in the local government of Indian areas.

AFRICANS

Since the banning of the African National Congress and the Pan-African Congress, no new African political parties have emerged except, as described later, in the Transkei. Most of the prominent leaders of the past are in exile, or in prison, or have been subjected to strict banning orders.

ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED WITH RACE RELATIONS

THE CHURCHES

Joint Pastoral Letter issued by the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference

Following a plenary session which was held in Pretoria during July, the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference issued a joint Pastoral Letter, to be read from all Catholic pulpits. In this, attention was directed to, and conclusions drawn from, passages of the Vatican Council's "Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World" which were of particular significance to South Africa.

The Vatican Council laid stress on reverence for man and condemned everything that offended against the dignity of the human person. It stated, "Every type of discrimination, whether social or cultural, whether based on sex, race, colour, social condition, language, or religion, is to be overcome and eradicated as contrary to God's intent". Flowing from this, the Bishops said, "The Christian conscience requires, in the present circumstances, the re-examination of the whole question of racial relationships, with a view to a just solution of the problem through the cooperation of all Christian communities and persons".

One passage of this Pastoral Constitution stated that the natural right of free association among men is unassailable. Quoting this, the Bishops said, "It cannot be either diminished or taken away on racial grounds on the pretext that such association will damage the common good; indeed, the very opposite is true; it is the prohibition of easy intercommunication among all the peoples of the state which offends against the common good". They found it necessary, the Bishops continued, to reiterate that it is a grave violation of the dignity of the human person to prevent anyone, on grounds of race or nationality, from choosing his own mode of living, to restrict his choice of employment, his place of residence, his free establishment of a family.
The Constitution gave prominence to the role of the family as the foundation upon which the community is built. "In view of this", the Bishops stated, "we feel compelled once more to deplore any system of migratory labour involving the enforced separation of husband and father from wife and children over long periods, especially where the situation cannot be regarded as temporary".

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long periods, especially where the situation cannot be regarded as temporary". The Bishops appreciated and praised all that was being done to raise the standards of living of the less-developed groups in South Africa, particularly in the fields of housing, education, health, and social welfare. They continued, "Much, however remains for us all to do for the betterment of the lot of the unskilled worker, whose wage is generally far below that necessary for the proper maintenance of a family, for it should not be forgotten that he is not merely a cog in the industrial or commercial machine, but a human being, with human needs and human interests".

Referring to the Pastoral Constitution's consideration of the subject of patriotism, the Bishops said, "True devotion to one's country, which we call patriotism, can have no part with narrow chauvinism, exclusiveness or self-sufficiency".

Church of the Province of South Africa
The Anglican Bishop Suffragen of Cape Town, the Rt. Rev. Philip Russell, the Dean of Cape Town, the Very Rev. E. L. King, and 31 other Anglican clergymen of all racial groups said, in a joint statement, that they rejoiced greatly in the Pastoral Letter of the Catholic Bishops. "We are moved to re-affirm", they continued, "that the Christian command to love our neighbour stands opposed to all forms of racial discrimination."

In his charge to the Synod of the Cape Town diocese on 14 October, the Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev. R. Selby Taylor, said that he found himself in conscience unable to accept the doctrine that apartheid is fair and just to people of all races. It caused shameful injustices, and treated human beings as chattels to be moved hither and thither. The policy failed to take into account that every human being was God's creation, and should be allowed to develop in accordance with the divine intention.

Methodist Church
At his induction as President of the Conference of the Methodist Church of South Africa, in October, the Rev. R. C. Bellis called on members of this Church "to continue with quiet determination as a multi-racial church". "We need one another", he said, "in order to keep open lines of communication and dialogue; to help one another; to afford one another Christian challenge and discipline; and to demonstrate in corporate church life the mind which was in Christ Jesus."

The Christian Council of South Africa
All the major Protestant churches in the country except the

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Dutch Reformed are members of the Christian Council of South Africa. During 1966, important steps were taken in furthering the ecumenical movement when
the Roman Catholic Church and the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk van Afrika (the Mission Church serving non-whites) accepted invitations to send observer-delegates to meetings of the Christian Council.

In June, the Council convened a one-day meeting of Church leaders to discuss the break-up of African family life as a result of an intensification of the migrant labour system and the rigidity of influx control. Another conference was held on the task of the Church in industry.

As described later, the Christian Council has worked with the Christian Institute in sponsoring a scheme of theological training for ministers of the African independent churches.

Regional and local councils have raised money for and administered drought relief schemes: R17,500 has been spent over the past two years. Assistance has been provided for needy families of detainees. The Council has made pleas, inter alia, for the provision of adequate pastoral services for detainees; for persons under banning orders to be allowed to attend religious services; for better educational facilities for Africans in rural areas; and for the consolidation of marriage laws pertaining to Africans.

The Christian Council Quarterly for the second quarter of 1966 stated that the Council had expressed its concern to the South African Broadcasting Association "in respect of certain slanted broadcasts charging the World Council of Churches and the ecumenical movement generally with communistic infiltration and bias. In both instances we asked for time on the air to refute these unfounded allegations, but this was not granted".

For some seventeen years the Christian Council has maintained the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre, near Roodepoort, as an ecumenical centre at which inter-church conferences and courses, and inter-group consultations, are held, on an inter-racial basis. Residential accommodation was provided in order that Christian fellowship might be deepened, and to facilitate evening meetings.

When group areas for the West Rand were proclaimed, Wilgespruit fell within a White group area. During 1963, officials of the police and Bantu Affairs Department visited the centre during an inter-racial church conference, asking the African ministers to produce their papers. The Christian Council applied to the Department of Bantu Administration and Development for a general permit for Africans to stay overnight at the centre, but this was refused. The Minister's reply was to the effect that the sharing of residential accommodation was not essential for the holding of inter-racial conferences of Christians, and was contrary to both accepted policy and custom in South Africa.

Claiming that the Church, and the Church alone, had the right to determine who might participate in its worship and share in its fellowship and active life, the Christian Council then appealed to the then Prime Minister, but he, too, insisted that the country's laws and customs should be observed.

Finally, in November 1965, the Roodepoort Municipality decided that, after the end of January, even temporary permits allowing individual Africans to stay overnight at Wilgespruit would be refused.
The Christian Council has been forced to accept the situation. Visiting Africans are now accommodated at night with African families at Dobsonville Township, some eight miles from the fellowship centre.(2)


The Christian Institute of Southern Africa

The membership of the Christian Institute (founded in 1963) is composed of individual persons, rather than of churches as such. Its aim is to build meaningful and functional bridges of fellowship and understanding between Christians, irrespective of their race or denomination. Prominent among those who joined were certain ministers and members of the Dutch Reformed Churches.

During the year under review this Institute has continued to create opportunities for members to meet for Bible study, prayer, discussion, and practical service. It has stimulated much thought among church leaders (outside as well as within its own membership) as to the role of Christians in tackling the social, economic, and other problems which the world faces. In an interview with a Rand Daily Mail reporter(3) the Director of the Christian Institute, the Rev. C. F. Beyers Naudé, said, "We should realize that involvement in social issues is not only a Christian duty but also presents an exciting challenge to the Church to fulfil its proper role in society. . . . Christ's coming and message were meant for man in the totality of his being and needs, both spiritual and material".

One of the greatest achievements of the Christian Institute during the past two years has been to win the confidence of numbers of the African Separatist Churches, and break down some of the distrust and suspicion with which so many Africans regard the "White man's churches". As mentioned on page 18 of the 1964 Survey, it was found, at the time of the 1960 census, that 20.1 per cent of the total African population were members of Separatist Churches (more than two million people). There are about 2,400 of these church groups.

(2) From accounts in the Christian Council Quarterly, op cit, Race Relations News for April, and the Sunday Times, 30 January.

(3) 13 August.

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Some of them recently formed an African Independent Churches' Association (A.I.C.A.), and invited two members of the Christian Institute to serve in an advisory capacity on the board of management. The Institute, in its turn, raised money to assist these churches, organized refresher courses for their ministers, provided a large number of their leaders with Bible correspondence courses, and secured the co-operation of theological schools of various denominations in the training of Separatist theological students.

The Christian Institute, A.I.C.A., and the African Methodist Episcopal Church have been co-operating in planning an A.I.C. theological seminary to be established at Evaton in the Transvaal.4

DECISIONS BY THE NEDERDUITSE GEREFORMEERDE KERK

Attitude to the Christian Institute
Conservative Dutch Reformed Church members have resented the Christian Institute's multi-racial and multi-denominational nature. As mentioned in the past three issues of this Survey, individual synods in the Transvaal have deprived certain leading officials of this Institute of their status as ministers or office-bearers of Dutch Reformed Churches, have expressed their opposition to the organization, and have asked members not to support it. During 1965 Die Transvaler created indignation in many circles by "naming" certain Afrikaner churchmen as being sympathetic to the Institute's aims.

The largest of the three Dutch Reformed Churches is the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (N.G.K.). As its General Synod meets only every four years, the first opportunity for the N.G.K. as a whole to consider its attitude to the Christian Institute was at the meeting held during October 1966, attended by more than 400 delegates.

Previous to the meeting, the Institute had invited N.G.K. representatives to investigate its objects and activities. No reply to this invitation was sent. During the discussions, numbers of allegations were made against the Christian Institute, for example that it was mainly responsible for creating an ugly image of the N.G.K. overseas; that it represented a false doctrine; that it was an extra-Church organization competing with the N.G.K., undermining its authority, and responsible for dissension in congregations.

With but one vote against the motion, the Synod decided that all officials and members of the N.G.K. should withdraw from the Christian Institute.

(4) Star, 23 June and 16 August.

Four leaders of this Institute who are also N.G.K. members—the Rev. C. F. Beyers Naudé, Dr. W. B. de Villiers, Dr. Ben Engelbrecht, and Mr. F. J. van Wyk—immediately issued a Press statement denying the accusations that had been made. They said, inter alia, "The Institute has repeatedly declared that it does not wish to usurp the task of the Church . . . but that it only strives to promote the practice of Christian fellowship on an unofficial Church level. . . Its constitution demands from every one of its members loyalty to his or her own Church.... It is an untenable thought that the Synod could take such a decision merely on its casual observation of the Institute. If the Church had 'observed' the Institute 'carefully' [as the Synod claimed to have done] there would not have been so many untruths and absurdities in its decision".

The authors of this statement said that if they were forced to make the "heartrending" decision of choosing between membership of the N.G.K. and the Institute, they would choose the latter.

At the time of writing, it is uncertain how the Synod's decision will be put into effect.

A few days after the resolution had been passed, the Christian Council urged the followers of all its member-churches to join the Christian Institute.

Decision to join the World Alliance of Reformed Churches

Earlier during the meetings, the General Synod of the N.G.K. decided by 325 votes to 66(l) to join the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, membership to
be reviewed every four years. The Church's Actuary, Dr. J. D. Vorster, was of the opinion that the N.G.K. should use every opportunity of stating its case. Certain of those who opposed the decision did so on the grounds that the alliance belonged to the World Council of Churches, in which there were Roman Catholic influences, and that the World Council rejected separate churches for different racial groups.

The Anglican Bishop of Zululand

The Rt. Rev. A. H. Zulu, formerly Assistant Bishop of the diocese of St. John in the Transkei, has been elected Bishop of Zululand and Swaziland. He is the first African bishop in the Church of the Province of South Africa, and his new diocese includes large numbers of White Church members.

(5) Rand Daily Mail, 19 October; and Star, 18 October.

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SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

Council meetings

The theme of the 1966 Council meeting of the South African Institute of Race Relations, which was held in Cape Town during January, was "The Future of Separate Development".

The following papers were delivered:(6)

"Actual and Potential Economic Resources of the Homelands Examined", by Mr. M. T. Moerane (RR. 4/66)

"Social and Political Aspects of Separate Development in the Homelands Examined", by Mr. J. C. M. Mbata.

"Social and Political Implications of Separate Development in the Homelands Examined", by Paramount Chief Victor Poto and Mr. Knowledge Guzana (RR. 15/66)

(Paper read in the absence of the authors.)

"The Economics of Separate Development in White Areas", by Mr. J. A. Grobbelaar (RR. 164/65)

"Social and Political Implications of Separate Development in the White Areas", by Dr. W. F. Nkomo (RR. 1/66).

The Council divided into panels to discuss these matters: the reports of group rapporteurs were published in the February issue of Race Relations News.

On the opening night the outgoing President, the Most Rev. Denis E. Hurley, O.M.I., delivered his Presidential Address, entitled "Human Dignity and Race Relations". Professor Gwendolen Carter, head of the Africa Studies Program at Northwestern University in Chicago, was to have delivered a Hoernld Memorial Lecture entitled, "Separate Development: The Challenge of the Transkei", but cancelled her visit because, after having waited for months, she had still not been informed whether or not the South African Government would grant her a visa. (Her visa was subsequently refused). The addresses by Archbishop Hurley and Professor Carter were published by the Institute.

Refusal by the S.A.B.C. of the Institute's request to broadcast impressions of the Council meetings
On 26 January the Institute's Director, Mr. Quintin Whyte, wrote to the Chairman of the Board of Governors of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (S.A.B.C.), stating that the Institute considered its Council meeting to have been an event of considerable national importance, which had aroused wide public interest.

In consequence, the Institute requested an opportunity to broadcast over Radio South Africa, giving some impressions of the meeting, in a similar way to the opportunity that had been given to the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA) to broadcast in October 1965, after the SABRA meetings in Kroonstad.

This request was refused. In his reply the Chairman said, "You can safely leave it in our hands to judge when the theme of a congress and the way in which it was handled justify reflection or elaboration thereon in a broadcast".

Attacks on the Institute's President in the "Current Affairs" Programme of the S.A.B.C.

On 24 and 25 January an anonymous speaker in the "Current Affairs" programme of the S.A.B.C. quoted out of context various sentences from the addresses by Archbishop Hurley and Professor Carter in an attempt to prove that the Institute, which in the past had advocated multi-racialism and had engaged in "carping and destructive criticism" of apartheid, had now changed its attitude.

The Archbishop requested time on the air to reply, but this was not granted. He, therefore, released his reply to the Press. The Institute, he said, had never held that separate development was objectionable in principle provided that a just and fair division of the country was made. But the Institute considered that separate development was impossible in practice. No-one could persuade him, the Archbishop stated, that the policy, as being applied in South Africa, was "either a division or fair".

The speaker in the "Current Affairs" programme returned to the attack on 16, 17, and 18 February, again quoting passages of Archbishop Hurley's reply out of context, and alleging that he had misinterpreted the term "apartheid" to mean territorial separation. What it meant, the speaker said, was political separation. Physical separation was merely a secondary objective.

Again Archbishop Hurley asked, by telegram, for time on the air. The President of the Methodist Church Conference, the Rev. W. W. Hartley, issued a public challenge to the S.A.B.C. to allow the Archbishop to reply, and to reveal the identity of the writer of the broadcast. Once more, as there was no response, Archbishop Hurley released his reply to the Press.

He accused the programme writer of "manipulating quotations and references to create false impressions". He pointed out that Dr. Verwoerd himself had stated that physical separation remained an essential goal of apartheid. "Physical separation does matter to the Prime Minister", the Archbishop said. "It also matters very much to the Dutch Reformed Church leaders and other Afrikaner
intellectuals, for they know that it is the only form of apartheid acceptable to the Christian conscience." If
(7) e.g. Rand Daily Mail, 9 February.
(8) e.g. Sunday Times, 27 February.

ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED WITH RACE RELATIONS

the interpretation given in the "Current Affairs" programme was the correct one, these people would have "an agonising reappraisal before them. How long more, before God and conscience, can they give their support to a policy that involves the permanent subjection of non-white South Africans in their own country while pretending that the policy's real goal is a just territorial partition?" the Archbishop concluded.

Banning order served on the Institute's Field Officer
In March, the Institute's Field Officer, Mr. J. C. M. Mbata, was served with a severe set of banning orders which, inter alia, prevented him from leaving Johannesburg or the African township in Springs where he happened to be living, from entering any non-white township other than this, from attending gatherings, and from entering the premises of any educational organization or premises on which any publication was prepared or produced. These orders made it impossible for Mr. Mbata to continue his work for the Institute, or to return to his previous career of teaching.

The Institute immediately asked the Minister of Justice to receive a deputation consisting of Dr. E. G. Malherbe (its President), Dr. B. Friedman, Mr. I. A. Maisels, Q.C., and the Hon. O. D. Schreiner, to seek elucidation of the reasons for the banning; and to plead that the orders be so relaxed that Mr. Mbata would be able to continue to work for the Institute or able to find some work suitable to his qualifications. This request was refused, the Minister stating that there did not appear to be any reason to justify a change in the restrictions imposed.

The Executive Committee of the Institute then issued a Press statement(9) in which it expressed its confidence in Mr. Mbata's integrity and propriety, and recorded its solemn protest against a system which stripped a man of his life's purpose, and denied him the right to use the qualifications which it had taken him a lifetime of application to acquire, without laying any charge against him, without informing him of the reasons for his restriction, and without giving him any opportunity to be heard.

This protest was endorsed by the Executive of the Division of Christian Education of the Christian Council of South Africa (on which committee Mr. Mbata had served).

Mr. Mbata's banning orders were relaxed during August, enabling him to visit any part of South Africa except the Transkei; but he was still unable to work for the Institute of Race Relations or to return to teaching.

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The Institute's appeal to the Press Board of Reference
In October 1965 the newspaper Die Vaderland published an editorial in which it attacked a memorandum sent by the Institute to the Minister of Bantu Education!°) The Institute wrote to the editor in reply, but the latter failed to publish this letter. Unable to obtain satisfaction, the Institute appealed to the Press Board of Reference31)

The Board's findings were released on 6 May. It upheld two of the Institute's complaints, viz, that Die Vaderland had not given a fair summary of the facts on which it based its comment, and that it was not justified in refusing to publish the Institute's reply. The Board found that "the respondent carried no news report about the memorandum. He made merely a scanty and wholly inadequate factual statement in his sharp attack on the memorandum. This neglect was a contravention of the (Press) Code of Conduct .... It was a fortiori the duty of the respondent to publish the complainant's answering letter. ..."

Two other complaints by the Institute, that Die Vaderland had used the Institute's English title maliciously, and had contravened clause 3(d) of the Code of Conduct by not taking cognisance of the complex racial problems of South Africa, were rejected by the Board as being "somewhat far-fetched and unproven".

Travelling exhibition
A pictorial exhibition showing the Institute's activities over 36 years has been on show in Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, various centres in Natal, and Cape Town. It won a Bronze Diploma at the Port Elizabeth Show and Industries Fair in March.

Director's visit to the United States
During the year under review the Institute's Director, Mr. Quintin Whyte, visited the United States for three months on the invitation of the United States-South Africa Leadership Exchange Program.

Other activities of the Institute
The Institute's other activities in 1966 are mentioned in appropriate chapters of this Survey.

SOUTH AFRICAN BUREAU OF RACIAL AFFAIRS
The membership of SABRA is confined to Whites, mainly, in (10) RR. 96/65.

(11) See 1962 Survey, page 58, for the constitution of this Board and the terms of the Press Code of Conduct.

ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED WITH RACE RELATIONS 35 recent years, of a conservative, Nationalist outlook. As described on page 10 of the 1962 Survey, leading members who were anxious that the organization should remain an independent study group, willing, if it thought right, to express views that were not in conformity with Government policies, were ousted from office in 1961. In an article published in Die Kerkbode of 27 July 1966 it was stated, "SABRA was one of the first conservative organizations into which leftist elements and ideas infiltrated, and for a time was powerless as a positive instrument in the struggle of the whites for continued existence".
At the annual congress held in Kroonstad during October 1965 SABRA's chairman, Professor P. F. D. Weiss, said that the organization accepted separate development as its basic point of departure. A committee has been appointed to study ways of making this policy acceptable to non-whites.

In October 1966, SABRA held a Jeugkongres (youth congress) at Warmbaths in the Transvaal, on the task of youth in connection with race relations in South Africa. Apparently only Afrikaner youth organizations were represented: NUSAS and the Students' Representative Councils of the English-medium universities were not invited, although some of these had asked for invitations.

The opening speaker, Mr. K. S. de Haas, M.E.C., warned the youth that the challenges facing them were spiritual, and graver than the physical challenges of the past. Other speakers, who included Dr. G. D. Scholtz, Dr. C. Hanekom, Mr. D. S. v. d. M. Brink, M.E.C., Dr. J. I. de Wet, and Dr. Piet H. Koornhof, pointed to the threat posed by the "integrationalists", and the danger of doubting the value of traditional views. One speaker pressed for a greater degree of economic apartheid as between White and Black. Another-Dr. Koornhof-urged that the Afrikaner should remain an Afrikaner. "If White unity in South Africa harms the principles of Afrikaner-identity", he said, "then that unity would be a curse, and not a blessing". The need for greater cohesion and participation in the work of youth organizations was stressed.

The address that received most public attention was by Dr. W. J. de Klerk. In the original version, which had been released to the Press, Dr. de Klerk said that the "known enemies" communists, liberalists, progressives, and others-had been unmasked. But two dangers remained. On the one hand, there were the "enlightened" Afrikaners who were responsible for the infiltration of liberalism into Afrikaner institutions. On the other, there were "bigoted" Afrikaners who rejected all forms of change. Dr. de Klerk extolled the "positive" Afrikaner, who recognized and appreciated tradition, yet was a man of to-day with a vision of to-morrow.

When Dr. de Klerk delivered his address, however, at the request of certain "high office-bearers" he omitted all reference to the "bigoted" Afrikaners.

The Jeugkongres was followed by SABRA's annual congress, on the theme of "The Future of the Whites in Southern Africa". Speakers included Mr. M. C. Botha (the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development and of Bantu Education), Dr. A. P. Treurnicht, Dr. P. J. Meyer, and Professor S. Pauw.

During 1966, SABRA published a first issue of a year-book called Triomf, containing papers given at its 1965 Congress, a record of the discussions that followed, and the chairman's report. Some of its senior members, at Afrikaans-medium universities, are engaged in research on the urban Bantu family, the economy of inter-racial co-operation, non-whites in the Western Cape and the future development of the Coloured people, Bantu entrepreneurship in commerce,
and the progress that has been made in separate development and the development of the Reserves.

THE BLACK SASH
During April and May, the Black Sash organized a series of demonstrations on the theme of "Punishment Without Trial", dealing, in turn, with the banishment of Africans, banning orders, orders of house arrest, detention in solitary confinement, and the detention of potential State witnesses. Posters were displayed drawing attention to the hardships involved, and endeavouring to arouse the conscience of the public. Numbers of members of the public joined these demonstrations, standing in silence with the Black Sash women. On 18 May, for example, at least 90 men and women who were not members of the organization took part, including leading clergy or ministers of the Anglican, Congregational, and Presbyterian Churches and Jewish Rabbis.
The Black Sash prepared a number of roneoed leaflets which were distributed to members of the public, drawing attention to some of the hardships caused by banning, banishment, and detention orders.
Another demonstration was held on 4 April on the banning of the Defence and Aid Fund without trial.
A further demonstration was arranged during July, drawing attention to the effects on the African people of the pass laws and influx control, and to the cynicism of a celebration of Family Day when so many African families were being broken by the laws of the land. The Churches were asked to remember these African families in their prayers at this time. Again, hand-out material was prepared-"The Pass Laws-Their Effect on Family Life", and "Mass Arrests Do Not Stop Crime". Besides this, the Black Sash has published two pamphlets, Everybody's Guide to the Pass Laws, and Memorandum on the Application of the Pass Laws and Influx Control.

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The latter was based on, and illustrated by, the case-histories of Africans who had been to the Black Sash Advice Office for guidance and assistance. The booklet gives an able description of the intricate provisions of the laws in which Africans (and, often, their employers) find themselves entangled, and of the misfortunes and disasters that result.
During the year ended September 1966, the Black Sash Advice Office in Johannesburg handled 994 cases. The Athlone Advice Office in Cape Town, run by the Black Sash with the assistance of an interpreter from the Institute of Race Relations, interviewed 3,094 persons during that year, including 1,458 new cases. At the time of the Republican Celebrations, the Black Sash urged the State President to grant an amnesty to Africans who had been banished.
Another of the activities of this organization during the past year was to run a course in leadership for discussion groups.

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STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS
CHANGE IN THE CONSTITUTION OF NUSAS
The main support for the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) continues to come from the English-medium universities and the Johannesburg College of Education, although there is a small branch at the Afrikaans-medium University of Stellenbosch. Another, at the University of Pretoria, was during May refused official recognition by the Students' Representative Council (SRC) of that University.

The SRC of the dual-medium University of Port Elizabeth decided, early in 1965, to disallow NUSAS activities on its campus. Student-bodies of the non-white university colleges are not permitted to affiliate, but some of the students are individual members. NUSAS membership includes the organizations representing students of the Non-European section of the University of Natal and the Natal Medical School. As mentioned later, the SRC of the Transvaal College for Asiatics in Johannesburg became affiliated, but the Department of Indian Affairs disallowed this during 1966.

Until 1965 the usual practice at universities where there were NUSAS centres was for students to pay a composite fee which included a subscription to NUSAS, students who did not wish to belong being entitled to ask for the return of their membership subscriptions. This system has been discontinued. Now, the SRC's become affiliated members. There is no necessity for students to join individually, although they may do so if they wish.

THREATS TO NUSAS AND TO MULTI-RACIAL ACTIVITIES (TO APRIL 1966)(1)

During 1964 a business-man, Mr. Gert van Zyl, registered as a student for a few courses at the University of Cape Town. Shortly afterwards he became chairman of a newly-formed Conservative Students' Association (CSA) there. The CSA applied for and was granted recognition by the SRC of the University of Cape Town. In accordance with the SRC's constitution, which states, "No society or club shall restrict its membership in any manner whatsoever", any student at the university was, initially, entitled to join the CSA. But, some seventeen months later, this body applied to the SRC for permission to change its constitution in such a way as to exclude non(1) From NUSAS Newsletter of 24 February, supplemented from other sources.

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whites from becoming members. In view of the clause in its own constitution, mentioned above, the SRC refused this application. The CSA appealed against this refusal, but the University Council upheld the SRC's decision, on constitutional grounds.

All universities were invited to send delegates to a conference of the South African Society of Commerce and Economics Students, which was held in January, but none of the Afrikaansmedium universities except Pretoria accepted. The Pretoria delegates walked out after a motion was passed to the effect that the constitution should be "open" (i.e. to non-whites as well as whites).(2)

On 17 February the Minister of Education, Arts, and Science said in a Press statement(3) that the Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cape Town had been warned, during 1965, that if the SRC "should threaten to force a
conservative group of students to accept non-whites as members of their association, the government would view such a step in a very serious light". The Minister now felt himself obliged to state "that the Government will consider, with or without legislation", methods of checking "the efforts of this unbridled Students' Council who are now being supported by the University Council. . . . There remains nothing for me as responsible Minister other than to report the untenable state of affairs to the Cabinet," he said.

On 4 March letters to new students, bearing the false signature of the then president of NUSAS, Mr. Ian Robertson, were distributed on the campuses of the various universities, purporting to describe the aims and activities of NUSAS, which "can indeed be proud of its record". Mention was made of three past leading members who had engaged in subversive activities, prior to a remark about "NUSAS's role as a leading organization defying the Suppression of Communism Act and other unjust laws in South Africa". It was stated that NUSAS had pledged its support to various "leftist liberal" movements, inter alia, "(but clandestinely) the Liberation Movement in South Africa."

NUSAS immediately denied the authenticity of this document, and asked the police to investigate the authorship of it.

THE BANNING OF MR. IAN ROBERTSON

During 1965, NUSAS invited Senator Robert Kennedy to visit South Africa as its guest and to address gatherings of students. Arrangements were handled by the then president of NUSAS, Mr. Ian Robertson, who was to have accompanied Senator Kennedy on his brief tour of South Africa, in June.

On 11 May, however, five-year banning orders were served on Mr. Robertson which, inter alia, confined him to Cape Town, prohibited him from entering any educational institution except to attend lectures for the course for which he was registered at the university, prohibited him from entering the offices of NUSAS or participating in any way in the activities of this organization, from attending any gatherings, and from assisting in any way with the preparation of matter for publication.

There was an immediate storm of protest from students at all English-medium universities. Mass meetings were held in Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban, Pietermaritzburg, and Grahamstown, at which students expressed their amazement at the action of the then Minister of Justice (Mr. B. J. Vorster) and their revulsion of the system of banning. The Minister was challenged to bring Mr. Robertson before a court of law. Student marches were held through the streets of the cities; it was reported(4) that more than 3,000 participated in Johannesburg, and more than 2,000 in Cape Town, for example. A telegram was sent to the Minister asking him to meet a delegation from NUSAS, and, until this meeting took place on 25 May, silent poster demonstrations were maintained in the streets. A flame of freedom was lit at the University of Natal to demonstrate the students' spirit of resistance to the inroads on democratic freedoms. Thousands
of signatures were collected for a petition calling on the Minister either to charge or to release Mr. Robertson; and some 20,000 car windscreen stickers bearing the words "Charge or Release" were printed and distributed. The students received public support from many members of staff at the universities, and from numbers of organizations and prominent private persons. More than 1,500 people attended a citizens' meeting in Johannesburg and called upon the Minister to charge or release all those who had been banned or restricted without trial. Cables poured into the NUSAS office from student bodies in numerous other countries, several of them offering Mr. Robertson scholarships at British or American universities.

Mr. Vorster declined to reveal his reasons for imposing the banning order, but invited any member of the Opposition to raise the matter in Parliament during the next session. Mr. Robertson wrote enquiring what the reasons had been, but was informed that the Minister was satisfied that, since 1964, he had engaged in activities which were furthering or were calculated to further the achievement of some of the aims of communism: the information in the Minister's possession about these activities could not be revealed without detriment to public policy.

Students of the Transvaal College of Education for Asiatics had been refused permission to absent themselves from lectures during the time of the march in Johannesburg (they did not state why they wanted this leave of absence). Nevertheless, about 250 of them joined the march. A few days later the Director of Indian Education visited the college and announced that NUSAS was from henceforth banned from the campus. The SRC was suspended. A new constitution for this body was to be drawn up to exclude provision for affiliation to NUSAS: thereafter elections for a new SRC would be conducted. Students who became individual members of NUSAS might risk forfeiting their Government bursaries. At a mass meeting, however, the students then decided to recognize the suspended SRC as the only body authorized to act for them and to refrain from voting for a new SRC under a revised constitution. Large numbers of them applied for NUSAS membership cards. The Afrikaner Studentebond issued a statement dissociating itself from the protests.

INTERVIEW GRANTED TO STUDENT LEADERS BY THE MINISTER

On 25 May the Minister of Justice received a deputation of three senior members of NUSAS (Mr. John Daniel, Miss Margaret Marshall, and Mr. Glenn Cowley), but declined to admit two advisers who had accompanied them-Professor G. H. L. le May and Mr. A. I. Maisels, Q.C. The students presented the mass petition calling for Mr. Robertson to be charged or released, and a memorandum describing him as a moderate, level-headed person who, through his conduct, had
earned the confidence and respect of many thousands of students. They could not help but feel, the students said, that the information about him that had been placed before the Minister, and which led to the banning orders, had been incorrect. If Mr. Robertson had betrayed their confidence, they continued, would the Minister tell them what he was alleged to have done?

According to the students, they had a request to give Mr. Robertson the opportunity of refuting in a court of law whatever allegations had been made against him, but agreed to accept affidavits in his favour. Mr. Robertson did not have to be a communist to be banned under the Suppression of Communism Act, the Minister said, and there was no reason to presume that he was a communist. He had been banned in his personal capacity, and not because he was president of NUSAS. Mr. Vorster did not contest the students' assertion that the activities of NUSAS fell wholly within the law; but he stressed that

(8) Ibid, 17 May
(9) Sunday Times, 22 May.
(10) Rand Daily Mail, 26 May.

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its views (about which he questioned the deputation closely) were directly opposed to his own.

A new wave of protest meetings and marches took place when students heard the results of the interview. Students of the University of the Witwatersrand held an all-night torch vigil, the Black Sash providing a food service for them. A march of students in Pietermaritzburg was broken up by a gang of people who seized torches and banners and hurled buckets of water and sand at the marchers. Some students at the University of Cape Town staged a demonstration (not authorized by the SRC) when a Cabinet Minister came to open a new science block.

DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT
Mrs. Helen Suzman, Mr. S. J. Marais Steyn, and others raised the question of Mr. Robertson's banning at the earliest opportunity after the new Parliament assembled, and induced Mr. Vorster to give some of his reasons. Inter alia, he said that Mr. Robertson was not a bona fide student, but a paid official of NUSAS. He had visited Basutoland and Swaziland (the Minister indicated that his activities there had been undesirable), and had been a member of the committee of the Defence and Aid Fund.

Mrs. Suzman and Mr. Steyn challenged these statements. It was pointed out that it was established practice for all persons elected to the presidency of NUSAS to suspend their studies during their period of office, and that they received merely a nominal salary. Mr. Robertson had been an ex-officio member of the Defence and Aid committee in his capacity as president of NUSAS, but in fact had never attended a meeting or participated in the activities of the organization. In any case, this organization was a perfectly legal one at the time (its banning, later, is described in a subsequent chapter).

Speakers quoted affidavits from persons who had accompanied Mr. Robertson on two brief visits to Basutoland to the effect that he made no contacts of a political nature there. They categorically denied that Mr. Robertson had ever visited...
Swaziland. Mr. Vorster replied that he had meant to say Bechuanaland; but Mrs. Suzman then pointed out that Mr. Robertson had never been there, either, but merely to Mafeking, his sole purpose being to have discussions with educational officials and other responsible people about the establishment of a college for adult education.

It was pointed out that Mr. Vorster had made yet another mistake in saying, earlier, that Mr. Robertson had applied for a permit to leave the country. What, in fact, he had asked for was

(11) Assembly Hansard I cols. 97-8.

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the amendment of his banning order to allow him to join his parents in Durban. Mrs. Suzman maintained it was increasingly obvious that Mr. Vorster should reopen the dossier on Mr. Robertson; and Mr. Marais Steyn said, "I am not pleading that Mr. Robertson is innocent. I do not know. But I am beginning to come to the conclusion that the Minister does not know, either, that Mr. Robertson is guilty".

Mr. Robertson was granted permission to go to Durban, and, during August, his passport was renewed to enable him to take up a scholarship in Britain. Later, on 22 September, Mr. Vorster told Members of Parliament that he would apologise to nobody for his action in banning Mr. Robertson. He had been anxious to avoid a recurrence of the "Leftwich affair". Potentially, the atmosphere had been created for that to happen. What he had done was in the best interests of students at those universities where NUSAS was accepted. The Department of Justice had three thick files on Mr. Robertson. Mr. Vorster stated that there were leftist and pink elements in NUSAS, but declared that there was no reason why there should be an inquiry into its activities. It depended on the leaders in any particular year in what direction the organization was steered. When he spoke on the earlier occasion, Mr. Vorster explained, he was replying "off the cuff", but he had, since, refreshed his memory on the contents of the files on Mr. Robertson."

ABANDONMENT OF PROPOSED DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN NUSAS AND THE ASB

Previous to the events described above, NUSAS had suggested a debate between leaders of the two student organizations in an attempt to find common ground and, perhaps, to remove misconceptions. Earlier attempts to hold joint discussions had foundered because NUSAS insisted on its right to include non-white representatives, and this was unacceptable to the ASB. The organizations have a lot in common, however. NUSAS provides scholarships and loans for needy students, while the ASB is building up a scholarship fund. Both find vacation employment for students, and organize overseas tours. Initially, the ASB accepted the invitation; but later changed its mind, stating that it wished to have nothing to do with NUSAS, which was a "foreign phenomenon" moving on a "leftist, liberal path"."
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NUSAS CONGRESS
The annual congress of NUSAS was held in Durban during July. Miss Margaret Marshall was elected as the new president. Among the motions passed were pleas for the Anti-Apartheid Movement to call off its academic boycott of South Africa; for the Government either to charge or release all lecturers and students who had been banned; for the abandonment of Christian National Education and the biassed teaching of history in schools; and for increased salaries for Indian teachers. It was agreed that NUSAS would work to break down the isolation of the non-white university colleges and for increased academic freedom in these institutions.

Two motions were hotly debated and some delegates dissented or abstained when a vote was taken. One of these called upon affiliated SRC's to allow no social functions on university campuses unless all students were able to participate. The other rejected a suggestion, by one delegate, that the South African flag should be flown at future congresses. It was pointed out that there appeared to be no reason for such an innovation. Earlier, delegates had pledged their loyalty to the country. NUSAS decided to keep open a door of friendship with the Afrikaanse Studentebond.

CONGRESS OF THE AFRIKAANSE STUDENTEBOND (ASB)
The ASB is almost entirely representative of the White Afrikaans-medium universities, although there is a small Afrikaanse Studenteklub at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Its annual congress, held at Stellenbosch during July, was by all accounts, a much tamer meeting than that of NUSAS. With one exception, there were no votes against any motion, and no abstentions. The main theme, in the papers and discussions, was the need for the unity of Afrikaners and the role of the ASB in serving the interests of the Afrikaner people and in enriching their language, religion, and traditions.

The one motion on which one delegate only abstained from voting condemned the activities of the American Field Service and recommended that this organization be denied access to schools in South Africa. Mr. "Boy" Geldenhuys, who was elected president, stated that efforts to force the American way of life on South Africa constituted a threat to student relations. (The delegate who did not vote had spent a year in the United States as an exchange student.)

Delegates agreed that a memorandum be prepared on the subject of contact and co-operation with the non-white university colleges “if any such contact were needed at present”.

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There was considerable discussion about relations with NUSAS. One speaker, Professor P. A. Verhoef, while expressing pessimism about the possibility of achieving any degree of unity, nevertheless urged that the door be kept open for future contact, and that ASB members should try to impress NUSAS with the soundness of its own principles. The outgoing president, Mr. Danie du Toit, had stated earlier(17) that, over a period of time, it might be feasible to create a federal body, with NUSAS and the ASB as separate pillars of the structure. But the congress was determined that no relationships with NUSAS should be established!!15)

The motion commending Mr. S. E. D. Brown for his reports in the South African Observer, the decisions by students of the Universities of Stellenbosch and Pretoria to dissociate themselves from this motion, and the subsequent statement by the executive of the ASB repudiating all insinuations made in the Observer that the Afrikanership of some prominent Afrikaners was suspect because of certain of their associations, are described on page 7.

FEDERATION OF UNIVERSITY ENGINEERING STUDENTS
One student organization with "open" membership that has flourished for about eight years is the South African Federation of Engineering Students, with members drawn from the Englishmedium Universities of the Witwatersrand, Cape Town, and Natal, together with students from the Afrikaans-medium Universities of Stellenbosch and Pretoria. Non-white university students are not excluded, in terms of the constitution, since any who may be enrolled in the universities are there with the Government's approval. The constitution stipulates that religious or racial questions should never be discussed at meetings.39)

UNIVERSITIES AMENDMENT BILL
Following Cabinet discussions on the decision of the University of Cape Town that the Conservative Students' Association should not be permitted to change its constitution in such a way as to debar non-whites from membership, and the other events described above, the Government published two Bills which caused widespread dismay among non-Nationalists.

One of these, the Universities Amendment Bill, provided that no student, member of staff, association of students or of staff, research worker, or other person at any university "shall on the ground that he advocates, promotes, or maintains any form of racial separation" be prejudiced or subjected to any form of discrimination by the university or any person or body exercising authority there. The Minister's decision as to whether a person was being prejudiced or subjected to discrimination was to be final.

The existing Universities Act, No. 61 of 1955, provides that if any university council "fails to comply with any provision of this Act under which grants-in-aid
from moneys voted by Parliament are paid to universities, the Minister may call upon such council to comply with the said provision within a specified period". The Bill substituted for this, "In the event of a contravention of or failure to comply with any provision of this Act, the Minister may in writing direct the Council of the university concerned to take steps to ensure that the conduct constituting the contravention or failure will be discontinued forthwith or within such period as may be specified in the direction".

The existing Act empowers the Minister to withhold payment of the whole or any portion of the grant-in-aid voted to a university by Parliament if the council fails to comply with any provision of the Act, after having been called upon to do so. According to the Bill, the Minister could take such action if effect were not given to a direction issued by him to the council, in terms of the previous paragraph.

A council receiving a Ministerial directive would be empowered to require any person or body concerned in the alleged contravention of, or failure to comply with, any provision of the Act to take any steps it deemed necessary to give effect to the Ministerial direction, and might withdraw any power conferred on such person or body in relation to the matter in question.

The Director of Institute of Race Relations sent letters to all Members of the House of Assembly, making the following points: 1. In terms of the proposed Bill, no machinery was provided for the transmission to the Minister of allegations that a person or association at any university was being discriminated against because this person or association advocated, promoted or maintained any form of racial discrimination. Would such a person or association be enabled to complain direct to the Minister?

2. It was stated that the Minister's decision would be final. The Bill did not require the Minister to obtain the university council's views before issuing a direction to it. Was the university council to have no authority to investigate complaints? If not, it was conceivable that a Ministerial direction to a council might be based on false or misleading information received from a person who complained to him.

3. The Bill offered protection to persons or associations advocating or practising any form of racial separation; but offered

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no protection to persons who or associations that did not advocate racial segregation, or advocated non-segregation.

Because this measure was a contentious one and the Parliamentary session was drawing to a close, the Government decided to hold it over until 1967.

EXTENSION OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION AMENDMENT BILL

In terms of the Extension of University Education Amendment Bill (as had been the case since 1 January 1960), nonwhite persons who wished to register as students at a university (other than the University of South Africa or the Natal Medical School) would require the written consent of the responsible Minister.

The Bill proposed various new provisions. It stated that consent, if granted, would be in respect of:
(a) a specified academic year for first registration;
(b) a specified university; and
(c) a specified degree, diploma or certificate.
When consent was granted, the number of consecutive academic years allowed for the completion of the course of study might be fixed. The Minister might, on application, extend this period.
The Minister could at any time withdraw his consent if he considered such withdrawal to be in the public interest.
Consent to register as a student would not entitle the person concerned to become or to be a member of an association of students (except an association occupied exclusively with academic matters relating to the course of study for which the person was registered) if this association was composed of members of any ethnic group other than the group to which he belonged, nor would it entitle him to attend meetings of such associations on the campus.
In a Press statement on this Bill,(2”) the Institute of Race Relations deplored the proposed added infringement of the right of universities to order their own affairs. In particular, it regretted those provisions which would prohibit a non-white student at a "white" university from being a member of an association of students of any other ethnic group than the group to which he belonged, or to attend meetings of such an association on the campus, unless such an association was concerned exclusively with academic matters relating to the student's course of study. Such a provision would cut away one of the few remaining areas in which co-operation between whites and non-whites could take place, and would be detrimental to the future leadership of the country, both white and non-white.
(20) RR. 99/66.

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The Institute also viewed with disfavour the provision which would give to someone outside the university, i.e. the Minister, the power to terminate arbitrarily and for no academic reasona student's studies.
Representations in regard to those Bills were made, too, by university authorities and other interested persons.
This second Bill, too, was held over until 1967.

VOLUNTARY SERVICE BY STUDENTS
It was announced in 1965 that the South African Work Camps Association had been disbanded. It was a multi-racial body which organized mixed work camps to undertake such tasks, in South Africa and neighbouring territories, as building or renovating hospitals, schools, community centres, old age homes, and orphanages, and constructing dams. Largely because of intimidation caused by the interrogation of participants by Security Branch policemen, however, the membership dwindled from about 500 to 20, making it impracticable for the association to continue21)
Work of a similar nature has been carried out by others on a limited scale. During 1966, students from the Universities of Stellenbosch and Cape Town, together with a few Africans, did construction work at a Dutch Reformed Church Mission in the Transkei. Similar work was done at the university in Basutoland by students
of Natal University and the Teacher Training College in Pietermaritzburg, with
the assistance of Basutoland students. The World University Service has
contributed funds to assist such projects.
Later in the year a South African Voluntary Service Organization was formed,
under the chairmanship of Mr. Peter Saffery, with headquarters at the University
of the Witwatersrand. Volunteers have, so far, helped to build or paint institutions
for noiiwhites, and have assisted with the work of Kupugani (which distributes
nutritious foodstuffs at low prices and organizes feeding depots and industrial
feeding schemes). The Voluntary Service is planning, in 1967, to send volunteers,
especially teachers, to work in African Reserves and in other African territories,
and to recruit newly-trained White teachers to work for a year or more in schools
for Africans, in the Republic, that are shortstaffed. It also plans to arrange work-
camps, and to provide coaching for African students.
A Steering Committee to plan a Peace Corps has been established in the Cape.
(21) Sunday Express, 5 December 1965.

SECURITY MEASURES

SECURITY MEASURES
THE SOUTH AFRICAN DEFENCE FORCE
Some idea of the intensive development of the South African Defence Force that
has taken place in recent years was gained by the general public on 31 May
(Republic Day), when a massive military parade took place at the Voortrekker
Monument outside Pretoria. Nearly 17,000 officers and men were assembled
there,0) and modern military equipment and aircraft were displayed. The country
has been equipped with an early-warning radar network, and a programme of
naval modernization is being carried out. The strength of the Permanent Force has
been considerably increased.
The Defence budget for the year ending 30 March 1967 was R255,850,000, and,
in addition, an estimated R3,765,000 is to be spent from Loan Account on
buildings and works.2) In his Budget speech the Minister of Finance said that the
Government could not afford to relax its vigilance or preparedness. He hoped,
however, that the great increase in defence expenditure had come to an end, and
that in future there would be only normal increases from year to year.(')
The Minister of Defence announced, later,(04 that during the current year South
Africa would spend 15.5 per cent of its national budget on defence.
It is planned that pilots will be trained on jet Impalas, to be assembled at a site
near the Jan Smuts Airport by the Atlas Aircraft Corporation. During August, an
international financier arranged a R10,500,000 loan for this Corporation, which
was guaranteed by the South African Reserve Bank to the extent that the loan was
taken up. It was reported, later, that it had been undersubscribed(5)
The Commandant-General of the South African Defence Force announced in
March(0 that the Republic was capable of manufacturing the necessary range of
infantry weapons and armour plating (including armoured cars and a large variety
of types of ammunition and bombs). As France has not heeded the request of the
Security Council, made in 1963, that member-states should refrain from
exporting, inter alia, military equipment to
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South Africa, the Republic has been able to acquire helicopters from French firms; but, at the time of writing, the United States has blocked the sale of the civil version of some Dassault Mystère aircraft which have American engines.

It was announced by the Minister of Defence on 24 August that a defence control council was being set up to advise on defence needs, research and development, stock-piling, and the extent to which industry could be converted to meet war-time needs.

Later, he said in the Assembly that plans were being formulated for a complete overhaul of the training of members of the Citizen Force and Commando units. These plans would be embodied in draft legislation and referred to a Select Committee. In future, all able-bodied young men except those who joined the Defence Force or Police or Prisons Service should be called up for a year's national service, the Minister considered. (At present the ballot system operates and the period of training is nine months.)

OIL SUPPLIES

The Government plans, when economic pressures have eased, to establish a second oil-from-coal plant, in order to raise South Africa's production to between 35 and 40 per cent of its needs! The probe for natural supplies continues, throughout the country. Oil companies trading in the Republic have been asked to increase the capacity of their storage depots and tanks; and an Association of Oil Tanker Owners has been established to work for the formation of a South African-controlled tanker fleet. On 11 October, the Minister of Defence announced in the Assembly that his Department had purchased an oil tanker.

CIVIL DEFENCE ACT, No. 39 OF 1966

The Emergency Planning Bill, described on page 25 of last year's Survey, was passed during the year under review but was renamed the Civil Defence Act. When introducing the second reading of the Bill, the Minister of Justice said that the already-established Directorate of Civil Defence had divided the Republic into 13 target areas (four of them on the Witwatersrand), each under an area controller who was a retired military or police officer. His duties were to provide a blue-print for action if a state of emergency.

(1) Sunday Times estimate, 5 June.
(2) Estimates of Expenditure, RP. 1 and 8 of 1966.
(3) Assembly 17 August, Hansard 3 col. 900.
(4) Assembly, 24 August, Hansard 4 col. 1381.
(5) Sunday Times, 28 August and 6 November.
(6) South African Digest, 25 March.

(8) Star, 30 August.
(9) Rand Daily Mail, 25 August.
(10) 29 September, Hansard 9 cols. 3242-3.
(11) Star, 18 March.
(12) South African Digest, 13 May.
(13) Hansard 11 col. 3908.
SECURITY MEASURES
should 'arise; to plan the safeguarding of strategic industries and works; to identify buildings and materials that could be of use if emergency offices, hospitals, or shelters had to be set up; and to train people in rescue work, firefighting; and first aid. Classes in first aid had already been conducted with the co-operation of voluntary bodies. Various technical committees had been set up. The United Party supported the Bill at its second reading, but, on behalf of the Progressive Party, Mrs. Suzman moved(“) that it be referred to a select committee. The powers it conferred on the Minister to declare a state of emergency, she said, were far wider than those embodied in the Public Safety Act of 1953. Moreover, even without declaring a state of emergency, the Minister could conscript people for training or to undertake various tasks. (During 1965, in letters to Members of Parliament, the Institute of Race Relations said that, while appreciating that a government must have wide powers to protect the public at a time of emergency, it nevertheless wondered whether it was wise to eliminate certain safeguards against the arbitrary use of Ministerial power that were thought necessary when the Public Safety Act was passed.) During the Committee stage, members of the United Party moved that the Minister's powers should be exercised only during a state of emergency, and that, if the Minister did take action of the type provided for, he should report the matter to Parliament, any regulations made by him to lapse if they were not approved by Parliament.”) The second of these amendments was accepted.

RADIO AMENDMENT BILL
A summary of the Radio Amendment Bill was given on page 30 of last year's Survey. It was again introduced in 1966, but was once more postponed.

SUPPRESSION OF COMMUNISM FURTHER AMENDMENT BILL
A Suppression of Communism Further Amendment Bill was published, but was not proceeded with in 1966. Its main clause was to the effect that no person shall be admitted by any court of law to practise as an advocate, attorney, notary, or conveyancer, unless such person satisfies the court that his name has not been "listed", and that he has not, before or after the commencement of the new section, been convicted of any of the following offences under the Act:

(a) performing an act calculated to further the achievement of any of the objects of communism, as defined in the Act;
(15) Cols. 352-5.
(16) Cols. 505-6, 520.

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(b) advocating, advising, defending, or encouraging the achievement of any such object, or any act or omission which is calculated to further the achievement of any such object;
(c) having, while outside South Africa since the commencement
of the Act, advocated, advised, defended, or encouraged the achievement by
violent or forcible means of any object directed at bringing about any political,
industrial, social, or economic change within the Republic, or the achievement of
any of the objects of communism as defined in the Act, by the intervention or
with the assistance of any foreign
government or any foreign or international body;
(d) having, since the commencement of the Act, undergone
training outside the Republic, or obtained any information from a source outside
the Republic, which could be of use in furthering the achievement of any of the
objects of communism or of an organization that has been declared unlawful;
(e) having in any way assisted, participated in, or continued
the activities or the direct or indirect interests of an unlawful organization, or
having been in possession of anything whatsoever indicating that at any time in
the past he was in any
way associated with an unlawful organization.
The Bill stated that, on an application made by the Secretary for Justice, a court of
any division of the Supreme Court shall order that the name of a person be struck
off the roll or list of advocates, attorneys, notaries or conveyancers if the court is
satisfied that this person's name is "listed" or that he has at any time been
convicted of any of the abovementioned offences.
The Press stressed the retrospective effect of this clause, and the fact that the onus
of proving their innocence would be placed on the persons concerned.
Further clauses of the Bill sought to widen the powers of the Minister of Justice to
prohibit "listed" or banned persons from participating in the activities of
organizations specified by .him, and the powers of the State President to deport
persons who are not South African citizens and are considered to be undesirable
inhabitants because they are deemed to be communists or have been convicted of
offences under the Act.
It was proposed that a new clause be added to the Section of the Act dealing with
presumptions and evidence, to the effect that if, in any prosecution for a
contravention of a banning order, it is proved that the accused communicated with
a banned or "listed" person, and that the name of the latter person corresponds
substantially with a name appearing on the official list or in particulars of banning
orders that have been published in the Gazette, it will be presumed that the
accused knew that the person concerned was "listed" or banned, unless the
contrary is proved beyond reasonable doubt.

SECURITY MEASURES
INFILTRATION OF TRAINED SABOTEURS
According to a statement by the Deputy Minister of Justice, Police, and
Prisons,(7) a group of ten armed terrorists entered Ovamboland (the northern part
of South-West Africa) in March. From eight of them who were arrested the police
learned that other bands were grouping in Angola. They were members of the
South-West African People's Organization and the South-West African National
Union who had received training in sabotage in other parts of Africa.
A further group of about sixteen crossed the border on 26 August. In a report to the Assembly that day,(14) the Minister of Justice said that the police had intercepted them, and had been forced to open fire when the men resisted arrest. It subsequently transpired that two of the infiltrators were killed, two wounded, a further six were captured, and the rest fled into the bush.

The Minister said it had been established that the terrorists followed a route from Tanzania, through Zambia and South Angola, to Ovamboland. They were heavily armed with automatic weapons, presumably of Russian and Chinese origin, had knowledge of the use of explosives, had reached an average degree of proficiency in the art of guerilla warfare, and some of them were proficient in map-reading. Their task appeared to be to murder Ovambo chiefs and Whites, to provide training for members of certain subversive organizations, and in that way to instigate murder and armed revolt.

It was emphasized by the Minister that "the possibility is not ruled out that more such groups will try to cross our borders". According to available information, which appeared to be accurate, African terrorists were being trained in the United Arab Republic, Russia, Algeria, North Korea, the Congo-Brazzaville, Ghana, Ethiopia, Cuba, Red China, and Tanzania. "I want to make an appeal", the Minister said, "to countries and organizations who are concerned with this training to put a stop to it. They will not bring South Africa to its knees in that way. But what they will succeed in doing is to send these incited people to a certain death if they send them to South Africa".

According to Press reports,(9) the captured infiltrators were flown to a maximum-security prison in the Transvaal and held under the 180-day law,(25) which did not then apply in South-West Africa. Police forces in Ovamboland were strengthened, and an intensive search was carried out for the men who had escaped.

Speaking in the Assembly on 22 September(21) the Deputy Minister of Police said that 23 terrorists had, thus far, been arrested in the Republic and sentenced to imprisonment. Another 23 had been apprehended in Ovamboland, and the police were aware of the presence of others in that territory. To the knowledge of the police, the communistic alliance had sent about 2,000 trainee terrorists out of the country during the past few years: more than half of these men had been identified by the police.

Several hundred trained terrorists, fully equipped with submachine guns and automatic weapons, were in transit camps in Tanzania and Zambia en route to the Republic, the Deputy Minister continued. Out of a total of some 900 refugees in these camps, about 250 were trained Ovambo terrorists.
Documents found by the police after they had captured terrorists in Ovamboland furnished conclusive proof that the South-West African People's Organization was part of the communistic conspiracy, and that the small group with whom the police came to blows were merely the vanguard of a larger force. Two further terrorists were arrested later. According to the Rand Daily Mail of 21 November, the police believed that they had received basic training locally, from infiltrators who escaped in the skirmish during August. It was reported at the end of September that Portuguese commandos, part of a regiment strung along the Angola border, had shot seven infiltrators, and that the Botswana police had arrested another seven who were found in the north of that territory, carrying arms of Russian and Chinese origin. These men were deported to Zambia, where they were accepted as refugees, "on humanitarian grounds". Two White policemen were stated to have entered a hut at Ondangua, in the north of Ovamboland, to arrest a suspect. The latter rushed at them with a panga, wounding one of the policemen, and his companion then opened fire and killed the African. According to further reports, policemen in a helicopter spotted a large group of Africans in bush country on the Angola boundary. They radioed for ground patrols, which were stated to have shot two Africans and captured about 30. The rest of the terrorists fled back into Angola, and ran into Portuguese troops. Shortly afterwards, a night attack was made on the SouthWest African border post of Oshikango. A band of terrorists set fire to a number of dwellings and hurled bricks through windows. As the White occupants (including wives and children of officials) ran from the buildings the attackers opened fire on them and a gunfight followed, during which an African night-watchman was seriously wounded. The terrorists escaped.

(22) Rand Daily Mail and Star 29 September, and Star, 4 and 26 October.

SECURITY MEASURES
GENERAL LAW AMENDMENT ACT, No. 62 OF 1966
Extension of the application of security laws to South-West Africa
The Amendment Act of 1966 extended to South-West Africa the provisions of the law relating to sabotage (Section 21 of the General Law Amendment Act of 1962).(23)
It was made clear that the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 as amended (including its penal provisions) applies in South-West Africa, with retrospective effect to the date of commencement of the principal Act.
Presumptions
A further presumption was added to those contained in Section 12 of the Suppression of Communism Act, to the effect that if in any prosecution it is alleged that an accused, at any time while outside the Republic, had undergone training (or had attempted to do so) which could be of use in committing sabotage or in furthering the aims of communism or of an organization declared unlawful, and if it is proved that the accused left the Republic without proper travel
documents, it will be presumed, unless the contrary is proved beyond a reasonable doubt, that he did, in fact, receive or attempt to receive such training.

Detention of terrorists for interrogation

The Act empowered any commissioned officer of the police of or above the rank of Lieut.-Colonel to arrest any person without warrant if he has reason to believe that this person is a terrorist, or favours terrorist activities, or has undergone training of the kind described above (whether within or outside the country), or has encouraged others to do so, or has obtained information which could be of use in furthering the objects of communism or of an organization declared unlawful, or has committed sabotage or conspired with others to do so, or is found in the illegal possession of explosives, or intends to commit any of these offences.

Persons so arrested may be detained for interrogation at such place and subject to such conditions as the Commissioner of Police may determine, for a period not exceeding 14 days. The Commissioner may, however, apply to a judge of the Supreme Court for the extension of this period until such date as the judge may decide. He must satisfy the judge that, from information taken on oath, there are reasonable grounds for suspicion against the detainee, must explain why further detention is considered necessary, and must state under what conditions the detainee is being held.


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Should the judge consider it to be necessary, he may afford the detainee an opportunity of submitting to him in writing reasons why he should not be detained. If the detainee does so, the judge is then required to afford the Commissioner of Police an opportunity of replying in writing. Should the judge decide to grant the Commissioner's application, he may order that the conditions of detention be altered. His decision will be final.

Unless the judge orders any amendment, the determination by the Commissioner of the conditions of detention will not be subject to review or appeal; and no court of law shall be competent to order the release of a detainee.

Evidence by State witnesses

In terms of an amendment made in 1964 to the Criminal Procedure Act, any person produced as a witness for the prosecution in a criminal case who, in the opinion of the prosecutor is an accomplice, is compelled to be sworn or to make affirmation and to give evidence in respect of the case under investigation even though the evidence might tend to incriminate him. The 1966 Act widened this provision. Any witness called by the prosecutor (and not only an alleged accomplice) may be compelled to answer questions which might incriminate him in respect of an offence mentioned by the prosecutor.

As previously, if the witness answers all lawful questions to the satisfaction of the court he will be discharged from liability to prosecution for the offence concerned. Should he refuse to answer questions he may be dealt with by the court as a recalcitrant witness,(24) liable to a sentence of imprisonment for up to a year.

A Reservation of Separate Amenities Amendment Bill was published during the year under review, but was postponed until the 1967 Session of Parliament. The principal Act, No. 49 of 1953 as amended, empowered 'any person who is in charge of or has control of any public premises or any public vehicle, whether as owner or lessee or whether by virtue of his office or otherwise, or any person acting under his control or direction", to reserve such premises or vehicle, or any portion thereof, for the exclusive use of persons belonging to a particular race or class.

The term "public premises" was defined to include any land (including the sea-shore), enclosure, building, structure, hall, room, office, or convenience to which the public has access, whether on the payment of an admission fee or not. Persons wilfully entering or using amenities reserved for persons of racial groups other than their own were made liable, on conviction, to a maximum sentence of R100, or three months’ imprisonment, or both.

The Act did not empower any governmental authority to force a person or a local authority in charge or control of public land or buildings to reserve these for persons of a particular race or class.

In terms of the powers granted to "persons in control", some local authorities, in their own discretion, reserved beaches for persons of particular racial groups, and erected appropriate notice boards. Others, notably the Cape Town City Council, were unwilling to do so. Eventually, after receiving reports from various commissions and committees, the Minister of Planning decided to make recommendations on the allocation of various beaches—these are described in a subsequent chapter.

The Cape Town City Council maintained that the beaches suggested for Coloured people in its area were totally inadequate, and objected to the erection of notice boards. The introduction of further legislation to make it possible for the Government to enforce beach apartheid was forecast. As has happened on previous occasions, however, the terms of the Bill that was published were far wider than the public had expected, and, it appeared, would enable the Government to bring about racial segregation in public buildings as well as at pleasure resorts.

The Bill stated that the definition of "land" (included in the definition of "public premises" in the principal Act), would be extended to include a lake, dam, river, or vlei.

The responsibility for deciding upon the racial use of public premises was to be divided between three Ministers: the Minister of Community Development in a
group area; the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development in a scheduled area, or on land vested in the S.A. Bantu Trust, or in a Bantu location or village; and, elsewhere, the Minister of Planning. The Minister might direct the person in charge or control of public premises (including land) "to set apart or reserve any public premises or any portion thereof in such manner or by such means, and within the period specified in the direction, for the exclusive use of persons belonging to a particular race or class". Before issuing any direction, the Minister would have to give the person concerned notice of his intention, and specify a period within which the person might submit written representations. In the discretion of the person by whom a setting apart or reservation was effected, or in the Minister’s discretion, such setting apart or reservation might be effected:

(a) for a particular purpose; or
(b) for a specified or unspecified period; or
(c) for a special occasion or type of occasion.

A setting apart or reservation would not affect persons who were entitled to be on the premises by virtue of a permit issued under the Group Areas Act, in accordance with the conditions of such permit.

If any person failed within the period fixed by the Minister to comply with a direction issued, the Minister might authorize the Secretary of his Department to take such steps as were deemed necessary in order to comply with the direction, recovering the costs from the person concerned. A setting apart or reservation effected by the Secretary would be deemed to be a setting apart or reservation effected by the person in control. The Secretary, or any person authorized by him, would have right of access to any land or other property in charge or under the control of the person who failed to comply with the direction. A certificate by the Secretary as to the costs incurred by him would be conclusive proof of that amount.

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CONTROL OF PUBLICATIONS, AND THE S.A. BROADCASTING CORPORATION
BANNING OF PUBLICATIONS

Every week or so, a further long list appears in the Government Gazette of publications that have been banned. In the Assembly on 23 September1) the Minister of Finance was asked how many imported publications had been held back by the Customs Department since the 1961-2 financial year, and how these had been dealt with. The Minister replied that specific records had been kept only since 1 October 1964, and these did not distinguish between books, periodicals, and newspapers. Between 1 October 1964 and 31 March 1966, the Minister continued, the Customs Department had held back 1,401 titles for scrutiny, and had submitted 927 of them to the Publications Control Board. The Board had declared 399 of
these to be objectionable. The remaining 474 titles had not been submitted to the Board because they were closely similar to publications which had previously been declared objectionable (e.g. "Glamour" magazines imported by private individuals), and had consequently been "seized forthwith" by the Customs Department.

In an article published in the South African Law Journal in mid-1966, Professor Ellison Kahn said that, while many of the banned publications were "meretricious rubbish", numbers were works of library merit, for example 1, Claudius by Robert Graves, Island by Aldous Huxley, and the Studs Loringan trilogy by James T. Farrell.

It seemed, Professor Kahn continued, that the Publications Control Board acted against a book if it contained even one or two passages which frankly portrayed sexual activity. But the world was going through a long-term cultural swing towards frankness and realism. "Even though we may not like this trend in Western culture, we cannot change it-and by isolating ourselves against it, through the censorship of literature, we isolate ourselves from a significant part of world thought and literacy expression. . . . Suppression of a publication has not only the immediate effect on the right to read the prohibited work; it has a depressing effect on writers, publishers, and importers, driving them to excessive caution and indirectly influencing future works".

(1) Hansard 8 cols. 2757-9.
(2) Summarized in the Sunday Times, 4 September.

CONTROL OF PUBLICATIONS
Some of the losses to the South African public as a result of banning orders are mentioned in the chapter of this Survey dealing with recreation; but it is relevant at this point to mention that some books have been prohibited recently for the apparent reason that they deal with inter-racial or political matters and contain conclusions that are not acceptable to right-wing opinion. One, it would seem, that falls into this category is Against the World, by Douglas Brown, published by William Collins. The publishers stated(30) that Mr. Brown, an experienced journalist of repute, had been commissioned to write this work "because a great many of the books that had come out about South Africa in the past had been written from a left-wing point of view. We wanted to get someone who knew South Africa well . . . and who was not identified with the left ... (Mr. Brown) produced a book which even if its conclusions were not to the liking of the South African Government-was eminently fair-minded. . . . He comes to the conclusion that the idea of apartheid is one he cannot respect, but this has always been something which could be discussed up till now".

The vice-chairman of the Publications Control Board denied that this book had been banned merely because it was critical of the Government.

Another book that was banned during the current year was The Late Bourgeois World by Nadine Gordimer, published by Gollancz. In this novel Miss Gordimer attempted to examine, she said, the social influences that produced the wave of young White saboteurs in 1963-4. The characters were shown in all their human weaknesses.(4)
During August, the Board banned a long-playing record of an "Address to the Churches" by Dr. Martin Luther King, which had been produced and circulated in South Africa by two private citizens. By the time it was banned, 1,200 copies had been circulated to churchmen in the country.

Towards the end of 1965, the Board demanded that all films released for public showing by embassy information services in South Africa should be submitted for censorship. It was reported(0) that the Board appeared to be particularly interested in seeing American films dealing with desegregation.

A book entitled White Man, Think Again, by Anthony Jacob, was banned during November, by majority decision of the Board. Several influential people who had read it, including "Dawie" of Die Burger, described it as being violently racialistic-"an uncontrolled anti-Black outburst".

In the March issue of Race Relations News, the Institute of Race Relations published a legal opinion about the possession of

(3) Cape Times, 28 April.
(4) Sunday Times, 26 June.

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banned books and other publications, this opinion being designed to clarify a complicated situation.

"CURRENT AFFAIRS" PROGRAMME OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION

In its annual report for 1965, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (S.A.B.C.) termed its "Current Affairs" programme "the leading article of the air."

As was pointed out in a Rand Daily Mail leader on 6 December 1965, "The S.A.B.C. is a public corporation and a monopoly maintained by public funds in the shape of licence fees which must be paid by everyone who wants to use a radio set. It, therefore, has no right to display political partisanship".

It has been mentioned in previous chapters of this Survey that, although SABRA was permitted to broadcast a commentary on its 1965 Congress, the Institute of Race Relations was refused permission to broadcast impressions of its Council meetings. The Most Rev. Denis E. Hurley, O.M.I., was twice refused time on the air to reply to attacks made on him in the "Current Affairs" programme, and the Christian Council of South Africa was denied any opportunity of refuting charges made about the policy of the World Council of Churches.

Similarly, in May, the S.A.B.C. rejected an application by NUSAS for time on the air to reply to allegations made against it in the "Current Affairs" programme.

Towards the end of 1965, the anonymous writer of this programme conducted a sustained attack, over the best part of a week, on the Argus Company and two of its newspapers (both English-medium), with the apparent intention of casting doubt on their loyalty to South Africa. On 3 December The Star described these "smear tactics as nothing more than a manoeuvre in a party political campaign".

At its annual congress, held in May, the South African Society of Journalists passed a unanimous resolution to the effect that the S.A.B.C. should be the forum
of public opinion rather than the major propaganda medium for the policies of the ruling political party. Grave concern was expressed at the "vendetta being conducted against certain newspapers-as South African as the S.A.B.C.-because of their opposition to Government policies". It was urged that persons and organizations affected should be allowed the basic democratic right of replying to allegations made against them. (1)

The "Current Affairs" speaker then turned his attention to the Society of Journalists, and asked, "Where do you stand in respect of South Africa?" The Society's president, Mr. Miles

(6) Cape Times, 2 August

(7) Ibid, 9 May.

BROADCASTING

Brokensha, asked for time to reply, but this was refused, the Director of Programmes stating that the broadcast had merely been the S.A.B.C.'s reaction to the Society's attack at its congress, and that the matter would be regarded as closed.

Mr. Brokensha immediately repeated his request, pointing out that, by innuendo, the Society's loyalty had been placed at issue, and that the only way in which it could reply to listeners was through the medium of the S.A.B.C. Nearly a month later the Director of Programmes wrote saying that he had nothing to add to his previous letter. In a Press statement,(8) Mr. Brokensha reaffirmed the Society's loyalty, which had never been questioned, and said, "With this refusal, the attack by the S.A.B.C. becomes a cowardly one".

During May, it was admitted in "Current Affairs" programmes that one of the S.A.B.C.'s purposes was to counter views presented in the English-language Press.(9)

In a private member's motion, Senator J. H. D. E. du Toit (U.P.) moved in the Senate on 23 September,11) "That this House deplores the fact that the Government is using the South African Broadcasting Corporation as a propaganda machine for the National Party".

During the discussion of his Vote in the Assembly, the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs alleged(1) that the English-language newspapers had, over the years, published "slanted news". The "Current Affairs" programme, he said, could "bring home to the English-speaking people of South Africa the true facts in regard to the news".

(8) e.g. Rand Daily Mail, 15 June.

(9) Ibid, 21 May.

(10) Hansard 4 cols. 634 et seq.

(11) 20 September, Hansard 8 cols. 2479-80.

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CONTROL OF PERSONS

RIGHTS OF ARRESTED PERSONS

A memorandum entitled The Power of Arrest and the Rights of Arrested Persons in South Africa was prepared for and published by the Civil Rights League during
January. Copies were duplicated and distributed by the Institute of Race Relations.!

DETENTION UNDER THE "180-DAY" CLAUSE
This matter is dealt with in the next chapter.

CONTINUED DETENTION OF MR. R. M. SOBUKWE
The Suppression of Communism Amendment Act, No. 8 of 1966, extended until 30 June 1967 the provisions of the Act under which the Minister of Justice may order the continued detention of a person who has served a term of imprisonment for a political offence but, in the Minister's opinion, is likely, if released, to further the achievement of any of the objects of communism.

Mr. Robert Sobukwe, former leader of the Pan-African Congress, continues to be the only person detained under this measure. His fourth year of detention commenced in May 1966. The Minister said in the Assembly on 2 February(2) that P.A.C. refugees abroad still regarded Mr. Sobukwe as their leader, and from time to time attempted to revive the organization in South Africa.

BANISHMENT OF AFRICANS
Section 5(l)(b) of the Native Administration Act of 1927 empowered the State President, whenever he deems it expedient in the public interest, without notice to order any tribe, portion of a tribe, or individual African to move to any stated place. When such orders are issued, they are for indefinite periods.

In the Assembly on 9 August and 14 October,(3) the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that 39 banishment orders were then in force. Six had been issued during 1965, and one so far in 1966. Sixteen orders were withdrawn on 9 February.

According to a Press statement,(4) an official of the Minister's (1) RR. 44/66.
(2) Hansard 2 col. 567.
(3) Hansard 2 col. 390, Hansard 11 col. 4229.
(4) Star, 19 July.

EMERGENCY REGULATIONS IN THE TRANSKEI
Department said in July that these orders were reviewed annually, or, on request, at intervening dates. During recent years it had been found possible to withdraw 59 orders, while others had been allowed to lapse or had been conditionally withdrawn. (Some people have died in exile, and other banished people have escaped and left the country.) Banished persons had not necessarily committed any offence, the official continued. The criterion was whether their presence in their home area gave rise to dissension and was, consequently, detrimental to good government.

On 23 September() the Minister was questioned in the Assembly about some individual banished persons. It transpired that the man who has been longest in exile is Mr. Paulus Mopeli, who was banished from the Witzieshoek Reserve in 1952 after disturbances had taken place there. He was originally sent to a Trust farm in the Groblersdal district, two years later was moved to another farm in that district, and since 1957 has been at Frenchdale, a remote Trust property in the Mafeking area. He is an elderly man, not in good health. Another exiled old man,
more than 80 years of age, is Mr. William M. Sekhukhune, who was banished from Sekhukhuneland in 1959 and sent to the barren farm of Driefontein, in the Vryburg district.

Conditions of banishment were described on page 93 of the 1961 Survey.

EMERGENCY REGULATIONS IN THE TRANSKEI

Most of the emergency regulations for the Transkei, originally gazetted as Proclamations 400 and 413 of 1960, remain in force. They provide, inter alia, for the detention without trial of Africans suspected of committing an offence, or of intending to do so, or of possessing information about an offence. Chiefs who are specifically authorized to do so may order persons to move from their homes to stated places in the territory. Meetings of more than ten Africans may not be convened without special permission (church services, funerals, etc. are exempt); and it is an offence to say or do anything likely to have the effect of interfering with the authority of the State, one of its officials, or a chief or headman.

During the 1966 session of the Legislative Assembly, members of the Opposition Democratic Party once again called for the repeal of these proclamations. Mr. 0. 0. Mpondo said that for the past six years Africans in the Transkei had been deprived of freedom of expression and assembly. Spokesmen for the Transkeian Government considered, however, that the emergency regulations were still needed to safeguard internal security and peaceful administration. In reply to their remarks, Mr. Mpondo stated it was obvious that the object was, in fact, to stifle opposition to the policy of separate development "so that the outside world will be bamboozled into believing that all is well in the Transkei".

During the debate the Minister of Justice, Mr. G. M. M. Matanzima, said that 62 Transkeian citizens had been detained under these regulations between January and April. Charges had been preferred against three of them.

In the Assembly on 8 February, the Republic's Minister of Justice said that, between 1961 and the end of 1965, 287 Africans had been imprisoned for offences under the regulations: of these, five were still in gaol. He added, on 16 September, that 34 persons were then subject to removal orders, while two others were in the process of being removed from their homes.

BANNING ORDERS AND ORDERS OF HOUSE ARREST

Numbers of persons involved

In statements made in the Assembly on 3 August and 22 September, Mr. Vorster said that the procedure was for banning orders to be imposed by the Minister of Justice, following reports by a committee composed of senior officials of the Department of Police. Just before he relinquished the portfolio of Justice Mr. Vorster said, "If the evidence placed before me indicates that a man is toying with sabotage, or that he is not merely toying with it but that he is involved in such an organization, but the evidence is such that I cannot take him to court.,
what do hon. members expect me to do? Must I sit and wait until he has committed sabotage, or must I prevent it by imposing restrictions on him?"

As at 1 July, Mr. Vorster stated, there were 453 people in South Africa on whom restrictions had been imposed. (Since then, at least 78 more people have been served with banning orders). Altogether, about 237 persons were banned from January until the time of writing, 1 December, and in at least 11 of these cases the notices included orders of house arrest. Several previously-imposed orders were made more stringent. Another 8 persons were "listed" in 1966 in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act. A few banning orders were relaxed to some degree; 18 orders were withdrawn, and the names of 3 people were removed from the "list".

The implications of banning orders and of being "listed", and the types of restrictions that are imposed, were described on pages 38 and 42 of the 1963 Survey.

According to records maintained by the writer, as at 1 December 85 persons have been both banned and "listed" since

(7) Rand Daily Mail, 10 and 24 June.
(8) Star, 8 June.
(9) Hansard 3 col. 1006; Hansard 7 col. 2187.
(10) Hansard 1 col. 96; Hansard 8 cols. 2723-4.

BANNING ORDERS

the Suppression of Communism Act came into force in 1950, while another 632 have been banned, and 402 "listed". Of these people, 10 have died, and 138 or more have left the country. Possibly about 50 of the orders have expired. The Minister said on 30 August(") that 45 orders had by then been withdrawn. Another 15 orders have, since, been withdrawn. About 57 persons have succeeded in having their names removed from the "list".

These records show that of the people who have been banned and/or listed since 1950, 246 are Whites, 101 Coloured, 115 Asians, 652 Africans, while the racial group of the remaining 5 is not known.

Other people have been warned to resist from activities likely to further any of the aims of communism: in most cases they were not told which of their activities were considered possibly to be doing so. According to the Minister, the numbers who have been "warned" are:(12)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

First seven months of 1966 13 4 4 3

On 1 April, in terms of Government Notice R 510, a list was published of the names of 46 people who, after living in South Africa, have gone overseas, and whose sayings or writings may not be quoted in the Republic. Some of them were banned before they left the country. A further name was added later. The list includes writers such as "Bloke" Modisane, Ezekiel Mphahlele, Lewis Nkosi, Ronald Segal, "Can" Temba, and Todd Matshikiza.

Some of the people banned in 1966
Those banned in 1966 included further members of the Liberal Party, for example Miss Ruth Hayman, a Johannesburg attorney who has acted for the accused in a number of political trials. Inter alia, she was subjected to 12-hour house arrest, and prohibited from leaving Johannesburg, from communicating with banned or "listed" persons, and from drafting any document except in her professional capacity. Miss Heather Morkill, the secretary of the Pietermaritzburg branch of the Liberal Party, was banned too; and the orders previously served on Mr. Peter Brown (ex-chairman of the Party) were rendered more severe.

When it became likely that the racially-mixed but predominantly Coloured-occupied area of District Six in Cape Town was to be proclaimed a White group area, a Coloured "District Six Defence Committee" was formed. During 1966, Mr. Abdul Kays and Mr. Abdurahman Hurzak, members of this com-

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966
mittee, were served with banning orders. Mr. Kays's order made it impossible for him to continue his work as a journalist. Four of Cape Town's seven Coloured City Councillors were "warned": Mr. Norman Daniels, Mr. N. Doman, Mr. Gulzer Khan, and Sheik N. Mohammed.

Several Coloured teachers, apparently members of the Teachers' League of South Africa, have been banned and prevented from continuing with their profession: one of them, with a university degree and 26 years' teaching experience, was reported(" to be working as a labourer for 20 cents an hour. Other teachers have been "warned".

According to Mrs. Helen Suzman,(14) the teacher mentioned had been banned on his release from gaol after serving a sentence of six months for refusing to give evidence in court. The Minister of Justice promised to investigate this case if particulars were furnished to him.

As mentioned in the next chapter, several of the people who were detained as witnesses, or potential witnesses, in political trials were served with banning orders, or were "listed", on their release from detention. Others, imprisoned for political offences, were banned on the expiration of their gaol sentences. Among these were Dr. C. Gazides (mentioned on page 65 of the 1965 Survey) and numbers of ex-members of Poqo (the militant wing of the P.A.C.), who were banned for two years instead of the usual five. The Minister said('5) that the object was to "keep an eye on them in order to prevent any further acts of violence". (In terms of their orders, these persons were, presumably, required to report regularly to the police.) On 16 September the Minister added&16) that 154 of the persons then under orders of restriction had served sentences of imprisonment for political offences.

In the Assembly on 14 October,(17) Mrs. Helen Suzman pointed out that most of these people had been convicted of comparatively minor offences. On release from gaol, those who had previously lived in urban areas were endorsed out and sent to a Reserve where they had possibly never lived before. Because of the banning orders placed on them, they were unable to leave these areas, and there
was usually no means of livelihood for them there. She read a letter from One of these men, with a family to support and taxes to pay, who had no income, yet was required to travel once a month, by bus, to report at a police station 25 miles away.

The Minister replied that if people found it troublesome to report at a certain place, "representations can be made".

(13) Cape Times, 28 September.
(14) Assembly, 14 October, Hansard 11 cols. 4247, 4264.
(15) Assembly, 3 August, Hansard 1 col. 95.
(16) Assembly, Hansard 7 col. 2211.
(17) Hansard 11 cols. 4246, 4264.

BANNING ORDERS

Mrs. Helen Joseph was the first person to be placed under house arrest (in October 1962).(18) Early in 1966 her banning orders were extended, inter alia, prohibiting her from entering any building which housed the offices of an organization that produced any publication or the offices of an employees’ association. As there was a trade union office on another floor of the building where she was employed as a medical social worker, her employers found it necessary to dismiss her. Mrs. Joseph was also prohibited from playing any personal part in the production of any publication. Her book Tomorrow's Sun was in the process of publication by Hutchinson in England: as Mrs. Joseph's writings cannot be quoted in South Africa, this book may not be distributed here.

The writer Miss Mary Benson was served with similar banning orders: she decided to leave the country on an exit permit (which prevents her from returning).

Other banning orders which were extended during the year were those previously served on Mrs. Winnie Mandela. Further people were forced to give up their employment, among them Mr. Charles Channon, a T.V. cameraman, and Mr. T. M. Ntongana, a chemistry lecturer at Fort Hare. Mr. Stephen Gowa had to relinquish a post-graduate scholarship that had been offered to him at Trinity College, London.

The bans imposed on Mr. Cunick Ndamse, the Transkeian educationalist, on the Field Officer of the Institute of Race Relations, Mr. J. C. M. Mbata, and on Mr. Ian Robertson, the then president of NUSAS, and the subsequent partial relaxation of these bans, are described in other chapters of this Survey.

 Prosecutions for failure to comply with the terms of banning orders

Mr. Stephen Tobias was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for attending a social gathering, which he had been forbidden to do. He had previously received a suspended sentence for a similar offence. As mentioned on page 79, Mr. Zollee Malindi was gaoled for three months for having met another banned person on three occasions.

Among others who were prosecuted were Dr. G. M. Naicker for having invited Mr. and Mrs. Paton to dinner and for failing to notify his change of address; Mr. N. T. Naicker for having left Durban briefly; Mr. Frederick Neill for not telling
the police that he had moved his home; Mrs. Diana Schoon for failing to notify changes of address; Mr. M. Masango for failing one day to report to the police; Mr. E. Cindi for having visited another African township; and Mr. S. Chiyi and Mr. John Ferris. Dr. Naicker was sentenced to fourteen months' imprisonment, (18) See 1962 Survey, page 48.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966
leave to appeal being granted. In most other cases the sentences imposed were not heavy ones. Mr. Ferris had the heaviest-of two years (twenty months suspended). Mr. Cindi was sentenced to fifteen days, Mrs. Schoon to two years, all but ten days suspended, Mr. Chiyi to one year, all but seven days suspended; Mr. Masango to one year, all but four days suspended; and Mr. Neill to one year, all but one day suspended.

Mr. Sulliman M. Nathie, arrested for having invited two friends to his home to discuss preparations for his daughter's wedding, was found guilty of attending a social gathering and was sentenced by a magistrate to six months suspended for two years. His appeal to the Supreme Court failed, but it was allowed by the Appellate Division. The Judge found that the type of gatherings which Mr. Nathie had been forbidden to attend should be held to mean those at which the minds of those present were directed to some concerted action. It had not been established that such action had been planned at the meeting held to discuss wedding preparations.

Between 8 February and 7 October, seven persons subject to restrictions were prosecuted for failure to report at police stations.10) General statements on bannings and detentions
In a statement issued in September,01) the Institute of Race Relations said it "is in full accord with the right of the Government to take such steps as are necessary to safeguard the state from communist or other subversion. It accepts that the Government must be watchful and alert."

"The Institute, however, is of the opinion that the Government has not demonstrated that the powers it has assumed do not exceed those required to deal with the danger. In default of such evidence, the Institute believes that the Government has unduly interfered with those established rights of the individual which should prevail in a society which claims to respect the standards of western civilisation. The Institute considers that, in by-passing the ordinary judicial process, the Government is not only undermining a basic bulwark of our western democratic society but is, at the same time, strengthening in the world at large an undesirable image of South Africa. The Government is substituting arbitrary action and arbitrary imprisonment for those recognised and accepted judicial procedures which are essential features of western civilisation.

"The Institute calls on the Government to restore to their rightful place the courts of our land and allow them, on the basis

(19) The Fr'end, 5 March; Sunday Times, 13 March.
(20) Minister of Justice, Assembly 7 October. Hansard 10 col. 3809.
(21) RR. 103/66.
TRAVEL DOCUMENTS

of evidence presented, to convict or discharge those on whom the Government at present imposes arbitrary bans and detentions.”

Demonstrations arranged by the Black Sash against bannings, banishment, and detentions without trial are mentioned in an earlier chapter.

Addressing the annual conference of the Methodist Church on 24 October, its president, the Rev. Robert Bellis, criticised the "spate of bannings", and pleaded for fair trial, in camera if necessary.

TRAVEL DOCUMENTS

When questioned about applications for passports, the Minister of the Interior gave the following information in the Assembly on 12 August:

Applications Documents Documents 1965 made granted refused
All races except Indians 106,949 106,783 166
Indians 8,052 8,021 31
First six months of 1966
All races except Indians 50,833 50,728 105
Indians ..........3,988 3,938 50
Some of those who were refused passports applied for permanent exit permits.

According to the Minister(23) the following numbers of exit permits were granted:

Whites Coloured Asians Africans
1965 .......... 21 7 1 8
First six months of 1966 . 11 6 3 1

Later,(24) the Minister said that when applications for passports or visas were considered, the criteria taken into consideration were the extent to which the interests of South Africa were concerned in the matter, whether the relationships between the Republic and the country to which the applicant wished to go would be promoted or prejudiced, and whether the applicant should be protected against himself.

Among non-whites who were granted passports during 1966 were Mr. T. W. Kambule, the principal of Orlando High School, Mr. 0. Kunene, a newspaper editor, the Rev. S. G. S. Ntoane of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church, Mr. Basil Arendse, a personnel officer, Mrs. Irene Thebehali, a teacher, and two African nurses who wished to take post-graduate courses.

Some of the non-whites who were refused passports were Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of the Zulu Royal House and Mr.

(22) Hansard 2 col. 620.
(23) Assembly, 5 August, Hansard 1 col. 264.
(24) Assembly, 16 September, Hansard 7 col. 2244.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966

Knowledge Guzana, leader of the Opposition in the Transkei, who had been invited to visit America on State Department foreign leader exchange grants. The Rt. Rev. A. H. Zulu was debarred from attending a conference in Geneva sponsored by the World Council of Churches; the Rev. C. S. McBride and Mr. C.
C. A. Loriston were prevented from accepting an invitation by the British Government to visit England; and the Rev. T. S. N. Gqubele and Mr. Joseph Mkhalib was stopped from going overseas for study purposes. Of those who decided to leave during 1966 under permanent exit permits, at least 25 were people who had been listed or banned or had figured in political trials. A few were students, and some others were non-white people who were dissatisfied with conditions in South Africa, for example Mr. Hadji O. Cassem, who is reported(25) to have said that the Group Areas Act had ruined his business as an interior decorator, since he had been separated from his clients. Numbers of Coloured people, including teachers, are stated (26) to have gone to start new lives in Canada.

Some of the prominent people from overseas who were granted visas to visit South Africa were Senator Robert Kennedy; the British trade union leaders Mr. Fred Hayday and Mr. Walter Hood; an American Negro bishop, the Rt. Rev. H. L. Bryant; and the ex-South African cricketer, Mr. Basil D'Oliviera. But no journalists from overseas were allowed to come to South Africa during Senator Kennedy's visit; and visas were denied to two American trade union leaders, Mr. Lewis Carliner and Mr. Kenneth Robinson. Dr. Martin Niemöller was kept waiting for some months for a reply to his application, but was eventually allowed to come to South Africa.

Others who were refused visas included Dr. Martin Luther King, Professor Gwendolen Carter, two newsmen from Holland who wanted to record material on the Christian Institute, the Rev. A. H. van den Heuvel, executive youth secretary of the World Council of Churches; and a party of 18 students from Western College for Women in Ohio (one of their number was a Negress). Deportation orders were served on Mr. Anthony Eastwood (the son-in-law of Mr. Abraham Fischer), on the advertising copy writer Mr. John Clark, and on Mr. David de Keller on his release from gaol after imprisonment for a political offence. As mentioned in an earlier chapter, Mr. Alan Brooks, too, was required to leave the country. Several further orders were served during October and November, for example to a Dutch-born trade unionist, Mr. B. E. Kok, who had worked among Coloured people in the Cape.

(25) Cape Times, 1 September.
(26) Rand Daily Mail, 9 February.
was not renewed was the Rev. R. L. W. Ritchie, a Canadian priest who had worked among the Coloured people of Bloemfontein.

### A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966

#### POLITICAL TRIALS AND DETENTION UNDER THE '180-DAY' CLAUSE

#### NUMBERS OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

In reply to various questions in the Assembly, the Minister of Justice gave the information that follows, relating to arrests and convictions under provisions of the law concerning the safety of the State.

In regard to persons sentenced to imprisonment, the Minister said that figures relating to the first six months of 1963 were not available. With this exception, statistics from the beginning of 1960 until 30 June 1964 were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>774</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 July 1963 to 30 June 1964</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>942</td>
<td>966</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During 1965, those arrested were 11 Whites, 9 Coloured persons, 2 Indians, and 478 Africans: a total of 500. Of these, 167 were released without trial, 208 were convicted, 30 were found not guilty, and 95 were awaiting trial in February 1966. Of the persons released without trial or found not guilty, 95 had been in detention for longer than three months.

Nine of them were subsequently re-arrested and two were then found guilty.

In the year ended 30 June 1965, the numbers convicted under these laws were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1,176</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Persons released from prison, who had been convicted under the security laws, were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) 1 February, Hansard 2 cols. 464-6; 4 February, Hansard 2 col. 745; 12 August, Hansard 2 col. 627; 7 October, Hansard 10 col. 3805.


(3) Presumably under the '90-day clause'. See 1964 Survey, page 59.

#### POLITICAL TRIALS

Of those persons who were released from the beginning of 1964 until 30 June 1966, 66 were re-arrested, and all but one of them were then convicted.
Replying to a further question, on 20 September, the Minister of Justice stated:
that the following numbers of people were then serving sentences of
imprisonment for political offences:
(Column 1 refers to the Suppression of Communism Act
2 Unlawful Organizations Act
3 Public Safety Act
4 Section 21 of the General Laws Amendment Act of 1962-i.e. sabotage)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White men</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White women</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured men</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured women</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian men</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African men</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>443</td>
<td>637</td>
<td>1,213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African women</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,310</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

RELEASE FROM GAOL OF EX-STUDENTS

Among four ex-students who were released from gaol, in each case before their
sentences had expired, were Miss Stephanie Kemp and Mr. Alan K. Brooks, two
young students who were convicted during 1964 for having been members of the
African Resistance Movement. Both had instituted actions for damages against
the Minister of Justice and two members of the Security Branch for alleged
assaults while they were under 90-day detention, prior to their trials.

Miss Kemp had claimed R2,000. During July, this action was withdrawn after the
State agreed to pay her R1,000, with costs. According to the Minister, this
payment was made in full settlement of all claims, and was negotiated "without
admitting any liability and to put an end to the litigation". Miss Kemp asked her
attorney to keep the R1,000 in trust to be used for assisting people accused of
political crimes with their legal expenses. She left South Africa on an exit permit.

Mr. Brooks had demanded R4,000 damages. His case, too, was settled out of
court (it was not publicly announced what the

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966
terms of the settlement were). While in gaol, he was called as a witness at Mr.
Fred Carneson's trial. Mr. Brooks is a British citizen, and was released from
prison on condition that he -left South Africa immediately.

Two other ex-students who were sent to gaol in 1964 and have been released
before their sentences expired are Mr. Antony A. Trew (sentenced to four years-
two suspended-for membership of an unlawful organization), and Mr. David de
Keller (sent to prison for ten years for sabotage). On release, Mr. de Keller was
deporated, and Mr. Trew left on an exit permit.

SOME SUCCESSFUL APPEALS
It was mentioned on page 66 of last year's Survey that Miss Sylvia Neame had been sentenced in the magistrate's court at Humansdorp to four years' imprisonment for alleged A.N.C. activities. In March, the Supreme Court in Grahamstown allowed her appeal and set aside her conviction and sentence.7 Another conviction that has been quashed is that of six months' imprisonment, imposed on Mrs. Pixie Benjamin for possessing some old copies of the banned journal Fighting Talk.8

In September 1965, Miss Sheila Weinberg was sentenced by a magistrate to eighteen months' imprisonment when she was found guilty of painting on a bridge the letters "A.N.C." and an emblem. On appeal, twelve months of this sentence was suspended.

Other successful appeals during the year under review are mentioned later, in paragraphs dealing with the trials concerned.

THE "180-DAY" CLAUSE

The terms of the "180-day" clause (an insertion of Section 215 bis in the Criminal Procedure Act of 1955 as amended) were described on pages 35 and 47 of the 1965 Survey. Briefly, the clause provides that whenever in the opinion of the attorney general there is any danger of tampering with or the intimidation of any person who is likely to give material evidence for the State in specific categories of criminal proceedings, or that any such person may abscond, or whenever the attorney-general deems it to be in the interests of such person or of the administration of justice, he may issue a warrant for the arrest and detention of such person.

The witness will be detained, in accordance with regulations made by the Minister of Justice, until the conclusion of the criminal proceedings concerned, or for six months, whichever may be the shorter period.

(7) Star, 31 March.
(8) Sunday Times, 16 January.

POLITICAL TRIALS

NUMBERS DETAINED

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 1 August,(9) the Minister said that the following numbers of persons had thus far been detained under the "180-day" clause.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Questioned again on 7 October, the Minister refused to give figures relating to persons detained since August, on the ground that he did not consider it to be in the public interest to disclose this information. Some of the more important criminal cases for which detainees were required as witnesses are described in the pages that follow. They were not all "political" cases. Some of those detained were held for a few days only, and released before the relevant cases were heard in court.
SOME CASES IN WHICH DETAINED PERSONS WERE CALLED UPON TO GIVE EVIDENCE

Trial of Mr. Abraham Fischer

It was mentioned on page 64 of the 1965 Survey that on 26 August 1964 Mr. Abraham Fischer, Q.C. and thirteen others were charged with having furthered the aims of the Communist Party. Mr. Fischer was allowed out on bail, but, on 25 January 1965 he disappeared and went into hiding. On 2 November of that year, by a Court decision, he was struck off the roll of advocates; and on 11 November 1955 the police recaptured him, in disguise. Mr. Fischer appeared in the Johannesburg Regional Court on 26 January 1966, for a preparatory examination of the allegations against him.

Various people who had been under 180-day arrest since mid-November were called upon to give evidence for the State, among them Dr. Raymond Milindton, who was released from detention early in December. She testified that Mr. Fischer had, during 1965, lived for a time in a cottage on her property, but she then had no idea who he was and seldom saw him.

Mrs. Lesley Schermbrucker, an alleged co-conspirator with Mr. Fischer, refused to give evidence, was found guilty under the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Act relating to recalcitrant witnesses, and was sentenced to 300 days' imprisonment.

Evidence for the State was, however, given by other persons who had been detained under the 180-day clause, among them Commissioner Hansard, Mr. M. Naidoo, Mr. M. Ishmail Dinath, and Mr. Bartholomew Hlapane. On 2 February, Mr. Fischer was committed for trial.

He was charged with one count of sabotage, six counts of contravening the Suppression of Communism Act, six counts of fraud, and two counts of forgery and uttering. Numbers of co-conspirators were named in the indictment, among them people who were serving prison sentences or had fled the country.

During Mr. Fischer’s trial in the Supreme Court, Pretoria, the defence admitted much of the evidence, tendered by the State. Among those who gave evidence against the accused were Mr. Hlapane and two men who had appeared in the earlier trial, at the time when Mr. Fischer was originally charged: they were Mr. Gerald G. Ludi, a secret agent who had infiltrated into the Communist Party, and Mr. Petrus Beyleveld, an ex-Communist Party member who turned State witness. Mr. Fischer was found guilty on the nine main charges and on certain of the others. The court was satisfied, the judge said, that the State had established beyond a reasonable doubt that the accused, personally and by being a member of the Communist Party, had conspired with the African National Congress and Umkonto we Sizwe to aid and procure the commission of and to commit acts of sabotage. It was common cause that he had acted as chairman of the Party’s Central Committee. His activities had constituted a very serious threat to the safety of the State. Mr. Fischer was sentenced to life imprisonment.
At the conclusion of the case, witnesses who had been held under the 180-day clause and had given evidence for the State were released from detention. Miss Tucker's name was "listed": she left the country during August on an exit permit. Mr. Beyleveld and Mr. Naidoo remain "listed" and subject to banning orders which had been imposed before the trial.

Trials of Mr. Fred Carneson and Mr. Zollie Malindi
After a period as a 180-day detainee, Mr. Fred Carneson appeared in a magistrate's court in Cape Town, during January, on charges of sabotage and Communist Party activities, and was committed for summary trial. This commenced at the end of March. In December and January, numbers of people were detained by the police under the 180-day clause, apparently as potential State witnesses in this case. They included Mrs. Brenda Mercorio (who was released before the trial commenced), Mr. Alfred Aronstam, Mrs. Caroline de Crespigny, Mr. Simon Egert, Mr. Eric Flegg, Mr. Bernard L. Gosschalk, Mr. Bernard Huna, Miss Gillian
(11) Star report, 4 May.
(12) See 1964 Survey, page 25 and 26

POLITICAL TRIALS
E. Jewell, Mr. Alexander la Guma, Mr. Zollie Malindi, Miss Amy Rietstein, and Mr. Albert L. Sachs. In the event (Mr. Carneson having pleaded guilty to some of the charges against him) most of them were not called upon to give evidence, and they were released from detention at the end of April. Mr. Malindi and Mr. Huna were then immediately arrested on charges of having been members of the banned African National Congress and having furthered its aims. (Mr. Malindi was, later, acquitted.) Mrs. de Crespigny was arrested, too, but the charge against her was withdrawn.
Miss Jewell, Miss Rietstein, and Messrs. Huna, la Guma, and Sachs had previously been subject to banning orders: such orders were imposed, after their release, on Mrs. Mercorio and Messrs. Egert, Flegg, and Gosschalk.
Mr. Gosschalk's allegations of illtreatment during his detention are mentioned later.
Soon after their release, Mrs. de Crespigny, a British citizen, returned home, and Miss Jewell and Messrs. Egert, Gosschalk, la Guma, and Sachs left South Africa on exit permits.
One of the principal witnesses for the State at Mr. Carneson's trial was Mr. Alan K. Brooks, then serving a prison sentence of four years (two suspended), imposed in 1964 for having been a member of the illegal African Resistance Movement"13) As mentioned earlier, Mr. Brooks was released from gaol soon after the trial on condition that he left the country (he was born in England). His name was "listed".
Mr. Carneson was acquitted on the sabotage charge, but was found guilty of having been a member of the Communist Party, taking an active part in its activities, and having been in possession of certain banned literature. He was sentenced to imprisonment for 5 years and 9 months.
Both Mr. Carneson and Mr. Malindi are banned persons in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act. On 24 November they appeared in the Cape Town Regional Court on three charges of having met one another. Mr. Carneson was acquitted on the ground that in the previous trial he had pleaded guilty to certain charges, and this new one amounted to a splitting of charges. Mr. Malindi, however, was sentenced to three months' imprisonment.

Trial of Mr. Isaac Heymann and Mr. Michael Dingaka

It was mentioned on page 46 of the 1965 Survey that Mr. Heymann was the first person to be detained under the 180-day clause and, during his period of detention, attempted to commit suicide. Three months after he had been apprehended he was called as a State witness in a political trial (that of Mr. Jackson).

(13) See 1964 Survey, pages 71 and 93.

During October 1966, his appeal against this sentence proved successful.

Meanwhile, however, in April, he appeared in the Supreme Court, Pretoria, on charges of having been a member of the Communist Party and of furthering its activities. A co-accused was Mr. Michael Dingaka, who had been detained under the 180-day clause since early in December 1965.

Counsel for Mr. Dingaka pointed out that he was a citizen of Bechuanaland, and said he alleged that he had been kidnapped during a visit to Rhodesia, held in prison there for 29 days, and then handed over to the South African Police. The trial was postponed for about three weeks while discussions were held on a diplomatic level; then, on 27 April, counsel for the State announced that the attorney-general was of the opinion that there was no reason why the trial should not proceed."

Two women who had been under 180-day detention since the previous November and December, respectively, were called as State witnesses, but both refused to give evidence. They were Mrs. Violet Weinberg and Miss Chloe Gama. The State prosecutor called on the court to deal with them as recalcitrant witnesses. The judge replied, however, that he was not prepared to give a decision pending argument by counsel on the interpretation of the relevant section of the law.

Counsel for the defence said that both women would allege, when argument was heard, that statements they had made to the police, which led to their being called as witnesses, had been extracted against their will after prolonged, uninterrupted periods of interrogation. The enquiry into this matter was postponed, the two women were released from detention (having been held for the full statutory period of six months), and the trial proceeded.

Mr. Dingaka refused to plead, on the ground that he first wanted an assurance that the British Government had done everything possible for him; but the judge entered a plea of not guilty on his behalf. Mr. Heymann pleaded guilty of being a member of the Communist Party and taking part in its activities, but not to a further charge. He alleged(5) that the police had offered him various rewards if he
agreed to name and testify against fellow-communists, but both while in prison and during his trial he refused to give evidence which might implicate others. Mr. Heymann was sentenced to five years' imprisonment on being found guilty of being a member and participating in the activities of the Communist Party. Mr. Dingaka, convicted on the same charges and also found guilty of procuring people to

(14) Rand Daily Mail, 28 April
(15) Ibid, 4 May.

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undergo training or obtain information for the Communist Party, the African National Congress, and Umkonto we Sizwe, received a sentence of fifteen years' imprisonment.

Trial of Mrs. Weinberg and Miss Gama
On 18 May Mrs. Violet Weinberg and Miss Gama appeared in the Supreme Court, Pretoria, for an enquiry into their refusal to give evidence. Miss Gama was acquitted when her counsel reported that she had changed her mind on this matter. Mrs. Weinberg's allegations of ill-treatment while under detention, which finally induced her to make a statement to the police, are described later. The judge said that, for purposes of mitigation, he would assume that this evidence was true, and that he would subtract the six months she had spent in detention from the sentence he had intended imposing. He sentenced Mrs. Weinberg to three months' imprisonment, refusing her leave to appeal. However, she was allowed out on bail pending the result of a petition to the Chief Justice for leave to appeal, which petition was granted. Her name was "listed". At the time of writing her appeal has not been heard.

Trial of Mrs. Weinberg and Mrs. Schermbrucker
During August, Mrs. Weinberg and Mrs. Lesley Schermbrucker appeared in the Johannesburg Regional Court on various charges relating to Communist Party activities. As mentioned earlier, Mrs. Schermbrucker was serving a 300 days' prison sentence for refusing to give evidence in the Fischer case. Following discussions between counsel, the State withdrew charges that the two women had been office-bearers or members of the Party, and that they had conveyed messages and money to a representative of the African National Congress. Both women changed their original plea that they were not guilty of participation in the Party's activities. Mrs. Weinberg admitted that she had opened a banking account for Mr. Fischer while the latter was in hiding. Evidence was given by Security Branch officers and by Mr. B. Hlapane, a former Party member who had been a State witness during Mr. Fischer's trial. Both women were sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

Messrs. Rowley Arenstein, Victor Finkelstein, and David Ernst
During December 1965, Mr. Arenstein, who is a Durban attorney, was acquitted in the Durban Regional Court of various charges relating to membership of the Communist Party and participation in its activities. The magistrate considered the evidence given by various witnesses, whose identity was not revealed, to be unsatisfactory.
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In July, however, Mr. Arenstein was arrested. Earlier (in most cases during March) a number of students, ex-students, and others, and some employees of the University of Natal, had been detained under the 180-day clause. They were reported to be Messrs. David Barkham, Dennis Bramsky, Albert Dhlomo, David Ernst, Melville Fletcher, Victor Finkelstein, Stephen Friedlander, Charles Katz, Norman Kessel, John Mateke, Griffiths Mxenge, Fedelius Ngobese, Geoffrey Rudin, and David Sarkin. Miss Pat Lendrum and Miss Jean Cohen were detained, too (whether this was in connection with the same case was not stated). Miss Cohen Mr. Katz, and Mr. Kessel were released after a few days.

Early in July, Mr. Arenstein, Mr. Finkelstein, and Mr. Ernst appeared in the Rand Supreme Court on charges of having been members of the Communist Party and having participated in its activities by helping Mr. Fischer while he was in hiding, handling money on behalf of the Party, passing some of this money to the A.N.C. (through Miss Doreen Tucker), and in various other ways. All pleaded not guilty.

Mr. Dhlomo refused to take the oath and give evidence, for if he did so, he said, he would be a traitor to his people. He told of continuous periods of interrogation by the police. The judge sentenced him to six months' imprisonment as a recalcitrant witness.

Evidence for the State was given by a secret agent of the Security Police, Mr. John Brooks, who had infiltrated into the Communist Party in Durban, by Mr. B. Hlapane (who had been a State witness in the Fischer and Weinberg cases), and by a few of the people who had been under detention, including Mr. Rudin and Mr. Fletcher.

Mr. Rudin admitted to having been a "courier" between Mr. Fischer and Party members in Natal. He too, described periods of continuous interrogation by the police, which had induced him to betray his friends.

On 21 October all three accused were acquitted on the charges of having been members of the Communist Party and of participating in its activities, but were found guilty of furthering the aims of Communism. The judge said that Mr. Arenstein had attempted to extend Communist influence to the Transkei and Zululand. Mr. Ernst had been active in organizing groups of young people in Durban; but Mr. Finkelstein's part had been an exceedingly small one.

Mr. Arenstein was gaol for four years, Mr. Ernst for 22 years, and Mr. Finkelstein (a paraplegic) to 18 months (15 months suspended).

Mr. Arenstein was granted leave to appeal.

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Trial of Mr. M. D. Naidoo

Mr. Mooroogiah D. Naidoo, a Durban advocate, was arrested in June and, next month, was formally indicted on seven charges under the Suppression of Communism Act.

At about the same time, several people were detained under the 180-day clause, including Mr. Jerry Kumalo and Miss Poony Moodley.
At the trial, which commenced in October, evidence for the State was given, inter alia, by Mr. Petrus Beyleveld and Mr. B. M. Hlapane (who, as mentioned earlier, had appeared as State witnesses in several other cases), and also by Mr. Kumalo, Miss Moodley, Mr. Jethro Ndhlovu, and Mr. Jack Govender. According to various reports in the Natal Witness, Miss Moodley appeared to be in a state of some confusion. Counsel for the defence withdrew before the conclusion of the trial because the accused's financial resources had become exhausted.

The judge found the evidence of the key witness for the State, Mr. Ndhlovu, to be unsatisfactory and improbable.

Mr. Naidoo was acquitted of sabotage and on two other counts, but was found guilty of being a member of the Communist Party, of taking part in its activities, of having helped a person on bail to escape from South Africa, and of possessing a banned book.

He was sentenced to five years' imprisonment, and R20 or a further two months. Application was made for leave to appeal.

Some trials that were not of a political nature

Some of the trials in connection with which persons were held as potential witnesses were not of a political nature. Early in the year, for example, at least ten White men and women were detained pending a trial on charges of housebreaking and armed robbery (the Bolus case).

A crime reporter on the Sunday Express, Mr. Gordon Winter, was held in protective custody during a trial at which Mr. L. Bradbury was found guilty of complicity in the murder of Mr. T. Waldeck. (Mr. Winter was, later, deported.) Several people, apparently mainly Indians, were held under the 180-day clause during October and November according to Press reports, in connection with an enquiry into the issuing of false identity documents.(17)

Other detainees

The names of all those who were detained have not been made public; but they included certain African men in Cape Town who were required as witnesses in Pan-African Congress (P.A.C.)

(17) Sunday Express, 30 October and Natal Mercury, 28 October.

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cases (described later). As mentioned in an earlier chapter, alleged African terrorists, arrested in Ovamboland, were brought to South Africa and detained under the "180-day" clause.

COMPLAINTS OF ILLTREATMENT BY DETAINES

During his trial, Mr. Isaac Heymann alleged that during September 1965, while he was under detention, Security Branch detectives twice made him stand for periods of four days. Because of this he suffered a nervous breakdown and tried to commit suicide.(8)

Mrs. Violet Weinberg told a judge of the Supreme Court, Pretoria, that she had been kept awake for three days, being made to stand most of the time, while being interrogated by teams of detectives working in relays. Threats had been made against people with whom she had been in contact, including members of her family. Eventually she "cracked" and made a statement to the police. As
mentioned earlier, Mrs. Weinberg refused to substantiate this statement when she was called upon as a State witness in the Heymann case. The Minister of Justice alleged(19) that although Mrs. Weinberg had, during her period of detention, been visited regularly by a magistrate, she had made no complaints of ill-treatment.

An ex-detainee who gave evidence along similar lines, when called as a witness in the Arenstein case, was Mr. Geoffrey Rudin. He is reported to have said,(20) "I was interrogated non-stop from Saturday night until Wednesday. I was only allowed to sit down after a time, but I had no sleep. . . . I was not able to think clearly at all times. I was told that if I made a statement I would not be charged. After four or five days I made a statement .... I realised I was betraying my friends". Mr. Albert Dhlomo, too, told of prolonged periods of questioning. It appears that those detained were held in solitary confinement between periods of interrogation.

The case that attracted most attention was that of Mr. B. L. Gosschalk. On 3 March his wife, who had been permitted to visit him, submitted an urgent application before a judge of the Supreme Court in Cape Town. Her husband, she said, had been submitted to continuous interrogation by teams of men from his arrest on 27 January until some time on the 31st. No sanitary conveniences had been provided in his cell, and he had not been allowed to wash. When she saw him he broke down. He was dirty, unshaven, had soiled clothing, and was exhausted and bewildered.21)

(18) Rand Daily Mail, 4 May.
(19) Ibid, 21 May.
(20) Sunday Times, 11 September.
(21) Rand Daily Mail, 4 February.

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On 2 February the judge issued an order which operated as a temporary interdict, calling upon Major D. J. Rossouw, the head of the Security Police in the Western Cape, inter alia, to show cause why he should not be restrained from exerting any unlawful pressure on Mr. Gosschalk in the attempt to influence him to answer questions, and should not be restrained from depriving Mr. Gosschalk of any privileges or liberties of an unconvicted person except as expressly provided by law.

On the return date Major Rossouw submitted affidavits by the police, a magistrate, and a district surgeon relating to Mr. Gosschalk's physical condition and the conditions under which he was being detained, and denied that members of the Security Branch had exceeded their rights in regard to powers of interrogation. The interrogation had proceeded with Mr. Gosschalk's consent, he said. Major Rossouw quoted from Congress Alliance and Communist Party documents in his possession which stated, inter alia, "We must throw everything we have into developing the present campaign against the South African gaol system22) into a campaign for the proper treatment of political prisoners and for their early release so that they can play their essential part in solving the problems that face the country."923)
The hearing was postponed, and, meanwhile, the AttorneyGeneral of the Cape refused permission for Mrs. Gosschalk's counsel to have access to her husband. Argument by counsel for Mrs. Gosschalk and for the police was heard on 21 February.

Then, on 24 March, the judge directed that oral evidence be heard on the manner of Mr. Gosschalk's detention, but that this matter be postponed until after the conclusion of the case of the State vs. Carneson. (Counsel for the State had said that this trial could be prejudiced by the hearing of oral evidence before its conclusion.)

Referring, in general, to the position of detainees under Section 215 bis, however, the judge said, 24) "The duties of the police clearly include the investigation of alleged offences.. It seems to me that the performance of this duty would be partially stultified if the police were precluded by law from interrogating a person without his consent....

"The invasion of the rights of the individual necessarily involved in police interrogation must, however, be strictly limited. Obviously they are not entitled, in order to induce a detainee to speak, to subject him to any form of assault or to cause his health or resistance to be impaired by inadequate food, lack of sleep, living conditions, or the like. Nor may they resort to methods of interrogation commonly referred to as the 'third degree'. In this context I understand the term 'third degree' to

(22) See 1965 Survey, pages 78 et seq.
(23) Rand Daily Mail, 9 February.

86 A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966 refer to a severe and prolonged cross-questioning designed to overcome the powers of resistance of the person being interrogated.

"On the other hand, circumstances may well render it perfectly reasonable for the interrogation to be persisted in even though the person concerned refuses to answer questions. Thus the police might wish to exercise a moderate degree of moral persuasion. The difference between this approach and the 'third degree' method is largely one of degree, and the dividing line can only be the criterion of reasonability. The difference is nevertheless a very real one."

PAYMENTS MADE TO DETAINEES

As mentioned on page 36 of last year's Survey, Section 215 bis of the Criminal Procedure Act provides for the payment of allowances to persons detained as potential State witnesses in criminal proceedings.

Those who were detained (whether or not they were called upon to give evidence) were paid the normal State witness fees, less any sums due for "the hire of night accommodation". According to reports.,25) White professional people were paid at the rate of R3 per day; other Whites received R1.50; Coloured and Asian persons and African chiefs or headmen 75 cents; and other Africans 50 cents a day. Mrs. Weinberg, for example, is stated to have been paid R270 for the 180 days of her detention.

ALLEGED PLOT TO KILL PARAMOUNT CHIEF MATANZIMA
During February, seven members of the Democratic Party Opposition in the Transkeian Legislative Assembly were detained by the police under the emergency regulations for the Transkei. Two of them, Mr. Jackson B. Nkosiyane and Mr. C. N. Nogcantsi, were subsequently charged on various counts relating to a plot to murder Paramount Chief Kaizer Matanzima.

During the trial a herbalist, Mr. Wanda Maqabuko (who was warned as an accomplice), said that in June and July of 1965 he had assisted the accused to get into touch with a person called Doubt Mahomed, who demanded R200 for the supply of certain crushed leaves and roots which, he claimed, if buried in the ground, would kill the chief.2’

Evidence was given by certain of the men who had been detained, including Mr. A. M. Raziya who, according to the police, was an accomplice in the plot.

The main evidence, however, was supplied by a special agent of the Security Police, Mr. James Dunne, who said that he had posed as a business-man, had made friends with the accused and

(25) Sunday Times, 3 July.
(26) Rand Daily Mail, 21 April, and terms of indictment.

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others, and had tape-recorded various incriminating conversations that took place between July 1965 and February 1966.

According to Mr. Dunne, the accused stated that they would raise a levy of R200 amongst Thembu tribesmen to pay to someone who was willing to shoot the chief while he was on a visit to the Republic. Fire-arms had been procured. Mr. Dunne arranged for them to meet a man (actually police Warrant Officer B. A. Burger) who, apparently, signified that he was willing to carry out the murder; and advance payments totalling R70 were made to him. It was alleged by the police that the accused had, earlier, tried to persuade three of the men who had been detained to do the killing.27>

Mr. Nkosiyane and Mr. Nogcantsi were found guilty of attempted incitement to commit murder, each being imprisoned for seven years. Leave to appeal was granted, but the appeal was dismissed.

TRIALS IN THE EASTERN CAPE

Numbers involved

Questioned in the Assembly on 12 August,(2”) the Minister of Justice gave figures relating to the numbers of persons in the Eastern Cape who had been brought to trial under laws relating to the security of the State. In 1963, he said, 1,096 were tried; in 1964 there were 318, in 1965, there were 82; and thus far in 1966, the number had been 173.

The 1,669 people involved had been tried in 220 cases, in courts at 19 centres-in Addo, Alice, Aliwal North, Butterworth, Cradock, East London, Elliot, Graaff Reinet, Grahamstown, Humansdorp, King William's Town, Kirkwood, Komga, Lady Frere, Port Alfred, Port Elizabeth, Queenstown, Somerset East, and Uitenhage.

Types of cases
It would appear that the cases heard in recent months fell into three broad categories. Firstly, some related to fairly recently committed and serious offences. In June, for example, three men were found guilty, in a Grahamstown court, of having been office bearers of Poqo (which the State later equated with the P.A.C.), and of conspiring to blow up State and municipal installations in the Middelburg area. They were sentenced to eleven years’ imprisonment, one year of the sentence to run concurrently with the rest.3”
(27) Rand Daily Mail, 23 March and 7 June.
(28) Hansard 2 col. 637.
(30) Evening Post, 24 June.

Secondly, there were numbers of cases in which Africans were tried, apparently for a first time, on charges relating to the A.N.C. or P.A.C. The largest of these trials was that of 56 men who were alleged to have been involved in P.A.C. activities at Steynsburg between March and October of 1965. These men first appeared in court in Cradock, later in Port Elizabeth, and, it seems, their trials were subsequently split, being heard at various centres!31) At the time of writing, the outcome of all these cases is not known. According to Press reports, about 30 men have been found guilty in recent months, in courts in Port Elizabeth and Humansdorp, of having been members of the P.A.C. and participating in its activities. One man was sentenced to 18 months’ imprisonment (12 months suspended); the sentences of the rest ranging from 2 years to 6 years.

It appears, however, that the largest number of recent trials were of Africans who were convicted of A.N.C. activities at the end of 1963 and the beginning of 1964, and, towards the end of their prison sentences (which had averaged 2–years) were brought before the courts again, on fresh charges. Many of them had been imprisoned on Robben Island. It is reported that 154 men and 8 women were involved, most, if not all, having lived in Port Elizabeth townships at the time of their original arrest. Their second trials were held at various centres-Humansdorp, Addo, and Cradock, for example.

Most of these people had been rank-and-file members of the A.N.C. According to various reports(32) many of them were amongst the 74 Africans who were convicted at Graaff Reinet in September 1964 for having been members of the A.N.C. and, in some cases, having carried on the activities of this organization. Others had been convicted of similar charges at Humansdorp or other centres. They were brought from prison to face fresh trials at Humansdorp. The charges related to alleged offences committed at the same time as those for which the men and women were originally convicted. But, at the second trials, a number of charges were based on a single set of facts, and many people were convicted separately on each charge, with the result that the total sentences imposed involved lengthy periods of imprisonment. (If the charges had been treated as one, the maximum sentence which could have been imposed in a regional court would have been 3 years.)
The most frequent charges were (a) contributing to or soliciting funds for the A.N.C.; (b) allowing their homes to be used for A.N.C. meetings; and (c) carrying on the activities of the A.N.C. Mr. Washington Mbongo, for example, was sentenced to 3 years
(31) Rand Daily Mail, 8 February.
(32) e.g. Star, 17 February; Evening Post, 14 March; Eastern Province Herald, 5 September; Contact, September.

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on the first count and 11 years on each of the other two. Mr. Dizon Funyani’s sentences totalled 7 years; and, according to available information, one of the other sentences totalled 5 years, eleven totalled 41 years; and others ranged from 3 to 4 years.
In a number of cases the alleged offences took place at the time of the 1961 bus strike in Port Elizabeth,(33) at the conclusion of which all those implicated paid R15 as admission of guilt.
Some comments on the trials
Large numbers of accused were kept in custody for many months before their cases were heard. Hearings were often commenced in one centre, and, after a delay, resumed elsewhere. Postponements occurred while the police sought witnesses, or when magistrates had other commitments. An example is the trial of ten men who were accused of having participated in A.N.C. activities during the bus strike. According to reports,34) they were arrested in Port Elizabeth in May 1964, appeared in court in Cradock in July 1965, and the venue of their trial was then switched, in turn, to Uitenhage, Port Elizabeth, and Addo.
In the meanwhile, the relatives of men such as these were anxious about their whereabouts. It was extremely difficult for counsel briefed for the defence to keep in touch with their clients or to continue to handle cases that were continually postponed, and the Press found similar difficulties in reporting the outcome of trials.
The identities of State witnesses were often kept secret. Mr. Allister Sparks reported in the Rand Daily Mail on 22 and 23 July 1965, "A number of accomplices have given evidence several times. One, described by a defending advocate as 'a professional witness', has testified against more than 60 associates". While the accused were awaiting trial, and after convicted persons had been sent to gaol, their families suffered great hardship. Organizations such as the Christian Council for Social Action in Port Elizabeth and the Dependents’ Conference in Cape Town gave what help they could, usually involving the payment of rent and, in needy cases, the supply of grocery vouchers, but funds for such work were limited and the number of families needing help was large. Many wives and their children were ‘endorsed out’ of urban areas where they had lived with men who had been imprisoned.
For many months the Defence and Aid Fund arranged for counsel (usually from Johannesburg) to defend accused persons who wanted assistance; but, as
described in the next chapter, this organization was banned on 18 March, when many of the trials were still in progress. After a few weeks the Chief Magistrate (33) See 1961 Survey, page 210. (34) e.g. Rand Daily Mail, 27 November 1965.

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for the area arranged for the pro deo system of defence (hitherto available only to accused appearing on capital charges, who qualified in terms of a means test) to be extended to persons in the Eastern Cape charged with the commission of political offences; and, a few months later, this scheme was applied throughout the country.

It was decided("a) that when a person was arrested on a political charge he would be asked whether he wanted legal representation. If he did, he would be brought before a magistrate. If the magistrate was satisfied that assistance was warranted, he would report to the chief magistrate, in whose discretion it was to ask the local Bar Council or Side Bar Association to appoint counsel for the defence. (Further details are given in the next chapter). In practice, however, very many of the accused were diffident about using these official channels, and were not defended. Successful appeals

Towards the end of 1965, four African men, convicted in the Cradock Regional Court of being members of the P.A.C. and of carrying on its activities, were each sentenced to five years' imprisonment. On appeal to the Supreme Court, Grahamstown, half of the sentence was suspended.36> Another successful appeal to the Supreme Court in Grahamstown was made by ten men who had each been sentenced, in the Port Elizabeth Regional Court, to 4 years imprisonment on two counts arising from their participation in A.N.C. activities at the time of the bus strike. According to the judge, the A.N.C. steered the course of this strike. Pointing out, however, that the men concerned had not played any prominent part, and had already been in custody for two years, the judge reduced the sentences to one year on each count, the sentences to run concurrently .7)

SOME OTHER POLITICAL TRIALS

Early in the year, thirteen African convicts serving sentences at the Baviaanspoort gaol were found guilty of having been members of the P.A.C. and having conspired to steal arms, overcome their warders, and kill Whites. Each was sentenced to three years' further imprisonment.38) On appeal, the sentences of four of the men were reduced to eighteen months. A similar plot was uncovered, later, at the Gamkaspoort gaol in the Cape Town area.(39) During February, three Africans were convicted in Cape Town of having conspired to send people abroad for training in

(35) Sunday Times, 7 August.
(36) Sunday Express, 13 March.
(37) Ibid, 21 August.
(38) Star, 29 March, and Rand Daily Mail, 2 November.
(39) Rand Daily Mail, 20 April.
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sabotage, in order to further the aims of the P.A.C. They received sentences of 20 years, 17 years, and 11 years, respectively.(**)
At a further P.A.C. trial in Cape Town, sentences ranging from 3 years (half suspended) to 6 years were imposed on 17 men found guilty of P.A.C. activities. Four others were convicted on similar charges in Welkom during February, and several more were convicted in Durban.
Miss Gillian Gane, who sought political asylum in Swaziland during 1964,4) was, while living in this territory, granted a South African passport. When attempting to use it to return home she was arrested at the border on a charge of having left the Republic without proper travel documents. A magistrate sentenced her to three months' imprisonment, all but four days suspended, and of these, two days' remission was granted. A five-year banning order was served on Miss Gane during July, which, inter alia, prevented her from continuing full-time university studies.
(40) Ibid, 5 February.
(41) See 1964 Survey, page 77.

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OTHER MATTERS RELATING TO JUSTICE
SOME CRIMINAL STATISTICS
According to the Minister of Justice,O') the daily average of persons in prison during the year ended 30 June 1965 was 56,648 Africans, 12,473 Coloured, 3,070 Whites, and 436 Asians. Of those convicted during the year, 15,954 had sentences of two years or less.
On a subsequent occasion(2) the Minister said that in the year ended 30 June 1966, 139 persons had been sentenced to death, and 70 were executed (50 Africans, 17 Coloured, and 3 Whites). All the death sentences were for murder except for one case of rape, seven of robbery, and three of housebreaking with aggravating circumstances.
In his report for the year ended 30 June 1964, ( the Commissioner of Police stated that during that period, 16,887 persons had been sentenced to corporal punishment, receiving a total of 79,038 strokes.
An amnesty was granted to certain categories of prisoners at the time of the fifth anniversary of the Republic, a total of 18,597 prisoners (including 1,947 women) being released. Those sentenced to periodic imprisonment or to periods of up to four months, who were released unconditionally, numbered 6,745. Others were given special remissions of sentence; but "political" prisoners did not qualify for this.
ASSAULTS BY OR UPON POLICEMEN
In reply to a question in the Assembly on 12 August(4) the Minister of Police gave a full list of crimes for which members of the police force had been convicted over a period of eighteen months. Most of the convictions were for assault: there were 273 instances of this in 1965 and 74 during the first six months of 1966.
The percentages of the total strength of the police force (all races) involved were as follows, the Minister said:

1965 First half of 1966
More serious crime ....... 0.44 0.12
Less serious crime ......... 1.09 0.34

(2) Assembly, 12 August, Hansard 2 col. 616.
(3) R.P. 48/65 page 4.
(4) Hansard 2 cols. 626-7.

JUDICIAL MATTERS CONTINUED
Those convicted of other than petty offences were dismissed, he added. Petty offenders might be reduced in rank.
In subsequent speeches(-) the Minister stated that all alleged offences were referred to the Attorney-General, who decided whether or not legal proceedings should be instituted.
During the 1965-6 year, he said, 1,367 cases were reported of assaults by policemen on members of the public, and 234 convictions resulted. On the other hand, there were 1,700 reported cases of assaults by members of the public on the police, leading to 1,158 convictions. In 1965, the police shot at 172 suspected offenders, killing 70 of them. In the performance of their duties 21 policemen were killed and 1,562 seriously injured.
On 6 February, White and African policemen entered the Flamingo Club in Johannesburg, where some 200 non-white people were having a dance. Reports of what happened were confused, but it appeared that the police had been summoned as reinforcements after an African constable was wounded while trying to arrest a man. The police brought a dog with them, and as a result the people at the dance panicked and stampeded down a narrow staircase. In the rush, ten were killed and eleven hurt.6) At the inquest, held in August, the magistrate stated that the police had not been justified in taking a dog into a crowded dancehall.)

During August, Mr. Ephania Mothopeng sued the Minister of Justice for R5,000, for alleged assaults by the police while he was under 90-day detention during 1963.0) The outcome has not been reported.

CASES ARISING FROM ALLEGATIONS IN THE PRESS ABOUT CONDITIONS IN PRISONS
An account was given in last year's Survey9) of articles that appeared in the Rand Daily Mail and Sunday Times during June and July of 1965. They were based on sworn statements, made by certain warders and ex-prisoners, criticising conditions in various prisons.
The State prosecuted the informants concerned for making false statements. At the time when the 1965 Survey of Race Relations was written, several of the trials were still in progress.
A charge against Dr. Geoffrey Dean of Port Elizabeth was based on a letter by him that had been published in the South African Medical Journal. During February, the State withdrew this charge.
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Mr. Harold Strachan was charged in the Durban Regional Court with having made false statements knowing them to be false, supplying false information about prisoners and prison administration, and, acting in concert with the reporter Mr. Benjamin Pogrund and others, publishing this false information. He was sentenced to 2-years' imprisonment but, on appeal, his sentence was reduced by one year on the ground that some of his statements had not been proved beyond reasonable doubt to have been falsely made.

The trial of Mr. J. A. Theron, which commenced in October 1965, dragged on for more than a year and when argument closed, judgment was reserved until the provisional date of 14 March 1967.
Mr. Pogrund sued the Deputy Attorney General of the Transvaal, Dr. Percy Yutar, for R10,000 in a defamation action arising from remarks made by the latter at the trial of Mr. G. van Schalkwyk; but this action was dismissed with costs.

On page 79 of last year's Survey it was mentioned that a judge of the Rand Supreme Court ruled that portions of a search warrant, which authorized the police to search the offices of the Rand Daily Mail, had been invalid, being couched in terms that were too wide. The police appealed against this ruling to the Appellate Division. Their appeal was dismissed with costs.

The passport of the Editor-in-Chief of the Rand Daily Mail, Mr. Laurence Gandar, which was withdrawn by the Department of the Interior in 1965, was returned to him in October, enabling him to visit the United States to receive the 1966 "Award for Excellence" in the field of communications from the Society for the Family of Man.

FURTHER REPORTS ON CONDITIONS IN PRISONS
As mentioned last year, Mrs. Helen Suzman, M.P., obtained the permission of the Minister of Justice to visit certain prisons in October 1965. She revisited some of these institutions during January. In the Assembly on 7 February she reported that she had been given access to any prisoner whom she wished to meet, and was glad to be able to say that during the interval between her visits improvements had been made, particularly so far as so-called political prisoners were concerned. (The words "political offenders", she said, had been expunged from the prison regulations.) But "those prisoners are still kept under pretty tough conditions", Mrs. Suzman continued.

She described the grading system. D grade prisoners were allowed one visit and one letter each six months; C grade prisoners

(5) Assembly 16 September, Hansard 7 col. 2209; 22 September, Hansard 8 col. 2733; 23 September, Hansard 8 cols. 2759-60.
(6) Star, 7 February.
(7) Star, 18 August.
(8) Rand Daily Mail, 10 August.
(9) Pages 78 to 82.

(10) Rand Daily Mail, 16 June.
(1) Star, 12 September.
JUDICIAL MATTERS CONTINUED

one visit and one letter each three months; B grade prisoners one visit monthly and a letter each fortnight, and A grade prisoners two visits and two letters per fortnight. Most of the White "political prisoners" had been upgraded to the C category, she said.

Mrs. Suzman had found many of the older non-white prisons to be in a very bad condition indeed. Two she had visited were unbelievably overcrowded, with cells accommodating nearly double the number of prisoners for which they were intended. She criticised severely the sanitary arrangements and the facilities for recreation.

In conclusion Mrs. Suzman pleaded for a review of the penal system, offering various suggestions.

While he was Minister of Justice, Mr. Vorster paid several visits to prisons, and it is reported. that conditions have again been improved. Facilities allowed are stated now to be as follows: Grade D-one visit by one person every three months, and during this period, authority to write and receive one letter; Grade C-two visits by one person at a time every three months, and during this period, authority to write and receive two letters;

Grade B-one visit by not more than two people at a time every month, and authority to write and receive two letters per month;

Grade A-two visits by not more than two people at a time every month, and authority to write and receive three letters a month.

"Political prisoners" are allowed to continue their studies, by correspondence.

In a further report, made to the Assembly on 14 October 14) Mrs. Suzman said that most of the White male so-called political prisoners were by then leading what was a reasonably normal prison life in the Pretoria gaol, no longer segregated from other prisoners, and doing productive work in the workshops instead of having nothing to occupy their time but to sew mailbags and to clean their cells. But she understood that a few of them were still subjected to these depressing conditions during the day, although they were allowed exercise periods and could study at night.

The women prisoners did not fare as well, Mrs. Suzman continued. She understood that there were six "political" women prisoners sharing one cell in a prison at Barberton. They were educated people, yet while they were in the C grade their tasks were merely doing laundry. They had, since, been promoted to B grade (whether their tasks had been changed was not stated).

(12) Hansard 3 cols. 966-970.

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(13) Sunday Express, 2 January; and Rand Daily Mail, 20 July.

The point she was making, Mrs. Suzman said, "is that the prison system should not be used to punish further. I would say that the punishment lies in the deprivation of liberty, and thereafter the conditions should be reasonable conditions. I do not expect them to be grade A hotel conditions, but I expect them to be reasonable conditions. I hope that the honourable the Minister will pay a visit to this prison at Barberton and see if something cannot be done to give more suitable work to the women political prisoners."

Conditions in non-white gaols had not improved, Mrs. Suzman said. They were hopelessly overcrowded. She urged the Minister to visit, in particular, the Fort in Johannesburg, the Pretoria gaol, and Modder-B.

During July, the Social Services Association of South Africa arranged a conference on "Positive Aspects of Punishment". Speakers were particularly critical of short-term imprisonment. Numerous constructive suggestions for penal reform were offered.

**CONCERT AND EXHIBITION BY PRISONERS**

On 14 July about thirty prisoners presented a variety concert at the Pretoria City Hall, which was attended by the State President and numbers of other dignitaries. An exhibition of prisoners' handicrafts and other work was on view in the foyer. The event was organized by the prison authorities in conjunction with the Department of Criminology of the University of South Africa, with the object of demonstrating the rehabilitation work carried out.

**TRIALS OF AFRICANS FOR INFLUX CONTROL OFFENCES**

During April, a judge of the Transvaal Supreme Court criticised the practice in the Bantu Commissioner's Court of using prepared duplicated forms containing certain stereotyped evidence, with blank spaces to be filled in at trials of Africans for "pass-law" offences. This was, apparently, done in order to save time. The judge is reported to have said, "I think it would be wise for the department to see to it that presiding officers have sufficient time to take down evidence in the well-established manner used by the magistrates and the Supreme Courts".

This matter arose from an appeal by Mr. M. J. Dube against a sentence imposed on him. Counsel for the State said he had been instructed by the Attorney-General to concede the appeal, as the record supplied on appeal appeared to differ from the record of proceedings in the lower court.(5)

According to the Rand Daily Mail of 30 November, on the previous day a judge of the Supreme Court, Pretoria, set aside an order by a magistrate declaring an African, Mr. J. Nkabindi, to be "idle", and, in doing so, stated that there seemed "to be something casual" about the approach to enquiries into such matters in Bantu Affairs Commissioners' courts.

**COMMUNITY GUARDS IN AFRICAN TOWNSHIPS**

Regulations for the constitution, control, and management of community guards in African townships, and for the appointment, functions and discipline of members of such guards, were published in Government Notice R 1035 of 1 July.
Members will be appointed by Urban Bantu Councils provided that individual appointments are approved by the Bantu Affairs Commissioner and the local commanding officer of the police. The guards will be under the control of the Urban Bantu Council: in certain circumstances such control may be suspended by the Bantu Affairs Commissioner.

The duties of the guards will be to help maintain law and order in their areas. Training under the supervision of the police may be required. Members must obey a lawful command by any policeman.

The members will wear armlets bearing the letters GW/GG. There will be three ranks: main guard, supervisor, and guard. As a general rule, no remuneration will be payable. Guards will not be permitted to carry fire-arms, but while on duty may carry kieries not exceeding four feet long and one inch in diameter, or such other weapons as the local police station commander may stipulate.

AFRICAN JUVENILE DELINQUENTS

According to the issue of Bantu for April, there are now six youth camps (including one for girls) for the rehabilitation of African juvenile delinquents, and three more are to be established.

During 1966, the National Bureau of Educational and Social Research published theses by Mr. J. D. Venter and Mr. J. M. Lotter on the rehabilitation of African and White delinquents.

SOUTH AFRICAN DEFENCE AND AID FUND

The Work of the Fund

An account was given on pages 70 to 74 of last year's Survey of the objects and activities of the South African Defence and Aid Fund, of police raids on its offices, and of the banning orders served on some of its prominent members.

Briefly, the main work of this organization was to provide legal defence for persons alleged to have committed offences because of their political beliefs and who did not qualify for pro deo defence under the State scheme (this was, then, available only to persons facing capital charges). Besides this, in some centres the fund gave assistance to the families of "political prisoners". This work was financed by donations from overseas and from South Africans, the overseas organizations that helped including the International Defence and Aid Fund which was originally established under the auspices of Christian Action in London.

In pleadings handed into court, in the case that is described below, it was stated that as a result of the fund's work, "a very large number of people who were charged with political offences have been acquitted, and large numbers who have been convicted in the court of the first instance have been found not guilty on appeal to the Supreme Court.""

Banning of the Defence and Aid Fund

In terms of Proclamation 77 of 1966, gazetted on 18 March, the Defence and Aid Fund was declared an unlawful organization under the Suppression of Communism Act.
On the same day, the Minister of Justice issued a Press statement through the Department of Information in which he alleged that the British-based Defence and Aid Fund of Christian Action was part of a network of extremist and closely interconnected organizations noted for the vehemence of their hostility towards South Africa. These organizations were supported by the Communist Party, and in some instances had prominent Communists among their office-bearers.

The constitution of the South African body, it was stated, tended to create the impression that it was an independent organization. However, there was sufficient evidence to prove that it was a branch of the overseas organization. It was alleged that the South African Defence and Aid Fund had had connections with the Communist Party, and had used part of its funds to assist the political activities of this Party and of the African National Congress.

Members of the Security Branch raided the offices of the fund and the homes of private persons who at one time or another had been associated with it, in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, Durban and East London, impounding files and documents. Banks were instructed to freeze the fund's accounts. In terms of Government Notice R 485 of 25 March Mr. D. P. Wilcocks, a senior magistrate, was appointed as liquidator of the assets of the fund.

The Minister of Justice said(7) that he had banned the Fund after consideration of a factual report by a three-man committee, one of whom was a senior magistrate. (The Act provides for such a report to be prepared before an organization can be declared unlawful.) All obligations entered into by the fund would be honoured, he added, provided that its assets were sufficient.

Prominent persons closely associated with the fund immediately denied categorically that it was a branch of the overseas body, and that there had been misuse of its money!"s)

Applications made by the Fund to the Courts
The Defence and Aid Fund immediately applied to the Supreme Court, Cape Town, for an order setting aside the proclamation declaring it to be an unlawful organization. It asked that the Minister be ordered to make discovery upon oath of documents relating to the appointment of a committee to prepare a report on the organization.

In a supporting affidavit the fund's chairman, Dr. R. Hoffenberg, contended that in all probability no such committee had been appointed. But even if it had, it should have afforded the fund an opportunity of being heard. The fund's offices had not been investigated by any committee, none of its officials had been questioned, and no documents had been called for. "If any committee did, in fact, make any investigation at all", it was stated, "these investigations could only have been in the nature of one-sided ones, shrouded in secrecy". It was denied that the fund had, at any time, furthered the aims of Communism19)

The Minister of Justice, in a replying affidavit, said(2°) that a committee had been appointed on 13 September 1965. He was under no legal obligation, he stated, to
notify the fund of the committee's appointment. To produce the documents that had been requested would be prejudicial to the public interest. The judge upheld the Minister's arguments. In a similar case, he said, a full Bench had excluded the right to be heard. He refused the application with costs. An appeal against this judgment was heard in the Appellate Division on 13 September. Counsel for the Defence and Aid Fund argued that in banning the fund, the State President had not observed the principles of natural justice. Judgment was reserved; but on 10 November the appeal was dismissed by a majority of three to two judges. In a second application to a full Bench of the Supreme Court, Cape Town, the Defence and Aid Fund and Dr. Hoffenberg maintained that before issuing a valid order declaring the fund to be an unlawful organization, the State President should, in terms of Section 2(2) of the Suppression of Communism Act, have satisfied himself, inter alia, that it professed to be an organization for promoting the spread of Communism, (18) e.g. Cape Times, 21 March. (19) Sunday Times, 1 May. (20) Natal Mercury, 17 May.

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or that one of its purposes was to do so, or that it engaged in activities that would have this effect, or that it was controlled by the Communist Party or was carrying on the activities of this Party. The State President could not reasonably have satisfied himself of any of these things, it was argued. The Minister's exception to this summons was dismissed with costs. As a next step, he was required to file a plea before the matter went to trial.21) This case has not been heard at the time of writing.

OVERSEAS DEFENCE AND AID FUND
Early in 1966 the British-based Defence and Aid Fund was separated from Christian Action and formed into a separate company. The proposed contribution of R20,000 to this fund by the Netherlands Government was mentioned on page 72 of last year's Survey. Later, this government proposed, instead, to pay the money to the United Nations Trust for assisting persons charged under discriminatory legislation in South Africa and for relief for their dependants and for refugees.

LEGAL AID
Voluntary bureaux
During 1937, the Institute of Race Relations initiated a scheme for establishing legal aid bureaux. From 1940, small subsidies were paid by the Department of Social Welfare. A special committee, set up by the Institute to administer these bureaux, decided in 1942 that they should become independent bodies, no longer a department of the Institute, and controlled by local committees which were responsible to the provincial Law Societies. By 1951, voluntary bureaux were operating in Bloemfontein, Cape Town, Durban, Johannesburg, Pietermaritzburg, Port Elizabeth, and Pretoria. In consultation with the Bar Council and the Side Bar Association, means tests were
devised. Officials handled both civil and criminal cases, giving advice, and where necessary and if a prima facie defence existed, endeavoured to obtain the voluntary services of attorneys or advocates.

Because of difficulties in regard to finance and the securing of assistance from legal practitioners, some of the bureaux found it impossible to continue. In 1958 four remained— in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Cape Town, and Durban. In 1961 government subsidies were terminated. All the bureaux except the one in Johannesburg were then forced to close because of inadequate sources of revenue. Some of them had received municipal grants-in-aid and donations from the public;

(21) Star, 5 October.

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but in other centres the provincial Law Societies did not permit this (for example, for some time, in Cape Town).

The Government decision was prompted by an investigation conducted by the Department of Justice, described on pages 323-4 of the 1958-9 Survey. The Department considered that there were omissions and defects in the existing system, and recommended an alternative procedure. In an editorial published in the Star on 30 October 1959 it was stated that the deficiencies and most of the difficulties of the bureaux stemmed from their perpetual lack of funds. Nevertheless, "from time to time there have been outstanding examples of their ability to help an accused person and prevent a miscarriage of justice".

The Johannesburg voluntary bureau finds it difficult to obtain the voluntary services of counsel if a case is likely to be of long duration; hence has seldom been able to help people accused of very serious offences. In any case, "political" cases were handled by the Defence and Aid Fund. But the bureau gives assistance to very large numbers of people encountering legal difficulties: during the past year its Director and staff gave 10,800 interviews (some persons, of course, were interviewed more than once).

The Government's legal aid scheme

The subsidies previously paid to voluntary bureaux ceased when the Government devised its own scheme, which was described in a "Background Memorandum" issued at the time when the Defence and Aid Fund was declared an unlawful organization. In criminal cases where the accused faces a possible sentence of death and is unable to engage his own legal assistance, it was stated, the court appoints an advocate to appear for him on a pro deo basis. The advocate is remunerated by the State on a fixed tariff.

Legal aid boards had been established at all centres where attorneys and advocates were willing to assist. The procedure was for the State to appoint an official as legal aid officer, and for local boards to be established, consisting as far as possible of the magistrate as ex-officio chairman, the Bantu Affairs Commissioner, a representative of the Department of Social Welfare, an advocate, and an attorney. Each board devised its own means test.
Persons wanting help approached the legal aid officer. Should this officer consider that a problem could effectively be dealt with by a government institution or other organization, the applicant was referred there. If the problem appeared to be purely a legal one and if the applicant qualified in terms of the means test, the latter was referred to an attorney whose name was on the roster and whose turn it was to assist. Decisions made by the legal aid officer were reviewed periodically by the board.

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Some criticisms of this scheme
According to an article published in the Sunday Times on 3 April, the Hon. Leslie Blackwell, a former judge of the Supreme Court, said that in capital cases, where the pro deo system of defence was available, the briefs were generally sent to junior counsel who were in the process of gaining experience. They were paid a small nominal fee.
It appears that the officials appointed as legal aid officers were magistrates, and in few-if any-cases were able to give full-time attention to these new duties. Because they were State officials, with offices at magistrates' courts, many people who needed help were hesitant about using these channels. This was particularly so in the case of Africans—for example people who feared that their families might be "endorsed out" of towns if the bread-winner were imprisoned.
Furthermore, it seems that the State scheme for legal aid bureaux was, in many centres, not well-supported by attorneys and advocates. Unless a capital charge was involved, they received no payment for their services; and it was difficult for established practitioners to find the time to take on additional cases, especially "political" ones, likely to be long and complicated.
Reports from various sources indicated that the scheme gained ground, to some extent, in Pretoria and Cape Town (but, in Cape Town, at the time of writing, the Government bureau's scale of operations is stated still to be very far smaller than that of the defunct voluntary bureau there). Many of the applicants who approach the Johannesburg legal aid officer, are, apparently, referred to the independent bureau. In Port Elizabeth, where the need was greatest because of the large number of "political" trials that were in progress when the Defence and Aid Fund was banned, the Government's scheme appeared to have been unknown and unused.
New Government scheme for assisting persons accused of offences with a political background
Early in May, the chief magistrate of the Eastern Province area of the Cape arranged that persons of all races who were accused of offences having a political background, in whatever type of court they were to appear, should be entitled to pro deo defence at the State's expense. On arrest, such persons would be asked whether or not they wanted legal representation. If they did, they would be asked to complete a form, and would then be brought before a magistrate, who would submit his recommendations to the chief magistrate. The chief magistrate would

(22) Sunday Times account, 7 August.
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employ no pre-determined means test, but, if he decided that legal assistance was warranted, would ask the local Bar Council or Side Bar Association to nominate members to assist the accused. Lawyers who agreed to do so would be paid at the nominal pro deo rates (plus out-of-pocket expenses).

It was announced, during August, that this scheme was immediately to be extended throughout the country.

In the event, very many of the people (particularly Africans) who appeared in criminal trials in regional courts did not avail themselves of this scheme. (It was, apparently, used to a greater extent by accused persons in Supreme Courts trials). In consequence, large numbers of those who were accused were not defended: a high proportion of them were people who had been brought to court after long periods of detention, and were ill-educated and ignorant of court procedure. It seemed that, even if they could overcome fears of "officialdom", many thought that the State would appoint junior, inexperienced, counsel. They had not realized that counsel would be nominated by the profession itself.

On 14 October, the Minister of Justice announced in the Assembly(3) that the whole question of legal aid was receiving the Government's attention. He added that the State could not grant such aid "under all circumstances to all accused persons".

Dealing with the defence of persons accused of political offences, the Minister said that the pro deo system had been extended to them as a temporary measure, during a transition period, since certain moneys previously possessed by the banned Defence and Aid Fund were still available. "As soon as the arrangements which have been made in this connection have served their purpose I will give instructions for them to be withdrawn. To that I want to add . . . that this will be done as soon, and not before, as alternative arrangements are made".

Some recommendations for improving the system of legal aid

Three points would appear to emerge--(a) that any Statecontrolled scheme (particularly in prevailing circumstances in South Africa) is suspect; (b) that it is unfair to expect experienced legal practitioners to give free services or to accept merely nominal remuneration; and (c) that the average wage-earner (unless accused of a capital or "political" offence) can derive no benefit from the existing system of legal aid. No provision is made in South Africa-as it is in numbers of overseas Western states-for persons who have incomes just in excess of a means test (whether rigid or discretionary) to pay part of the costs of legal actions, receiving some assistance from other sources.

(23) Hansard 11 cols. 4266, 4289.

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At a meeting of the General Council of the Bar, held in June, it was decided to recommend to the Minister of Justice that a judicial commission of enquiry be appointed to re-examine the whole question of legal aid in South Africa.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS
FOREIGN AFFAIRS
CONSIDERATION BY THE UNITED NATIONS OF
SOUTH AFRICA'S RACIAL POLICIES

Membership of the United Nations

During 1966, Guyana, Botswana, Lesotho, and Barbados were admitted to the United Nations, bringing the total membership up to 122. Of these, 38 are African states, the AfroAsian bloc is reported to number 63, and the Latin-American group 22.

General Assembly's Special Committee on Apartheid

It was decided at the end of 1965 that the membership of the previously eleven-member Special Committee on Apartheid should be increased, six nations from among the major industrialized countries to be invited to join it. (The members appointed in 1963 were Algeria, Costa Rica, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, Malaysia, Nepal, Nigeria, the Philippines, and Somalia.)

It was reported in June(1) that the Soviet Union had agreed to become a member, Denmark and Italy gave qualified consent, but fifteen countries had declined to join: the Argentine, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Ceylon, France, Japan, Mexico, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Canada had, by then, not replied to the invitation.

In a report published in June, the committee accused South Africa's major trading partners of encouraging the Republic, through their economic support, to defy United Nations' resolutions relating to the abandonment of the apartheid policy. In a further report, issued in October, universal economic sanctions were again urged.

At the committee's request, the United Nations' Secretariat prepared a report on the South African economy and the country's overseas trade. This formed part of the background material for a conference held in Brazilia during August and September, which, at the General Assembly's request, was organized by the Secretary-General in consultation with the Special Committee and the Human Rights Commission. Some thirty countries sent delegates. According to reports,(2) the conference was

(1) Rand Daily Mail, 30 June.
(2) Rand Daily Mail, 6 September.

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unanimous in condemning apartheid, but was divided on the question of whether South Africa's policies constituted a threat to world peace.

United Nations' resolutions on South Africa's racial policies

During December 1965 the Afro-Asian nations submitted a draft resolution to the United Nations Special Political Committee in one paragraph of which they maintained that the situation in South Africa, constituting a threat to world peace, should be dealt with under Article 7 of the Charter, mandatory sanctions then being imposed. The United States, Britain, and certain other countries opposed this paragraph. The remainder of the motion was along lines similar to those adopted in previous years, calling upon South Africa to revoke all discriminatory and repressive measures, asking member-states to impose a total arms embargo,
and urging the Republic's major trading partners to cease all economic collaboration. South Africa's delegates absented themselves from the proceedings. The motion as a whole was passed by 78 votes to one, with 16 abstentions. It was then referred to the General Assembly, where it was passed by 80 votes to 2 (South Africa and Portugal), again with 16 abstentions, including the major Western powers, most of the Western European nations, Japan, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Denmark and Sweden voted in favour of the motion, but made it clear that they did not support all of its provisions.

The United Nations Social Committee met during October 1966, adopting various resolutions with averages of 79 in favour, 2 against, and 19 abstentions. These resolutions condemned the violation of human rights in colonial territories; expressed regret at the failure of many states to sever political, economic, and military ties with South Africa, Portugal, and Rhodesia; urged diplomatic and economic sanctions against South Africa and a total arms and oil embargo; requested the Secretary-General to establish within the Secretariat a special unit to deal with apartheid policies; and appealed to the Security Council to take effective measures to eradicate discriminatory racial policies in South Africa, Portuguese territories, and Rhodesia.

At the time of writing, these resolutions have still to be put before the Special Political Committee.

Warning to South Africa against interference in the affairs of neighbouring territories
During August, the Afro-Asians sponsored a motion in the Trusteeship Committee which expressed concern at the serious threat to the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Basutoland and Bechuanaland (which were to be granted independence the following week) and of Swaziland, this threat being constituted by "the aggressive policies of the present regime in South Africa". Any attempt by the Republic to interfere in the affairs of these territories "shall be declared by the United Nations to be an act of aggression, and . . . a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter", it was stated.

The South African Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr. Matthys Botha, pointed out that no evidence had been presented in support of allegations of intended interference, and that the three countries concerned reciprocated South Africa's desire for peaceful co-existence.

The motion was passed in the Trusteeship Committee by 82 votes to 2 with 15 abstentions, and subsequently, in the General Assembly, by 84 votes to 2 with 19 abstentions.

UNITED NATIONS TRUST FUND FOR SOUTH AFRICA
In 1963 the General Assembly asked the Secretary-General to institute a scheme for the provision of international assistance for the families of persons "persecuted
for their opposition to apartheid". It was suggested that, pending the conclusion of other arrangements, member-states should contribute to existing organizations, as they deemed appropriate. As a result, gifts were made by various governments to the British-based Defence and Aid Fund, the World Council of Churches, Amnesty International, and other bodies.

On 15 December 1965, the General Assembly voted by 95 votes to one (South Africa), with Portugal abstaining, to set up a United Nations Trust Fund which would make grants to voluntary organizations, governments of countries in which political refugees from South Africa were living, and to other appropriate organizations. These, in turn, would give legal aid and social assistance to the "victims of apartheid" and to their dependants. Member-states as well as private organizations and individuals were asked to contribute to this fund.

A committee of trustees was set up under the chairmanship of Mr. Sverker Astrom of Sweden, and with four other members, from Chile, Morocco, Nigeria, and Pakistan. It is reported that contributions have been received, inter alia, from Bulgaria, Cyprus, Morocco, the Philippines, Turkey, and Yugoslavia.

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL FUND
As mentioned on page 90 of last year's Survey, at the request of the Security Council, in 1965 the Secretary-General drew up a plan for the training of Africans from South Africa in various professions and trades, and as administrators. Member-states were asked to contribute two million dollars over a three-year period to a fund which would be administered by a director at the U.N. Secretariat. He would enlist the assistance of United Nations' agencies such as UNESCO and others. Teacher training would be given priority. Both refugees from and residents of South Africa would qualify for assistance, and remedial education would be provided for those who did not meet the standards of admission to training institutions.

By the end of 1965, contributions amounting to about R170,000 had been received from Denmark, Norway, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States. According to a report in the June issue of Race Relations News, about 40 bursaries had thus far been granted for education at secondary and higher levels.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF SOUTH-WEST AFRICA
The background
The question of South-West Africa has been before the United Nations since 1946, when General Smuts refused to enter into an agreement placing the territory under international trusteeship.

At the General Assembly's request, in 1950 the International Court of Justice gave an advisory opinion to the effect that while South Africa was not bound to enter into a trusteeship agreement, the mandate remained in force, and South Africa continued to have the international obligations set out in the Covenant of the League of Nations and the terms of the mandate, including the submission of
reports on the territory. The supervisory functions over the mandate should be exercised by the United Nations.

South Africa rejected this opinion, stating its view that its obligations to the international community had lapsed with the dissolution of the League.

As the United Nations as a body may only seek advisory opinions from the International Court, Ethiopia and Liberia, in their capacities as former members of the League, decided to seek a judgment that would be binding. In 1960 they instituted an action against South Africa, asking the Court to give a ruling, instead of merely an opinion, on the points that had been raised earlier, and accusing South Africa, inter alia, of failing to promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being of the inhabitants of South-West Africa (which it was required to do in terms of the mandate). South Africa, they maintained, had practised apartheid measures which were detrimental to human dignity and suppressed the rights and liberties of inhabitants of the territory.

At a preliminary hearing in 1962, South Africa contended that the Court had no competence to decide on these matters, but the judges ruled, by 8 votes to 7, that the Court did have powers of jurisdiction over the administration of the mandate.

After memorials, counter-memorials, and replies had been submitted, oral pleadings commenced in March 1965. In the early stages, counsel for Ethiopia and Liberia gave examples designed to prove that the non-white people of South-West Africa were being submitted to discrimination, repression, and humiliation. It was alleged that military bases had been established in the territory.

Counsel for South Africa denied these charges, and suggested that the judges should visit South-West Africa, Ethiopia, Liberia, and other sub-Saharan states to enable them to compare standards of what was being done in these countries to promote the wellbeing and progress of the inhabitants. This suggestion was not accepted. General S. L. Marshall of the United States gave evidence that on a visit to South-West Africa in 1965 he had not seen anything that could be described as a military base.

Later during the proceedings counsel for Ethiopia and Liberia dropped charges that the inhabitants of the territory were being oppressed, and that the territory was being militarized. They accepted factual reports of work being done to improve the people's standards of living. Argument centred, instead, on the submission that South Africa was failing to apply internationally accepted norms and standards of non-discrimination.

The South African Prime Minister said in the Assembly on 21 September, "Our case before the World Court was so sound that we made the offer to the applicants that if they wanted to call witnesses, we would pay the costs of bringing those witnesses to the Court". There were no "takers" he added.

Debate on the United Nations, December 1965

Although the International Court's proceedings were still in progress, the Trusteeship Committee and the General Assembly debated the question of South-
A motion was passed (by 85 votes to 2 with 19 abstentions in the Assembly) condemning South Africa's policies of racial discrimination and its refusal to co-operate with the United Nations in granting independence to the territory; maintaining that the situation constituted a threat to world peace; reaffirming calls for an arms and oil embargo; and deprecating the actions of states in continuing to trade with South Africa. South Africa was called upon to remove all military bases and installations from the territory; and it was declared that any attempt at annexation would be deemed to be an act of aggression.

(8) Hansard 8 col. 2620.

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On behalf of the Republic, Mr. Mattheys Botha denied charges that had been made about the administration of South-West Africa, and again declared that no military bases had been established there. (9)

Judgment by the International Court

On 18 July, the Court rejected the case brought by Ethiopia and Liberia. As the fourteen judges had been evenly divided on the matter, the decision was reached by the casting vote of the President, Sir Percy Spender from Australia. This decision would possibly have been different if a judge from Egypt, who had voted against South Africa's contention about the court's powers of jurisdiction, had not died during the proceedings.

In delivering judgment, Sir Percy did not pronounce on South Africa's international obligations in respect of the mandate, nor upon accusations made by Ethiopia and Liberia about maladministration. He did not accept the contention that humanitarian considerations were sufficient in themselves to generate legal rights.

The case was rejected on the ground that, in terms of the Covenant of the League of Nations, individual member-states had no power to institute actions in the Court in regard to the administration of a mandate. They could appear before the Court only as litigants in a dispute. Their interest in mandates could be exercised only through the appropriate organs of the international body: individual states possessed no "policing" functions. Ethiopia and Liberia could, thus, not be considered to have established any legal right or interest in the subject matter before the Court.

Among the judges who dissented was Mr. Justice P. Jessup of the United States, who said that in his opinion the Court had not been justified in avoiding a decision on the fundamental question of whether the policy and practice of apartheid in the mandated territory was compatible with the "sacred trust" of South Africa as the mandatory power. (9)

Subsequent proceedings at the United Nations

(a) Recommendations by the Committee on Colonialism

A seven-nation sub-committee of the Committee on Colonialism was set up to consider action that United Nations might take following this judgment. Its
recommendations were subsequently approved by the full committee, in some cases with reservations. They were that South Africa's responsibility as the
(9) Star, 10 and 30 December; Rand Daily Mail, 18 December 1965.
(10) Rand Daily Mail, 19 July.
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mandatory power be terminated, and that the United Nations should take over control of the territory-by force if necessary. A date should be decided upon by this new administration for elections to be held under universal adult suffrage, leading to independence.(")

(b) Original draft resolution by the Afro-Asians
A draft resolution, sponsored by 54 Afro-Asian nations, was drawn up for consideration by the General Assembly, reaffirming that the people of South West Africa had the right of self-determination, freedom and independence and that the territory had international status, which it would retain until it gained independence. The resolution declared that South Africa had failed to fulfil the terms of the mandate; urged that the United Nations should take over the mandate and establish an administering authority; and requested the Security Council to recommend a date for the territory's independence and to start immediately devising effective measures to enable the authority to carry out its task."

(c) Views of other delegations
The Scandinavian countries moved, as an amendment, that a committee be established to examine what methods would be legal and appropriate to bring about a change in administration. Canada, too, recommended a full study of the implications of such a change. It was reported that some Latin-American countries were in favour of securing the opinion of the International Court as to whether the United Nations had the competence to take over the mandate. But all speakers were severely critical of South Africa's administration of the territory. The Soviet Union was reported to have suggested that the Organization of African Unity should take over the administration; but it was stated, the Afro-Asians admitted that this Organization lacked the necessary funds and trained personnel. The South African delegate, Mr. D. P. de Villiers, reiterated that his country was under no obligation to submit to United Nations' supervision of its administration of the territory. He pointed out that, during the International Court proceedings, Ethiopia and Liberia had abandoned charges of oppression of the inhabitants. If the territory were treated as a single political entity in which a majority vote were decisive for all, he said, all its peoples would be plunged into chaos and misery. South Africa was seeking a solution by evolution: it was moving towards a form of self-determination for all the various population groups,

(11) Ibid, 11 and 16 September.
(12) The account of events in this and the following paragraphs has been compiled from numerous Press reports between 8 October and 15 November.

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under its guardianship, and according to a system of political and territorial separation.

But these submissions proved unacceptable. Both Canada and the United States maintained that South Africa had forfeited its right to administer the mandate. The American delegate, Mr. Arthur Goldberg, said his country had come to this conclusion because of South Africa's adherence to "an abhorrent racial system of segregation". His government, he added, would be anxious to serve on a United Nations commission which would recommend the establishment of an administration which would enable the people of the territory to decide on self-determination. France made reference to South Africa's "anachronistic and scandalous racial policy".

At this stage, South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Hilgard Muller, arrived in New York. He elaborated on the arguments raised by Mr. de Villiers that, because the peoples of South-West Africa were not homogeneous, majority rule would be to the detriment of smaller groups. Group antagonisms of the past would again come to the fore, and the economy of the territory would collapse. He pointed to the extremely high costs of administration and to the enormous difficulty there would be in maintaining railway, telecommunication, and other services unless these were integrated with the South African systems. Dr. Muller went on to say that South Africa would resist, with all the power at its disposal, any attempt that might be made to take over South-West Africa. He sincerely hoped, he said, that nothing would happen to make it impossible for his government to keep up a dialogue with the United Nations.

(d) Britain's attitude

Shortly afterwards the British delegate, Lord Caradon, stated that the United Kingdom fully shared the General Assembly's views on apartheid. It could not accept South Africa's defence of its racial policies, and rejected the application of these to a country which was an international responsibility.

In dealing with this matter, Lord Caradon said, the Assembly should consider motive, means, and method. The motive was to set the people of South-West Africa free to advance to the destiny of their own free choice. The method should be to proceed by considered and deliberate action within the clear capacity of the United Nations to study, first, what was possible and what was not, and what the consequences of decisions were likely to be. "I would far rather see a slow success than a quick failure," Lord Caradon stated.

In regard to the possibility of mandatory sanctions, he again pointed to the limitations on what Britain could and could not do. But, he said, the United Kingdom was prepared to play a full

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and constructive part in a concerted and urgent examination of the question of what action could be taken to enable the people of the territory to attain free and true self-determination.

(e) Resolution adopted by the General Assembly

For some weeks the Western, Scandinavian, and Latin American states tried to persuade the Afro-Asians to modify their attitude that the transfer of authority
should take place immediately. A United States amendment aimed at "more clearly spelling out the nature of the United Nations' responsibilities and the conditions which must prevail" for these responsibilities to be carried out was rejected by 52 votes to 18 with 49 abstentions.

Finally, as the result of a series of Latin American amendments, on 27 October the General Assembly adopted a compromise motion, which was passed by 114 votes to two (South Africa and Portugal), with three abstentions (Britain, France and Malawi). The delegates from Botswana and Lesotho were not present when the vote was taken.

The resolution was to the effect that:
(i) the people of South-West Africa had the inalienable right to self-determination, freedom, and independence;
(ii) South Africa had failed to fulfil its obligations, and had, in fact, disavowed the mandate;
(iii) the mandate was, therefore, terminated, and South-West Africa would henceforth fall under the direct responsibility of the United Nations;
(iv) an ad hoc committee composed of 14 member-states, to be designated by the President of the General Assembly (Mr. Abdul Rahman Pazhwak of Afghanistan), should be established to recommend practical steps by which South-West Africa should be administered, this committee to report to the Assembly at a special session as soon as possible and in any event not later than April 1967;
(v) South Africa was called upon to desist from any action which would in any manner tend to alter the international status of the territory.

In explaining reasons for Britain's abstention from voting, Lord Caradon said he had hoped that the wording of the motion would include an indication that the task of the ad hoc committee would be, too, to "consider all factors relating to this resolution," for example, whether the resolution had legal validity, and whether the United Nations possessed the resources to administer the territory. The leading French delegate, Mr. Roger Sydoux, is reported to have expressed doubts about the appropriateness of a United Nations' administration.

The General Assembly formally called the attention of the Security Council to the resolution passed, for this Council's sane-

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At a Nationalist Party meeting on 1 November South Africa's Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, announced that his Government proposed taking no action in regard to the resolution, since it regarded this as being unconstitutional and contrary to international law.
Britain and France declined to serve on the ad hoc committee. Mr. Pazhwak announced on 21 November that the states designated to serve on it were Canada, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Finland, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Senegal, the Soviet Union, the United Arab Republic, and the United States.

RELATIONS BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND CERTAIN OTHER COUNTRIES
The United States
During 1966, the Foreign Affairs Sub-Committee of the House of Representatives, under the chairmanship of Mr. Barratt O'Hara, met to consider the apartheid policy and how this related to the interests of the United States, with the objects, according to Mr. O'Hara(14), of providing guidance for Congressmen and American representatives at the United Nations on the implications of this policy, and of considering methods of improving the lot of the African majority in South Africa by peaceful means.

The South Africa Foundation prepared a memorandum on the probable costs in human lives and in money of economic sanctions and military measures against South Africa. Copies were sent to Congressmen and to American businessmen with interests in the Republic.

In a speech made in Washington marking the third anniversary of the Organization of African Unity, President Johnson is reported(15) to have said, "There is in Africa to-day an increasing awareness that government must represent the true will of its citizens. This makes all the more repugnant the narrow and outmoded policy which in some parts of Africa permits the few to rule at the expense of the majority. . . . Just as we are determined to remove the remnants of inequity from our own midst, we are also with you-heart and soul-as you try to do the same"

It was mentioned in an earlier chapter that, during June, Senator Robert Kennedy paid a very brief visit to South Africa at the invitation of the National Union of South African Students. He is reported(16) to have stated that, in spite of two requests, members of the South African Government proved unwilling to meet him. The Senator addressed gatherings of students in Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Durban and Johannesburg, and met a large cross-section of leading members of the public in various walks of life, including the Johannesburg Bar Council.

Rhodesia
On the day after Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence on 11 November 1965, Dr. Verwoerd made a public statement outlining his attitude. In view of the fact that it was his Government's policy to maintain ties of friendship with all neighbouring governments, White or Black, he said, the closest
relationships with Rhodesia had been promoted. The problems that had arisen between Britain and Rhodesia should remain a dispute between these governments only: South Africa would refrain from intervention or comment. It would not participate in measures such as a boycott, for it considered boycotts to be wrong in principle.

Dr. Verwoerd emphasized that no similarity existed between the policies of separate development and of partnership. But differences in policy did not necessitate intervention in the domestic affairs of the other country.

In a speech made in Durban on 4 March(1) Dr. Verwoerd added that he was not prepared to place impediments in the way of goods being supplied to Rhodesia provided that South Africa could afford to export the goods concerned. Similarly, if Zambia or any other country wanted to buy South African goods, the Government would be willing to allow such trade. The Republic had not even boycotted Ghana when Ghana boycotted South Africa, Dr. Verwoerd said.

Soon after he became Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster said in the Assembly(8) that his attitude was the same as that of his predecessor. The Rhodesian situation was a matter in which South Africa would not interfere, in view of its policy in regard to interference in the domestic affairs of any country. He quoted and endorsed a statement made by Dr. Verwoerd, "We have taken up the clear attitude that under no circumstances, neither under pressure or force, will we participate in either boycotts or sanctions".

In view of his attitude, it is reported(9) that Dr. Verwoerd rejected appeals from overseas to stop the flow of oil to Rhodesia.

As mentioned in previous issues of this Survey, numbers of African states have, from 1961 onwards, announced boycotts of South African goods.

According to the Rand Daily Mail of 20 October, the total value of exports from the Republic to other African countries during the first nine months of 1966 was R145,100,000: this was

(17) Rand Daily Mail, 5 March.
(18) 21 September, Hansard 8 cols. 2554, 2601, 2607.
(19) Star, 14 April.

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R34,500,000 more than the figure for the first nine months of the previous year. Prominent in the list of exports were machinery, processed and manufactured goods, and tinned foods. Details of trade with individual countries have not been released. A substantial proportion of the trade was with Rhodesia, the report stated, but Zambia, too, imported South African goods; and it was clear that other countries which professed to have imposed boycotts were, in fact, continuing to trade with the Republic.

It was reported on 16 September,(2) a few days after Dr. Verwoerd's death, that Mr. Harold Wilson revealed, in a television interview, that he had been in touch with Dr. Verwoerd over the Rhodesian question. In the speech referred to above, Mr. Vorster confirmed(21) that there had been confidential correspondence between Dr. Verwoerd, Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Ian Smith. Thus far he had not had the opportunity of examining it fully, Mr. Vorster said, but it appeared that Dr.
Verwoerd had, in the main, merely placed on record what he had said in public. He had appealed to both Mr. Wilson and Mr. Smith to try, through mutual discussions, to solve a problem that could be regarded as a domestic one but which, if it were not settled, could have far-reaching consequences.

General relations with neighbouring African countries

In a general policy statement made on 21 September(22) Mr. Vorster endorsed a recent remark by Sir Seretse Khama, who had said, "Any relationship with South Africa, and for that matter any other state, must be that of any independent nation to another, man to man, rather than father to son". South Africa had, in the past, given special emergency help to neighbouring territories as a matter of Christian charity, Mr. Vorster stated, but its policy in general would be to give enduring assistance by helping the new states to help themselves.

No decision would for the time being be made on the question of diplomatic representation, Mr. Vorster continued. "I want to adopt the attitude that there are other and perhaps more suitable methods of establishing contact with one another."

Dealing with the matter of political fugitives, the Prime Minister said, "No extradition treaty exists. . . No modem state makes provision for the extradition of political fugitives. . . But that, too, will be a matter for negotiation... We as a Government would never permit South Africa to be used as a breeding ground for conspiracies against neighbouring states".

According to a report in the Rand Daily Mail on 3 October, both Lesotho's Deputy Prime Minister, Chief Sekhoniane Maseribane, and the leader of Swaziland's ruling Imbokodo Party, Prince

(20) Star of that date.
(21) Hansard 8 col. 2546.
(22) Assembly Hansard 8 cols. 2557-2609.

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Makhosini Dlamini, told a reporter that they dismissed as "political propaganda" suggestions made at the United Nations that South Africa intended to swallow up their countries.

At a conference of eleven East and Central African states held in Nairobi during April, it was agreed that in future, refugees from other parts of Africa would be permitted only basic humanitarian rights in their host countries. They would be denied facilities in the Press or on the radio for their own propaganda, and they would receive no forms of financial or military aid. Those found to be working against their home governments would be expelled.(23)

Towards the end of 1965, the Basutoland Government ordered all refugees from South Africa in its country to report to the police for interrogation before 1 February. Those that did not do so, and those who gave false statements while being interrogated, would be deported to the Republic, it was announced. People who were found to be genuine political refugees would be allowed to remain, but each was to be finger-printed and photographed.(24)
It was reported in February(23) that the Bechuanaland Government, too, was being extremely cautious about the granting of political asylum, and had warned refugees not to use its country as a base for illegal activities against South Africa or Rhodesia.

As mentioned in previous issues of this Survey, Amnesty International and the London Joint Committee for the High Commission Territories financed a reception depot at Francistown for the accommodation of refugees from South Africa and South-West Africa. The Bechuanaland Government provided no relief measures for these people. As the reception depot is a primitive one, the Joint Committee, with the aid of funds from the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief, erected a hostel at Francistown in 1964; but just before it was to have been opened it was destroyed by a bomb blast, and it was not replaced.

Refugees who hoped to escape to the north went on to a squalid camp, of ramshackle huts, at Kazungula, just to the south of the Zambian border, in the narrow corridor between Rhodesia and the Caprivi Strip (administered by South Africa). There they were screened by the International Refugees Council in Zambia, only those who belonged to recognized political organizations being allowed to cross the border. Numbers waited at Kazungula for months, often in vain.

According to recent reports,(26) both Zambia and Tanzania have become increasingly reluctant to accept refugees. In mid-1966 a Norwegian committee agreed to finance a more pleasant transit centre at Kazungula; but the Botswana Government refused permission, fearing that such a camp might become a base for terrorists. The old camp was burned down by the authorities, the few refugees who were still waiting there being returned to Francistown.

Lesotho

When Basutoland became the independent kingdom of Lesotho, on 4 October, internal stresses had not been solved. King Moshoeshoe was not content to be merely a constitutional monarch, and wanted himself to control the army and police force (which was not provided for in the independence constitution). The Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, had a majority of only six in the National Assembly, his National Party having achieved power because there had been several three-cornered contests in the elections. The leader of the opposition, Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle (Congress Party), and Dr. Seth Makotoko of the Marematlou Freedom Party, accused Chief Leabua of allying himself too closely with South Africa, and they backed the King in his attitude.

On 2 September, shortly before independence, Chief Leabua came to Pretoria to meet Dr. Verwoerd. In a joint statement issued thereafter, they said that the object was to get acquainted and to establish how good neighbourly relations and co-
operation could be arranged. It was quite clear that there was no desire to interfere in one another's domestic affairs.

There was no attempt to open negotiations on any issue: these would have to await the independence of Lesotho and investigations and consultations between expert officials. Naturally, however, the discussions had ranged over a wide selection of subjects of mutual interest.

Dr. Verwoerd had agreed to assist visitors and guests in transit to the independence celebrations in whatever way possible, and, as far as was practicable, to facilitate arrangements for Basuto workers in the Republic to attend these celebrations.

At a first post-independence Press conference, the Chief revealed that Dr. Verwoerd had agreed to negotiate an extradition treaty between the two countries, and the establishment of a more equitable customs agreement. (This question is dealt with more fully in the following section, dealing with Botswana.) He had promised discussions on the question of Basuto who could not return to their country from other states because South Africa had denied them transit.

Chief Leabua said that his Government would never interfere in the domestic policies of other nations.27)

Soon after independence, Lesotho introduced its own new currency. It was announced in Auguste2s) that the (then) Basutoland (27) Rand Daily Mail, 5 October. (28) Star, 4 August.

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Government had commissioned a Cape Town firm of consulting engineers to prepare definite proposals for the Oxbow water and hydro-electric scheme, in the mountains in the north of the country. Were this scheme put into effect, it would be possible to supply water, not only to Lesotho, but also to the Southern Transvaal and Northern Free State. Later, however,29) South Africa's Minister of Water Affairs expressed doubt about the advisability of dependence upon another country for water supplies. The event leading to this statement was a demonstration by members of the opposition, led by Mr. Mokhehle, against Mr. J. H. Visse, the Republic's Deputy Chairman of Committees in Parliament, when the latter was invited to make a speech in the Lesotho Assembly, formally presenting South Africa's gift of a finely-carved Speaker's throne. Mr. Mokhehle later sent Mr. Visse a written apology.

For some time Professor D. V. Cowen, former professor of law at the University of Cape Town, has been acting as special adviser to Chief Leabua on constitutional matters. It was announced during October that two other South Africans had been asked to help in Lesotho's development. Professor O. P. F. Horwood, principal of the University of Natal, agreed to become the Government's honorary financial adviser, and the international industrialist, Dr. Anton Rupert, accepted the office of industrial adviser. Dr. Rupert will act in his personal capacity, free of charge. He announced that none of his own companies will be involved, but that he hopes to persuade financial groups in South Africa
and overseas to assist in the industrial development of Lesotho—a country in which such progress is desperately needed.

Botswana

Bechuanaland became the independent republic of Botswana on 30 September, adopting a form of government similar to that of the United States. The Prime Minister, Mr. Seretse Khama, who was knighted just before independence, became President. He heads the multi-racial Democratic Party which, in elections held during March, won 28 of the 31 seats in the then Legislative Assembly (now called the National Assembly). The main opposition is led by certain chiefs who, apparently, fear the whittling away of their traditional tribal powers. The Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Quett Masire, is an expert agriculturalist. There is an eight-man cabinet with a White member, Mr. J. Haskins, who is in charge of commerce, industry, and water affairs. Professor Z. K. Matthews, an African who was born in South Africa, is to represent Botswana at the United Nations.

Like Lesotho, Botswana is in very great need of economic development, and Sir Seretse recognizes the necessity for expatriate experts to help in this matter and to train his people. A current slogan is said to be "Ipelang", which, roughly translated, means

(29) Rand Daily Mail, 7 and 8 October.

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"food for work". Consideration is being given to the establishment of a Development Corporation that would enter into joint partnership with private investors. Private enterprise will be encouraged to assist in mining development.

Aid will be accepted from South Africa and other sources "provided no strings are attached".

South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs attended the independence celebrations as an official guest (as he had done in the case of Lesotho). Sir Seretse has stated that his aim will be to make a contribution towards better understanding between northern and southern African countries by setting an example of moderation and racial co-operation. He has applied for membership of the Commonwealth. At his first post-independence Press conference he is reported to have said, "We fully appreciate that it is wholly in our interests to preserve as friendly and neighbourly relations with the Republic of South Africa as possible. Our economic links with the Republic are virtually indissoluble. Economically we are directly tied to the Republic for communications, for markets, for our beef exports, for labour on the mines, and in many other respects. While our race relations policies differ radically, I believe that our approach is the right one".

He had asked to meet Mr. Vorster, Sir Seretse said subsequently, but talks with any other heads of states must not be on terms of an inferior to a superior. He was prepared to exchange diplomatic representation with South Africa provided that Botswana diplomats were exempted from the disabilities of apartheid. Botswana would never endorse the use of force against South Africa by the United Nations, the President stated. "I have never known force to achieve
anything: I believe in negotiation." He would not allow his country to be used as a base for subversive activities.

Sir Seretse said that consideration was being given to changing the customs and currency arrangements with South Africa, but no precipitate action would be taken. Botswana was not represented on the board of the Reserve Bank of South Africa, and had no way of influencing monetary policy where this adversely affected its own economy. The customs agreement relieved Botswana of the costs of administration; but revenue accruing to this country was not related to the growth of its economic activity, and Botswana was penalized by high duties imposed to protect South African industry.

Swaziland

As Swaziland has not, as yet, attained independence the question of direct relationships with South Africa has not arisen.

(30) Sunday Times, 2 October.
(31) Star, 5 July; Sunday Express and Sunday Times of 2 October.

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Zambia

Two Zambian passport officers have been temporarily stationed in Johannesburg to handle applications for passports from Zambians working in the Republic (the South African authorities having made the possession of such documents compulsory). They are living in an hotel in Fordsburg.

President Kaunda’s Government announced in September(32) that it would not permit any further Zambians to be recruited for work on South African gold mines. As their existing contracts expired, returning miners (mainly from the province of Barotse) would, as far as possible, be directed to development projects. Zambia, it was stated, could not tolerate the continuance of a system which had subjected its nationals to indignity. The Government appreciated the medical services that had been operated in Barotseland by the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, and, if possible, would continue to operate them.

A spokesman for the Association said that the mining industry would not be affected by this decision, for adequate labour supplies were available from other areas. But Barotseland was likely to suffer: the approximately 6,000 men that had been recruited from there annually sent or took home between R700,000 and R800,000 a year.

Malawi

Malawi, like Botswana, has retained numbers of Whites in its administration, and has reserved seats for Whites in its parliament.

It was reported in June(33) that South Africa had granted a R2,000,000 loan to Malawi for the construction of a sugar mill. A South African firm has been awarded a contract to design a new capital for Malawi.(3o (32) Rand Daily Mail and Star, 30 September.
(33) Teino, published by the South Africa Foundation.
(34) Sunday Express, 23 October.
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THE POPULATION OF SOUTH AFRICA
SIZE OF THE POPULATION
According to the Bureau of Statistics(1) the estimated size of the population in mid-1966 was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,738,000</td>
<td>1,743,000</td>
<td>3,481,000</td>
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<td></td>
<td>894,000</td>
<td>911,000</td>
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<td></td>
<td>6,287,000</td>
<td>6,178,000</td>
<td>12,465,000</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9,195,000</td>
<td>9,103,000</td>
<td>18,298,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister of Planning said in the Assembly on 20 September(2) that, according to the latest available information, the Asian group included 7,174 Chinese. Calculating from figures given by the Minister on 30 August(3) it would seem that, of the African population as enumerated in 1960, 35.44 per cent were in the Reserves (including the Transkei), 31.76 per cent in towns, and 32.80 per cent in "White" rural areas. Such figures are, however, becoming increasingly meaningless as growing numbers of urban African workers are housed in townships near industrial areas but situated within the borders of African Reserves.

VITAL STATISTICS
No overall vital statistics for the African group calculated, for, although it is theoretically compulsory, all births and deaths are registered. Provisional statistics for the other racial groups follows:(4)

Per 1,000 of population, 1965
Birth rate
Death rate Natural increase rate Infant deaths (per 1,000 live births)
(1) News release on 24 August.
(2) Hansard 8 col. 2421.
(3) Hansard 5 col. 1651.
Whites
22.8 9.1 13.6 29.2
Coloured
46.1 15.8 30.3 136.1
have been in fact not Ips are as Asians
34.4 8.1 26.3 56.1
Whites Coloured Asians Africans
POPULATION REGISTRATION

As from 1 August it became compulsory for all citizens of the Republic over the age of 16 years to possess identity cards and to be able to produce these at the request of a peace officer or other authorized person. The maximum penalty for those convicted of failure to comply with these regulations is a fine of up to R100. The racial group of the holder is indicated on his card.

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 12 August, (') the Minister of the Interior said that between the beginning of 1965 and 30 June 1966, appeal boards set up under the Population Registration Act had heard 54 appeals against racial classifications as determined by officials. Of these, 30 had been allowed, and 24 rejected. There were 245 appeals waiting to be heard. Of those heard or awaiting hearing, 244 were by persons in possession of Coloured identity cards who wished to be reclassified as White.

Mrs. C. D. Taylor, M.P., said in the Assembly on 15 September(6) she estimated that some 148,000 people on the racial borderline had not applied for identity cards, in most cases because they feared that they might be placed in a racial category that would prejudice their social status, and might lead to dismissal from existing employment or to enforced removal to another group area.

There were likely to be large numbers of appeals, Mrs. Taylor continued. She pleaded for a speed-up in the machinery. Decisions of appeal boards affected the whole future of the applicants, and delays caused great tension and anxiety. In many cases inspectors appointed under the Group Areas Act visited "borderline" families to make enquiries: this caused suspicion among neighbours and, often, ostracism of the families concerned. She quoted a case in which, as a result, parents had taken their children out of school.

The Minister replied(') that in his opinion the large number of appeals was due to the fact that "we have opened the gates too wide", making it possible for "people to steal a ride on the back of deserving cases". For example, he said, "If A and his family have always been classified as, say, Coloured, and his brother as a White, then A is going to try to obtain classification as a White, and that in spite of the fact that he has been regarded as a Coloured throughout".

"I cannot accept that there will be borderline cases for all time," the Minister added. "If that is so, then the position is in reality- so complicated that this legislation is not workable. I am prepared to approach those borderline cases which exist with great sympathy. . . What I want to do is to close the gate so that we cannot continue indefinitely creating new borderline cases as rapidly as we deal with the already existing cases."

(5) Hansard 2 col. 619.
(6) Hansard 7 cols. 2155-6.
(7) Cols. 2163-5.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966

The Minister said that there were then two appeal boards, one in Cape Town and the other in the northern provinces. If it appeared necessary, he would give consideration to the question of establishing more boards.
Some cases have succeeded on further appeal to the Supreme Court. In May, for example, a judge ordered the board to reclassify an elderly couple as White. The board, he said, had found that by appearance they were apparently White. There was proof that they had lived as Coloured people until about 1950, but all the evidence after that pointed to the fact that they were presently accepted as Whites.(8)

Another appeal was allowed during the following month, that of a man stated to have a White father and a Coloured mother. Although his birth certificate indicated that he was White, he had been classified as Coloured, and, because of a feeling of embarrassment, had not appealed to the board within the stipulated 30 days.(9)

Several appeals to a Full Bench of the Supreme Court in Cape Town were successful during November, the board being ordered to reclassify the persons concerned from Coloured to White. In each case the judges ruled that the crucial test was general acceptance as Whites. Among those who were thus reclassified were two married couples (one of whom had six children), and a man who had served in the Defence Force as a Corporal.

According to the Sunday Express of 27 November, the chairman of the board in Cape Town said that these judgments had clarified the way in which people who were not obviously white or non-white in appearance should be classified, and it should now be possible for the outstanding appeals to be dealt with more swiftly. On the basis of the Supreme Court decisions, the board instructed the Department of the Interior to issue White identity cards to several people who had previously received Coloured ones.(10)

**IMMORALITY ACT**

Numbers of convictions under the Immorality Act still take place, and, as a result, established family groups may be broken. In December 1965, for example, a White man and the Coloured woman with whom he had been living for more than five years were each sentenced to four months' imprisonment, suspended for three years; but were warned by the magistrate that they could not continue to live together. They have two children. The man had applied, unsuccessfully, to be reclassified as Coloured, which would have made it possible for the couple to marry.(11)

(8) Cape Times, 4 May.
(9) Rand Daily Mail, 9 June.
(10) Ibid, 4, 16 and 23 November; Sunday Times, 27 November.

**IMMORALITY ACT**

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 7 October,"2) the Minister of Justice gave the following information about persons who were prosecuted and convicted under the Immorality Act during the year ended 30 June 1965:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Prosecuted</th>
<th>Convicted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>412</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
During that year, there were three cases in which one of the accused was found guilty and the other not guilty. Those convicted were a Coloured woman, a White man, and an African woman. Those found not guilty were two White men and one African woman.

In the following year, there were seven such cases, all of them involving relations between White men and African women. All seven White men were acquitted, and all seven African women found guilty.

(12) Hansard 10 cols. 3804-5.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966
THE TRANSKEI
POLITICAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS

Transkei National Independence Party

In March, the Republican State President conferred on Chief Kaizer Matanzima, leader of the ruling Transkei National Independence Party (T.N.I.P.), the status of Paramount Chief of Emigrant Thembuland. (When this suggestion was first mooted, in 1965, the opposition Democratic Party maintained that such action would not be in accordance with African law and custom and would create an undesirable precedent.)

The membership of the Transkeian Legislative Assembly at the end of 1965 was estimated to be:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chiefs Elected</th>
<th>Total T.N.I.P.</th>
<th>D.P.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The party stands for the gradual withdrawal of Whites from the Territory. Its policy is one of intimate friendship with the Republic.

In terms of powers transferred to it under the constitution, in 1964 the Transkeian Government created its own Departments of Finance, Justice, Education, the Interior, Agriculture and Forestry, and Roads and Public Works. During the 1966 session of the Legislative Assembly, which opened on 20 April, Mr. M. H. Canca, a leading T.N.I.P. member, moved that the Republican Government be asked to transfer to the Transkei the control of four further departments: Health, Posts and Telegraphs, Transport, and Information. This motion was passed by 46 votes to 32: Democratic Party members opposed it on the ground that the Government had not proved that it could administer with efficiency the departments already entrusted to its care."

(1) Estimate by the writer, confirmed in Bantu, July.
(2) Policy speech in the Legislative Assembly, 18 May 1964.
(4) South African Digest, 3 June.
THE TRANSKEI
Democratic Party
Paramount Chief Victor Poto and Mr. Knowledge M. N. Guzana (then leader and
national chairman, respectively, of the Democratic Party) contributed a paper
entitled "The Social and Political Implications of the Homelands Examined" to
the 1966 Council meeting of the Institute of Race Relations.
In this, they stated that "the idea of homelands raises in our minds the unwelcome
prospect of the fragmentation of South Africa into independent geographical hide-
outs for ethnic groups whose isolation and concentration will breed a selfish and
exclusive mentality, with one group growing more and more aggressively
conscious of other ethnic groups which are inferior to it. This ethnic
consciousness is altogether irreconcilable with the growing interdependence of
races and nations in the modern world." The homeland concept "seeks to unravel
and sort out our mixed society despite modern trends". It "may well produce
ultimately an African nationalism which is dangerous".
The system of migratory labour, the writers continued, makes the homeland
citizen spend a major portion of his adult wageearning lifetime outside the
homeland. Such people increasingly find "social reality in the White areas". Their
concern, and the concern of permanently urbanized Africans, will be to have some
say in the government of the part of the country in which they have their homes,
or lead the greater proportion of their working lives.
In the homelands themselves, as a result of Christianity and of travel promoted by
the migrant labour system, tribal society is moving away from primitive
conservatism, it was stated. Traditional tribal institutions can no longer cope with
the demands of this changing society. The chiefs will have to surrender their
powers gradually to the democratic will of the people.
Paramount Chief Poto and Mr. Guzana advocated that the homelands should be
regarded as provinces of the Republic, and that the governments of these areas
should enjoy no more than provincial status.
During the 1966 Session of the Legislative Assembly Mr. N. Jafta, a leading D.P.
member, moved that the constitution be amended to make provision for an Upper
House of chiefs and a Lower House of elected members.
Because of continued ill-health, Paramount Chief Poto resigned in February as
leader of the D.P., but continued as a member of the Party's Executive Committee.
He was succeeded by Mr. Guzana, a commoner, who is an attorney. The latter
was awarded a foreign leadership exchange grant by the United States
Government for two months' study in America, but was denied a passport.
(5) RR. 15166.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966
Transkei People's Party
At a meeting held in the Maluti region during December 1965, a group of
Africans led by Mr. Mangqukele Shadrack Sinaba (a former Chief Whip of the
T.N.I.P.) called for complete independence for the Transkei by 5 May 1966. This
move was opposed by Chief Matanzima, who is reported(6) to have said, "The
road to freedom is a long one and has to be negotiated carefully, step by step. . . . We cannot be political dreamers".

Mr. Sinaba (who is a businessman from Benoni) resigned from the T.N.I.P. and, in March, formed the Transkei People's Party. Its present strength is not publicly known; but its main support is said to come from urban Africans in the Republic and the Transkei, and former members of the D.P. as well as the T.N.I.P. have joined it.

In statements made during April and May,(7) Mr. Sinaba is reported to have said that his party hopes to remove White fears of Black nationalism, and to prove that Africans have matured politically and otherwise. In order to do this, the Transkei must be independent.

The T.P.P., he added, does not want Whites to leave the territory: the need and importance of their presence is recognized. But they will not be given franchise rights, nor allowed to play any part in the political structure. The civil and administrative services will be Africanized as fast as possible. All efforts will, however, be made to promote inter-racial co-operation.

Friendly relations will be preserved with the Republican Government, Mr. Sinaba said. The Transkei will look first to South Africa for economic assistance, while reserving the right to form friendly relations with all other democratic states in the world. Large-scale industrial development will be promoted, private enterprise and foreign investments being permitted in order to speed economic progress.

The T.P.P. (like the D.P.) is in favour of an elected Lower House and an Upper House for traditional leaders.

Motion requesting independence

During the 1966 Session of the Transkeian Legislative Assembly, which opened towards the end of April, Mr. Sinaba moved that full independence be granted to the Transkei.

On behalf of the D.P., Mr. T. H. Bubu moved, as an amendment, that the Assembly should consider requesting the Republican Government to grant full citizenship rights to all inhabitants of South Africa. He opposed the whole conception of creating separate units within the borders of the country. Once a person accepted that the Transkei should be separated from the rest of South Africa, Mr. Bubu maintained, he automatically accepted that limitations should be placed upon himself. This amendment was ruled out of order on the ground that the Legislative Assembly had no jurisdiction to discuss South African politics.

A Government member moved, as a further amendment, that the Transkei was not yet ripe for independence. This T.N.I.P. motion was passed by 49 votes to one (the D.P. abstaining from voting). (6)

THE TRANSKEIAN BUDGET

At the time of writing, the latest published Report of the Controller and Auditor-General on the accounts of the Transkeian Government related to the year 1964-5
(the first year after this government took over the control of certain departments), and reflected the following position:

R
Grant from Republican Government 13,000,000.00
Ordinary revenue ........ 3,568,583.73
16,568,583.73
Expenditure ............ 12,465,363.11
Surplus carried forward to 1965-6 R4,103,220.62

The grant from the Republican Government included a special additional grant of R2,000,000 for the first year. During the 1965-6 financial year the sum contributed from the Republic's Consolidated Revenue Account was R1,000,000: as indicated below, the equivalent grant, for 1966-7 is apparently R10,466,000. The surplus as at 31 March 1966 was R4,817,000. In his budget speech, Paramount Chief Matanzima said that this was R3,000,000 more than had been budgeted for, the major reason being that, because of a shortage of skilled workers, the Department of Roads and Works had been forced to place all but the most minor building works out on tender to private firms.(9)

Broad details of the estimates for 1966-7, as approved in the Transkei Appropriation Act, No. 3 of 1966, are:

(8) Natal Mercury, 5 May, and Rand Daily Mail, 7 May.
(9) Rand Daily Mail, 5 May.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966
Grant from Republican Government Taxation and levies:
Income tax General tax Local tax .. General levy
2,000 1,200,000 230,000 215,000
Other local sources of revenue(1")
Expenditure
Department of Chief Minister and Finance
Justice
Education .. .. ..
the Interior .. .. ..
Agriculture and Forestry
Roads and Works
R
10,466,000
1,647,000 1,786,000 R13,899,000
R
645,000 480,000
4,718,000 2,972,000 4,548,000 3,205,000
R16,568,000

Some details of the proposed expenditure on education and on agriculture and forestry are given in subsequent sections of this chapter. Included in the Chief Minister's budget are the salaries or allowances paid to 77 chiefs and 860
headmen. Included in that of the Department of the Interior is R2,548,000 to be spent on social pensions and the relief of distress.

Besides making the grant mentioned above, the Republican Government is to spend considerable additional amounts in the Transkei during the financial year ending 31 March 1967, for example on the administration of departments which have not yet been transferred to the Transkeian Government, on the temporary secondment of officials to the Transkeian civil service, on the construction and maintenance of national roads, and on the payment of compensation to Whites for losses they experience on the sale to Africans of properties or trading concerns. The full cost of these services has not been stated; but, according to the official estimates,"(1) R4,536,000 is to be spent on the latter three items.

(10) Rents, fees, fines, motor vehicle and road taxes, forest revenue, interest, etc.

Revenue

THE TRANSKEI

A Transkeian Development and Reserve Fund was created in 1964,(1") into which the Transkeian Government paid R1,000,000 that year. As at 31 March 1965 this money had earned R21,917 in interest. Only R4,334 had by then been spent, on the relief of distress due to drought, and on investigating the feasibility of establishing a sugar industry.(13)

LEGISLATION OF 1966

Although it was opposed by the Democratic Party, the Transkeian Flag Act was passed in 1966. It provided for a flag, with horizontal stripes of ochre red, white, and green, to be flown side-by-side with the Republican flag at the Legislative Assembly buildings, main departmental administrative offices, and main government district offices.

Other legislation included a consolidating Education Act and measures dealing with the standing orders of the Assembly, the qualifications of government servants, the powers and functions of the Transkeian police force, the sale of liquor by holders of hotel licences, co-operative societies and animal husbandry, and financial matters such as the disposal of the assets of district authorities (which were abolished in 1965).

Six new tribal authorities were created in 1966, in the Lusikisiki, Mount Frere, and Tsolo districts.

TRANSKEIAN CIVIL SERVICE

In his opening address at the commencement of the Legislative Assembly's Session, the Republican Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that during the past two years, 86 seconded Republican officials had been replaced by Transkeians. Only 382 of a total of 2,821 posts on the fixed establishment were filled by seconded officials in April 1966. The appointment of the first two Transkeian citizens as magistrates in district offices was receiving attention.
As mentioned above, the Transkei has established its own police force. In August, however, there were still 828 members of the South African Police stationed in this territory, including 351 Whites!

Paramount Chief Matanzima reported to the Legislative Assembly that his Government was receiving a steady flow of applications for employment from Transkeian citizens working outside the territory. Difficulties were still being experienced in filling professional posts for engineers, architects, agricultural and forestry officials, and others. Plans were in progress to introduce apprenticeship schemes.(5)

(14) Republican Minister of Police, Assembly, 30 August, Hansard 5 col. 1650.
(15) South African Digest, 1 July.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966
The Leader of the Opposition, Mr. K. M. N. Guzana, said in the Assembly that, instead of promoting the exodus of Whites from the Transkei, the Government should encourage the immigration of Whites who would impart technical skills. The shortage of skilled labour was retarding industrial development. In his reply, the Chief Minister stated that White scientists and technicians were, when necessary, employed, but on a contract basis only.("1)

CONTROL OF LAND IN RURAL AREAS
In terms of the Republican Proclamation R 93 of 1 April, all land and public property in the Transkei (except as mentioned below) which was then owned or controlled by the South African Bantu Trust was vested in or transferred to the Transkeian Government, in so far as the Legislative Assembly's powers of jurisdiction extended. But the authority granted did not include any rights in or to strategic materials or minerals.

The exceptions were about 349 morgen of land in the Umtata district, 303 morgen in the Matatiele district, and any land or public property acquired by the Trust after 30 May 1963.

OWNERSHIP OF PROPERTY IN URBAN AREAS AND OF TRADING STATIONS
Following the recommendations of a Zoning Committee, the Republican Proclamation R 336, gazetted on 31 December 1965, classified most towns in the Transkei as either completely "reserved" towns, or as towns which are reserved in part.

All reserved areas became released areas (in terms of the Bantu Trust and Land Act of 1936 as amended). Except with the Minister's permission, or by inheritance or donation, no-one other than the Transkeian Government, the Bantu Trust, the Bantu Investment Corporation, the Xhosa Development Corporation, or a citizen of the Transkei, may acquire an interest in land in a reserved area; and, except with the permission of the Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development, no-one who was not doing so as at 3 January 1966 may occupy a building in such an area for professional or business purposes. Unless the Minister so approves,
hospitals, churches, and other institutions will continue to be occupied by the racial groups occupying them as at 3 January 1966. Again unless with the Minister's permission, no land may be sub-divided. For the time being, existing local authorities will continue to administer reserved areas. As the towns become increasingly "Black", first Bantu advisory committees, and eventually, Bantu local authorities will be established.  

Towns which were wholly reserved in this way for citizens of (16) Rand Daily Mail, 6 May.

(17) Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Assembly 26 January, Hansard 1 col. 110.

THE TRANSKEI

the Transkei are Cala, Elliotdale, Flagstaff, Libode, Lusikisiki, Mount Fletcher, Nqamakwe, Tsomo, and Willowvale. Towns which were reserved in part (the remaining parts being left for White or Coloured ownership and occupation) are Bizana, Butterworth, Cofimvaba, Engcobo, Idutywa, Kentani, Mount Ayliff, Mount Frere, Mqanduli, Qumbu, Tabankulu, Tsolo, and Umtata. Whites and Coloured people were not required to move immediately from areas reserved for Africans, but many hundreds owning residential properties or business concerns in these areas, and trading stations in country districts, have offered their properties for sale.

A three-man Adjustment Committee was appointed in 1964 to value properties offered for sale, estimate the value of traders' goodwill, and determine whether compensation should be paid for any real losses experienced. The Republican Government voted R250,000 in 1965-6 and a further R2,500,000 in 1966-7 for compensation to Whites and Coloured persons in reserved areas and for the purchase of their properties.

It was stated by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development on 13 July')s that owners wishing to sell their properties must advertise in the Transkeiian Gazette and the local Press. They could also write to the Departmental Secretary in Pretoria and to the Secretary of the Bantu Investment Corporation in Umtata to enquire whether these officials knew of prospective African purchasers. Should no offer be made, the owner could obtain forms from the Secretary in Pretoria on which to fill in details of the property, the value placed upon it, any existing bonds, etc. In due course the Adjustment Committee would advise the Minister what it considered to be a fair and reasonable purchase price.

So many properties had already been offered for sale to the State, the Minister continued, that the Adjustment Committee had been able to give priority only to urgent cases.

Few Africans have been able to buy these properties since the necessary capital is lacking, and building societies, operating with White-owned funds, are unable to acquire any interest in land or buildings in the African Reserves. Africans may, however, apply for housing loans from the Bantu Investment Corporation.
The Minister reported in the Assembly on 4, 12 and 19 August (19) that 246 trading stations, 56 urban businesses, and 92 urban properties had, thus far, been offered for sale to the Bantu Trust via the Adjustment Committee. This Committee had made offers in respect of 140 trading stations and one urban property; and in 74 cases the offers had been accepted by the owners. A sum of R798,000 had been spent on completed purchases, while offers which had not been finalized amounted to R1,800,000.

Mr. J. H. Abraham, Commissioner-General for the Xhosa (18) Press release 324/66 (P).

(1’) Hansard 1 cols. 172-3, Hansard 2’ cols. 640-1, Hansard 3 col. 1069.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966
National Unit, said in May (2”) that there were altogether about 630 White-owned trading stations.

Because the progress being made is so slow, the (White) Transkeian Civic Association has suggested that a second Adjustment Committee be appointed, and that the Bantu Trust should buy properties for renting to Africans. In a speech made in the Legislative Assembly, Mr. K. M. N. Guzana said that development had come to an end in areas that had been reserved for Africans. Mr. B. S. Rajuili proposed that the Government should subsidize purchases made by Africans.

In a statement made in September, (1) Dr. J. Adendorff, general manager of the Bantu Investment Corporation, announced that, by then, the Corporation had taken over 50 of the trading stations purchased by the Trust. As described later, Africans are being trained to run these concerns.

Two new all-African towns are to be built near the "White spot" towns of Matatiele and Port St. Johns, to serve as administrative centres.

EDUCATION IN THE TRANSKEI
The Transkeian Government budgetted R4,718,000 for expenditure on educational services during the year ending 31 March 1967. In addition, large sums will be spent on the erection of schools from the budget of the Department of Roads and Works (this Department plans to spend R2,154,350 on building services of various kinds).

Some details of the education budget are:

R
Salaries, wages, allowances ..........4,186,200
Subsistence and transport ..........34,500
Supplies and services ...............127,100
Financial assistance to State-aided special schools 90,000 Examination expenses ..........8,400
Bursaries to students .................9,600
Postal and printing services and other miscellaneous items .............262,200
R4,718,000
The State-aided special schools are one for blind and deaf, and one for cerebral palsied children.
Included in the amount for supplies and services is R150,000 for books for pupils and school libraries. Twenty-five loan bursaries are to be provided for secondary and high school teachers.

(20) Star, 25 May.
(21) Natal Mercury, 17 September.

THE TRANSKEI

According to the issue of Bantu for July, six out of every seven children in the Transkei are attending school. Detailed figures relating to enrollment, examination results, and other matters are given in the chapter of this Survey which deals with education in general.

The budget makes provision for eight circuit inspectors (five of them seconded from the Republic), eight other inspectors, 27 supervisors, 1,522 principals, 17 vice-principals, 912 male teachers, and 2,606 women teachers. When introducing this budget in the Assembly the Minister of Education, Mr. B. B. Mdledle, said that there was a serious shortage of adequately qualified teachers in secondary and high schools. A pension fund for teachers has been introduced.

He announced that a post for an Organizer of Physical and Adult Education had been created, and that a scheme for adult education was to be introduced. Later in the year, Mr. D. M. M. Ntusi was promoted to the post of senior planner of education in the territory.

In 1965 Mr. C. M. C. Ndamse, a lecturer at Fort Hare, was dismissed by the Republican Government for alleged conduct that had been "academically and professionally reprehensible". The Transkeian Government appointed him to a post at the Jongilizwe College for the sons of chiefs and headmen, and then proposed promoting him to be a professional assistant in its Department of Education. He is one of the most highly qualified educationists in the Transkei. At that stage, however, South Africa's Department of Justice served on Mr. Ndamse severe banning orders which, inter alia, prohibited him from entering educational institutions. The Transkeian Government took up this matter with the Republican Government and, some seven months later, the banning order was relaxed to allow Mr. Ndamse to accept the new post offered to him.

FARMING AND AFFORESTATION

According to an investigation by Dr. P. Smit, for the Africa Institute, 23 percent of the surface area of the Transkei (the total area of which is 16,675 square miles—about 5,041,408 morgen) can be cultivated. The rest is well suited to stock farming.

As mentioned earlier, the Transkeian Government plans to spend R4,548,000 on agriculture and forestry in the 1966-7 financial year. A further R814,000 will be spent on the construction of roads and bridges. The Transkei's first five-year development plan was completed at the end of March, and a second five-year project is being planned.

According to the South African Minister of Bantu Administra-

(22) Bulletin of the Africa Institute, August.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966

Between 1956 and 1965 the Bantu Trust purchased 31 farms from Whites in the Matatiele and Umzimkulu districts, 21,297 morgen in extent.

The information that follows has been condensed from a speech by the Transkeian Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, Mr. C. Madikizela, as reported in the Cape Times on 28 July; investigations by Dr. P. Smith and Dr. G. M. E. Leistner, published in the Bulletin of the Africa Institute for August; the issue of Bantu for March; and the issue of the South African Digest for 13 May.

At the end of 1964, 31.5 per cent of the total area of the Transkei had been planned. African contractors are employed to fence camps in order to control grazing. About 3,000 miles of fencing are erected annually: 12,245 miles were built during the recently concluded five-year period. By the end of 1964, 2,438 miles of contour and diversion banks had been constructed and 119,625 miles of grass strips planted.

By then, 114,985 waterways had been demarcated and protected, 310 boreholes sunk, 118 of these being fully equipped, and 1,110 dams constructed. The biggest irrigation scheme is at Qamata, some 40 miles from Queenstown, where about 1,800 men are employed on building the Lubisi dam and irrigation channels. By the end of 1965, sufficient water was available from the Lanti weir to irrigate 135 morgen, on which the first 90 farmers were settled. The aim is eventually to place 4,100 morgen under irrigation. Besides this scheme, there are 314 morgen of irrigated land in the Matatiele, Umzimkulu, Mount Ayliff, Umtata, and St. Marks districts.

An experimental farm has been established at Umgazi, near Port St. Johns, where cotton, coffee, a special variety of maize, pecan nuts, sugar cane, castor oil, and sunflower seed are being cultivated. Seedlings are supplied to interested African farmers.

The cultivation of various new crops is being pioneered. Cotton growing has proved successful in the Port St. Johns and St. Marks districts, and may have a bright future on irrigation schemes. The fibre phormium tenax is being grown at Lambezi, near Lusikisiki, several small fibre processing machines already being in operation. At Lambezi, too, there is a tea nursery. Nearby, 600 morgen are shortly to be placed under tea, with plots for interested farmers, who will obtain plants from the nursery. The authorities are planning to process the tea before this is sent to blenders. The cultivation of coffee and sugar has been commenced. All these projects are, at present, in very early stages, but farmers are showing increasing interest. During 1964, 54,510 African farmers used 134,311 tons of fertilizers on 186,340 morgen of land.

There are some 1,400,000 head of cattle in the Transkei. The yield from milk schemes was close on R6,000 in 1964. Sheep and

(23) Assembly, 8 February, Hansard 3 cols. 1008-9.
goats number about 1,900,000 and 900,000 respectively. Wool valued at R3,800,000 was produced in the 1963/4 financial year. During that year, 116 agricultural shows and more than 80 stock sales were held. At the time of the Tomlinson Commission investigations, most of the Transkei was over-grazed, but with proper planning and rotational grazing several areas are now undergrazed. The Government is planning a large-scale agricultural co-operative movement, the main object of which is to provide farmers with agricultural credit. More than 102,500 morgen of indigenous forest is controlled by the Department of Agriculture and Forestry. By the end of 1965, 48,178 morgen of non-indigenous trees had been planted, about 2,000 morgen being added annually, mainly in the Umzimkulu, Umtata, and Tsolo districts. Forestry provides work for about 400 permanent officials (60 of whom are seconded by the Republic) and 4,500 unskilled workers.

COMMERCE AND SECONDARY INDUSTRY IN THE TRANSKEI

Bantu Laws Amendment Act, No. 63 of 1966

Section 24 of the Bantu Trust and Land Act, No. 18 of 1936 as amended, provides that, unless permission is granted, no-one other than an African may live in, or be in, or carry on any profession, business, trade, or calling on, land owned by the Trust, or by an African, or by a missionary society, in a scheduled or released African area. With certain exceptions (e.g. in regard to prospecting or mineral rights granted prior to 1936) no permit to carry on any profession, business, trade, or calling on such land may be granted without the consent of the Minister. The 1966 Amendment Act lays down that, as from a date to be fixed by the State President, these restrictions will apply:

(a) to any territory which has been or is declared a self-governing territory within the Republic;
(b) to any person who is not a citizen of that territory.

It will, thus, become increasingly difficult, not only for Whites and Coloured, but also for Africans who are not citizens of the Transkei, to obtain permission to operate professional practices, or trading concerns, in that territory.

Commerce

According to the investigations by Dr. G. M. E. Leistner, mentioned above, early in 1966 there were 297 Africans in the Transkei holding general dealers' licences. In addition there were 18 fresh produce dealers, 14 millers, 119 speculators, 16 bakers, 89 owners of cafés or eating houses, and 30 owners of various smaller concerns.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966

Dr. J. Adendorff, the general manager of the Bantu Investment Corporation, said in September(4) that since this Corporation commenced operating (in July 1959) it had granted loans, amounting to R496,000, to 1,139 Transkeians to assist them in starting trading concerns. In the Corporation's experience, however, success would not be achieved by financial assistance alone: business training was of even greater importance.
For this reason, in 1965 the Corporation established a training school at a trading station it had acquired near Umtata. It was announced in July (25) that four further training schools were to be opened.

Dr. Adendorff said that, by September, the Corporation had taken over 50 trading stations that had been purchased from Whites by the Bantu Trust. Fourteen of these were already being managed by Africans trained under the scheme described above. They would be able to buy the concerns as soon as they had proved themselves and had accumulated the necessary capital.

The Corporation has established the central Selborne commercial undertaking in Umtata, which will buy goods in bulk and distribute them to African traders.

Secondary industry

In the article quoted earlier, Dr. P. Smit reported that the Vulindlele factory at Umtata was, by mid-1966, using about 50,000 cubic feet of timber a year, for the manufacture of school desks, cupboards, timber houses, and other items. Dr. Leistner added that this factory employed 321 persons.

Hildmond Weavers, near Umtata, which produces mats, curtaining, upholstery, and table linen, had two White managers and about 11 African men and 85 women employees, Dr. Leistner continued.

A meat deboning factory on the outskirts of Umtata opened during 1966 and, by August, was handling ten carcasses a day. The various cuts are packed in special cartons and are then frozen. This venture was financed by the Transkeian Government and is being operated by the Bantu Investment Corporation until Africans have been trained to take over control.

The Government plans to establish a rope manufacturing factory at Butterworth, which will make use of phormium tenax grown in the Transkei.2

In the Assembly on 12 October (27) the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said that a large, millionaire firm had offered to lend money to the Bantu Investment Corporation for the establishment of factories in the Transkei and other Bantu areas. It

(25) South African Digest, 1 July.
(26) Sunday Times, 2 October.

THE TRANSKEI

would provide managers and technicians to train Africans to run these concerns, and would receive a royalty on products sold.

According to a subsequent report in the South African Digest of 21 October, the Deputy Minister added in a Press interview that several companies, which were prepared to make millions of rand available, were negotiating with the Bantu Investment Corporation. One company was interested in afforestation. In agreements being negotiated it was stipulated that the private entrepreneur would receive a reasonable profit on his investment, but that the undertakings would remain under the control of the Bantu Investment Corporation until, eventually, they became the property of the Bantu.

EMPLOYMENT STATISTICS
In a speech made in the Legislative Assembly\(^2\) the Minister of the Interior, Chief Jeremiah Moshesh, said that 33,007 Africans were in paid employment in the Transkei. They worked for 9,226 employers, and, during 1965, earned R4,192,000—an average of about R127 each. Dr. Leistner estimated that about 22,300 of these workers were men and 10,700 women, employed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government Departments</td>
<td>40.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic and sundry services</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>.......8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture, forestry, fishing</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>..........17.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4.8 per cent of the workers were not accounted for in the table that is quoted.)

Questioned in the South African Assembly on 5 August,\(^2\) the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that 20,142 Africans were recruited in the Transkei by government labour bureaux during 1965 for work in other areas, and 11,689 during the first six months of 1966. Calculating from detailed figures given by the Minister, it would appear that of these workers, about 71 per cent went to the Western Cape on a short-term migratory basis.

Chief Moshesh added that labour agents recruited another 104,000 workers during 1965, some 49 per cent of these for the gold mines.

Altogether, he said, about 257,586 Transkeians were employed outside the territory, of whom approximately 118,000 were longterm (if not permanent) absentees in continuous employment in

(23) Quoted in the South African Digest, 20 May, and Natal Mercury, 13 May.
(29) Hansard 1 col. 258.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966

South Africa. During 1965, migratory African labour earned the Transkei some R9,000,000 in the forms of money remitted, or saved and brought home.

It was stated in the Senate on 16 September,\(^1\) on behalf of the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, that 74,135 Africans from the Transkei were employed in mining in the Republic. As at 30 June 1964, 208,964 Transkeians were in urban areas of South Africa, and 56,699 in rural areas.

ALLEGED UNREST

As mentioned on page 65, in spite of opposition from Democratic Party members the Legislative Assembly decided against asking the South African Government to repeal the emergency regulations for the Transkei, originally gazetted as Proclamations 400 and 413 of 1960. Twelve Africans were imprisoned for offences under the Proclamations during 1965, and, in the first four months of 1966, 62 persons were detained.

The alleged plot to murder Paramount Chief Matanzima is described on page 86.

As a sub-headman, Jeremiah Sithole, from the Isikheni Location near Umzimkulu, was murdered during April, following which two weeks' sporadic fighting took place amongst the tribesmen.\(^3\) These events, and investigations of alleged P.A.C. activities, led to intensive police activities. It is reported that hundreds of people were arrested, many of them being released later without having been charged
with any offence. At least 91 banning orders were served on Transkeians between January and the end of November, mainly people from the Mqanduli, Umtata, Willowvale, Engcobo, and Lady Frere districts. Some of these were persons newly-released from gaol after serving sentences for P.A.C. or A.N.C. activities. It is stated by African visitors that they encountered an atmosphere of fear. People were afraid of secret police informers., and were unwilling to talk freely to strangers.

**NEW GOVERNMENT NEWSPAPER**

The South African Department of Information has launched a Xhosa newspaper Ikhwezi lase-Transkei (The Transkei Morning Star) which, it is reported, is being issued to the public free of charge. The privately-owned weekly Urnthunya, has ceased publication.\(^{(32)}\)

\(^{(30)}\) Hansard 3 col. 408. 
\(^{(31)}\) Star, 27 April. 
\(^{(32)}\) Territorial News, 11 August.

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**AFRICAN RESERVES**

**OTHER AFRICAN AREAS**

**THE EXTENT OF THE RESERVES**

Categories of areas included

The African Reserves (including the Transkei) consist of:

(a) the scheduled areas, which are, in the main, the areas occupied by Africans at the time that the Natives Land Act of 1913 was passed (there have been certain changes);

(b) land acquired by Africans between 1913 and 1936 in areas recommended by various commissions for "release" to them;

(c) the released areas. The Native Trust and Land Act of 1936 provided that a "quota" of 7 million morgen of land should gradually be added to the Reserves, 1,616,000 morgen of this in the Cape, 526,000 morgen in Natal, 5,028,000 morgen in the Transvaal, and 80,000 morgen in the Free State. However, only 6,729,853 morgen of this quota land (constituting the released areas) was demarcated in a schedule to the 1936 Act.

Land within the released areas, or (to fulfil quota requirements) adjoining existing Reserves, may be acquired by the South African Bantu Trust or by Africans.

**Black spots**

Some of the land included under sub-heads (a) or (b) above consisted of farms or settlements, owned or traditionally occupied by Africans, which were surrounded by farms owned by Whites. These have become known as "black spots". The Tomlinson Commission\(^{(1)}\) stated that at the end of March 1953 these black spots were 188,660 morgen in extent, and that additional land, besides the 7 million morgen, would have to be found in order that the inhabitants of these areas might be resettled, with a view to the partial consolidation of the Bantu areas. Subsequently, however, the Government decided that some of the smaller African Reserves, and parts of others that jutted out into White farming areas, should also...
be regarded as black spots. According to the 1963 Report of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development\(Y\) an investigation made in 1960 showed that the total area of the black spots, as then regarded, was 728.537 morgen. Since 1960, there have been further policy changes. Additional African-owned areas have been classified as black spots, while


A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966
other African land that previously fell in this category is to be retained to house workers employed in border industries (e.g. the Makushane Location near Phalaborwa).

Departmental reports indicate(3) that, by the end of 1964, 95,651 morgen of black spot land, on which 55,700 Africans were living, had been cleared. A prominent Nationalist Party member, Mr. G. F. van L. Froneman, M.P., said in the Assembly on 26 January(4) that, by 30 September 1965, a further 32,000 morgen had been cleared.

Black spots may be removed by negotiation, or, failing agreement, by expropriation. In its 1963 Report the Department stated that African plot-holders receive compensation made up of the market value of their land, the value of any improvements, and an additional sum amounting to 20 per cent of the total as an "inconvenience allowance". Those who owned less than 20 morgen can buy a plot in a township in a Bantu area. Those who owned more than 20 morgen can buy farming land in a released area. All may take usable material (doors, window-frames, etc.) from the improvements they have effected, and they are given free transport.

It is impossible to determine how this black spot removal plan will affect the total area to be allocated to Africans, as envisaged by Parliament in 1936. It would seem that, to the extent that Africans who owned less than 20 morgen move to "homeland" villages, and that those entitled to buy alternative farming land elect not to do so, the total area of the Reserves, as authorized by Parliament, is, in fact, being diminished.

Scheduled areas
In Departmental reports prior to that for 1964, the total extent of the scheduled areas was given as 10,729,435 morgen.(5) But the 1964 report gives a much smaller figure, of 9,745,341 morgen. It states that the earlier figure "was taken from the Tomlinson Report, but unfortunately it was discovered too late that this also included land reserved for public purposes or private ownership". The new figure, according to the report, refers to land vested in South African Bantu Trust and used for Bantu occupation.

If this were the only explanation of the difference between the two figures, the Tomlinson Commission must have underestimated the size of the scheduled areas by 984,094 morgen. But it seems that the discrepancy is actually greater than this, for the Department states that the area of land which the Trust has acquired from African owners in scheduled and released areas in recent years is included in the new figure of 9,745,341 morgen.
The position is further complicated by recent developments in the Transkei. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Trust-owned property there was as from 1 April 1966 transferred to the
(4) Hansard 1 cols. 149.
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AFRICAN RESERVES
Transkeian Government. Furthermore, the Trust has purchased certain farms from Whites in the Matatiele and Mount Fletcher districts.
The writer, thus, finds it impossible to give any reliable estimate of the extent of the scheduled areas at the time of writing.

Land acquired by Africans before 1936
In its 1963 report, the Department stated that at the end of that year the land in this category was 1,440,137 morgen in extent. According to the subsequent report, as at 31 December 1964 the area concerned was 1,416,400 morgen. The decrease was attributed to black spot removals and to the fact, mentioned above, that the Trust has bought some properties from Africans in scheduled and released areas.
The released areas
Crown land within the released areas was vested in the Trust when the 1936 Act became law, and other land has, since, been included in this category. Some of it has been sold to Africans removed from black spots who were entitled to, and elected to, buy alternative land.
The 1964 Departmental report stated that the Trust-vested quota land was 1,843,389 morgen in extent at the end of that year. According to a statement by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development on 2 September 1966,(6) as at that date the area was 1,871,223 morgen.
The Trust, or African tribes or individuals, are entitled to buy "quota" land, in the released areas, or adjoining existing Reserves. The most recently-published figures are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quota land purchased</th>
<th>As at 31 December 1964(*)</th>
<th>September 1966()</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>by the Trust since</td>
<td>Morgen</td>
<td>Morgen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>3,089,819</td>
<td>3,283,629</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by Africans since</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>439,630</td>
<td>443,822</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Summing up
As will be evident, according to the information at present available it is impossible for the layman to state with any exactitude the present area of the African Reserves. The figures given above (subject to the qualifications noted) indicate the following approximate position, however:
(6) Assembly Hansard 5 col. 1923.
(7) Departmental report, op cit.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966

Scheduled areas (as at 31 December 1964). Land acquired by Africans before 1936 and still in African possession as at 31 December 1964. Land within released areas or adjoining existing Reserves (in September 1966):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Vested in the Trust</th>
<th>Purchased by the Trust</th>
<th>Purchased by Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Morgen</td>
<td>9,745,341</td>
<td>1,416,400</td>
<td>1,871,223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,871,223</td>
<td>3,283,629</td>
<td>443,822</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16,760,415</td>
<td>16,760,415</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As indicated earlier, this figure includes the area of African owned land in the Transkei. The total area of the Transkei is stated to be about 5,041,408 morgen, but this probably includes land owned by Whites.

Questioned in the Assembly on 9 August 1966, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that the total extent of the Bantu areas in the Republic, excluding the Transkei, was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bantu area</th>
<th>Morgen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td>1,130,492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>3,595,008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Areas</td>
<td>4,758,909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Areas</td>
<td>3,240,760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12,725,169</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Institute of Race Relations has recently published a map showing the distribution of the very much scattered scheduled and released areas. During the financial year 1966-7, a sum of R9,000,000 was voted from Loan Account for the purchase of land by the Trust.

SOME REDISTRIBUTION OF LAND IN RECENT MONTHS

Ciskei

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 19 August, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that, to date, the Trust had purchased 102,312 morgen in the Ciskei, and that, of this, 14,465 morgen were bought during 1965 and 5,142 morgen during the first six months of 1966. Negotiations were in progress for the purchase of another 11,389 morgen.

(9) Calculated from a figure given by Dr. P. Smit, quoted in the previous chapter.
(10) Hansard 2 col. 393.
(11) Hansard 3 col. 1044.

AFRICAN RESERVES
The Minister of Agricultural Credit and Land Tenure announced on 26 August(12) that 4,468 morgen had reverted to his department as a result of the elimination of black spots in the Ciskei. Details of remaining black spots were given by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development on 2 September.(3) Sixty of them, 22,324 morgen in extent, had still to be cleared, and, of these, 26 were more than 200 morgen in area. Newlands location near East London was to be removed in the near future. It was, so far, undecided whether certain other areas would be consolidated or removed: these were the Mooiplaats and Kwelela locations near East London, the Umgwali Reserve at Stutterheim, the Goshen Mission at Cathcart, and the Lesseyton location at Queenstown.

Natal

According to a Press statement by the assistant secretary of the Natal Agricultural Union,14) made in March, during the past three years this Union had made about 47,368 morgen of land available to the Trust in exchange for the removal of black spots and in part fulfilment of the quota requirements for Natal. The Deputy Minister of Bantu Development said in the Senate on 8 August(5) that there were then more than 200 separately occupied Bantu areas in Natal. His task was to try to consolidate these areas. (As mentioned in last year's Survey(“) the Department accepts that it will be impossible to consolidate all the Bantu areas of Natal.)

It was stated in the Senate on 8 February and 9 August,(17 on behalf of the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, that the Trust was buying 10 farms, 13,890 morgen in extent, in the Klipriver district, and three farms, of 10,080 morgen, in the Weenen Area. Further land was being acquired from Whites in the Nqutu district.

On 18 September, the Government gave notice in the Gazette of the expropriation of large numbers of properties owned by Africans in a released area in the Pietermaritzburg county. Monetary compensation was offered. On 11 October, Parliament agreed to the declaration as released areas of a portion of Plessislaer, near Pietermaritzburg, and a stretch of beach in the Umzinto District (known as Turton).

Western Areas

Considerable publicity was given, early in 1966,8) to the removal of approximately 500 Africans from a shack settlement on worked-out diamond diggings at Holpan, about 34 miles to the north-west of Kimberley. A few of the men worked on other diggings or, intermittently, for farmers, but many were unemployed. Some of these people
accepted accommodation in a new village called Majeakgoro, in a Reserve some fifty miles away, but others refused to go (mainly, it was stated, because no work was available there).

Eventually, just before Christmas, lorries were sent to move these remaining people to the Mamuthla Reserve, about fifty miles north of Holpan. They were allowed to take with them removable materials from their shacks. On arrival at Mamuthla the Africans found that no tents had been erected for temporary shelter, as has been done in other removal schemes, no rations were provided, the water supplies were insufficient, and no work was available locally. These people were forced to erect what shelters they could from the pitifully inadequate materials they had brought with them. The Anglican Bishop of Kimberley, the Rt. Rev. E. Crowther, established a relief fund to provide them with food, blankets, and building materials.

As the Bishop is an American citizen he was not free to visit the Reserve without a permit (as South African or British-born White ministers may do, in terms of regulations issued under the Trust and Land Act). An African priest, thus, visited the people at Mamuthla to distribute rations and, on 4 February, told a Diamond Fields Advertiser reporter that he had found them to be "dirty and despondent". No official report has been made on subsequent developments.

Other unemployed Africans were moved to Majeakgoro from the Zambezi location at Windsorton.

The (White) Zeerust District Agricultural Union has been resisting Departmental plans to buy certain White-owned farms in its area for the resettlement of Africans from black spots. Opposition has been encountered, too, from residents of black spots, for example a section of the BaHurutshe tribe who were required to move to a farm adjoining one of the larger Reserves.

Northern Areas
Removal schemes, with a view to the consolidation of Bantu areas, have been in progress in the Northern Areas, too, and, again, certain groups of Africans have been resentful (in the Zebediela area for instance). No recent statistics have been published.

THE CONCEPT OF SEPARATE BANTU NATIONS
In the Assembly on 13 October (Hansard 11 cols. 4131-7) the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that his object was to give definite shape "to every Bantu nation in accordance with its own national character". "I want," he continued, "to bring a most interesting point to the attention of all of us. As regards all the various nations we have here, the White

AFRICAN RESERVES
nation, the Coloured nation, the Indian nation, the various Bantu nations, something to which we have given too little regard is the fact that numerically the White nation is superior to all other nations in South Africa . . . It has a very wide implication for us all. Firstly, it demonstrates our duty as guardians . . . It also demonstrates the utter folly of saying that a minority government is ruling others in South Africa."
"Our policy," the Minister continued, "is based on the facts . . . (of) the separateness and the diversity of the various Bantu nations and other nations in South Africa as separate national entities set on separate courses to separate destinies."

"The Bantu in the White areas," he said, "are here for the work we have to offer them and which they also need . . . They are not here to anchor themselves . . . We must help the Bantu to maintain their national ties, their language ties . . . with their homelands and their families, even if they were born here in the White areas." In the White areas "the Bantu has always been subject to restrictions ... not because we regard him as an inferior being ... (but because) we regard him as being present in another man's country."

"In the final instance," the Minister emphasized, "our work is directed at eventual geographic partition."

**BANTU AUTHORITIES**

Little further progress has been made during 1966 in the completion of the Bantu Authorities pattern, and there is still opposition to the system in some areas, for example parts of Natal and in the Rustenburg area.(19)

Eight new tribal authorities were established in Natal during the year under review. It was stated in the Senate on 9 August(") that there were 282 African tribes in this province, and that 107 tribal authorities and 12 regional authorities were then functioning. The Department could not forecast when a Zulu territorial authority would be created.

The Hlanganani regional authority, four new tribal authorities, and five community authorities have been established in the Northern Areas during the past year. The powers and functions of a regional authority have been conferred on the Bofokeng tribal authority in the Rustenburg area.

Increased powers have been promised to the Tswana and Lebowa (Northern Sotho) territorial authorities.

Three Africans have now been appointed to the posts of Assistant Bantu Affairs Commissioners-in districts in Zululand, the Ciskei, and the Hammanskraal area.21)

(19) Star report, 30 August.
(20) Hansard 1 cols. 110-1.
(21) Star, 30 June.

**A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966**

**EXPENDITURE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RESERVES**

In the Assembly on 8 February(22) the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development gave details of the amounts thus far spent on the five-year plan for the development of the Reserves, which was announced in December 1961.

(Expenditure in the Transkei until this territory established its own departments of Agriculture and Forestry and of Roads and Works, at the end of the 1963-4 financial year, is apparently included.) According to the information given, a total of R87,522,990 was spent, 53 per cent of this being on the development of rural townships.
The Minister said on 9 August(23) that R26,471,210 was spent in 1964-5. An amount of R32,218,000 was voted from Loan Account for the 1966-7 financial year.(24)

FARMING AND AFFORESTATION IN THE RESERVES

Area planned

According to the annual report of the Soil Conservation Board for the year ended 30 June 1965(25), by the end of 1964 the percentages of the Bantu areas that had been planned were: Percentage of total area

- Ciskei: 51.10
- Natal: 28.82
- Northern Areas: 80.52
- Western Areas: 29.77
- Total: 49.53

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 9 August(2") the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development gave figures relating to the areas that had been divided into arable lands, grazing camps, and residential areas. Percentages these formed of the total areas concerned work out as follows:(27) Percentage of total area

- Ciskei: 39.9
- Natal: 20.0
- Northern Areas: 22.5
- Western Areas: 91.0

Conservation works

It is stated in the report of the Soil Conservation Board and that of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development (22) Hansard 3 col. 1000.
(23) Assembly Hansard 2 col. 382.
(26) Hansard 2 col. 386.
(27) The percentages for the Northern and Western Areas would seem difficult to reconcile with the Soil Conservation Board’s statistics.

AFRICAN RESERVES

for 1964 that the following conservation works were completed in the Reserves (excluding the Transkei) during 1964:

- 1,404 miles of weirs and contour banks;
- 5,659 miles of grass strips;
- 69 miles of grass waterways;
- 6,025 miles of soil and veld conservation fencing;
- 530 miles of roads;
- 25 bridges;
- 36 larger and 246 smaller dams;
- 728 boreholes sunk and 441 of these equipped;
- 47 dipping tanks constructed.

Irrigation
The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said in the Assembly on 5 August that 23,236 morgen in the Bantu areas were by then under irrigation. According to the Departmental report, 1,336 morgen were irrigated during 1964. As mentioned in last year's Survey, very good progress is being made in Northern Transvaal. One of the largest schemes there is Shiombe, near Sibasa, covering some 1,140 morgen.

A new scheme on the Umsundizi River, in the Inanda location in Natal, is being sponsored by the Pietermaritzburg Bantu Regional Authority. It is, so far, uncertain to what extent Africans will benefit from the Pongola Poort scheme, one of the largest new projects in the Republic. Work is proceeding fast on the Jozi dam, where the Pongola river cuts through the Lebombo Mountains before entering the vast Makatini Flats. From this dam about 1,000 miles of canals will irrigate, eventually, about 70,000 morgen of land, so far undeveloped, on which sugar, rice, fibres, coffee, and semitropical fruits may be grown. An experimental farm has already been established, and soil surveys are in progress. It is planned that the first 3,700 White farmers will possibly be settled on the irrigated holdings by 1970.

It has been mentioned in previous issues of this Survey that this irrigation scheme was suggested by the Institute of Race Relations in its evidence to the Tomlinson Commission in 1951. But the Institute proposed that the scheme should be for the benefit of Africans, the traditional occupants of the Makatini Flats. Several African Reserves fall within the area to be irrigated, but most of it is State-owned land, occupied by Africans. According to a statement by the Minister of Water Affairs in 1965, 90.9 per cent of the irrigable area is at present owned by the State, 5.3 per cent consists of scheduled African Reserves, and 3.8 per cent is privately-owned.

Employment will be created for Africans on plots that are allocated to Whites; but very large numbers of Africans will have to move from their present peasant holdings on State land, and it has, so far, not been stated whether the African Reserves concerned will be preserved and developed, or abolished to make way for White settlers.

Some crops introduced in recent years

Dr. J. Adendorff, general manager of the Bantu Investment Corporation, said in January that about 20,850 morgen of land in the Reserves were suitable for
sugar-cane planting. There were already more than 3,500 African planters. According to the 1964 report of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, quoted above, the 1964-5 crop yielded 195,320 tons of cane. The Minister stated on 5 August(35) that, at the end of 1965, there were 10,951 morgen under cane.

Dr. Adendorff said that about 28,420 morgen were suitable for the cultivation of resilient fibres. Sisal, phormium tenax, and furcraea are being grown; and the Minister announced in August that a total of 7,655 morgen had by then been planted. One automatic decorticating machine (which is at Chloe in the Northern Transvaal) and 34 mobile units were in use, the Minister added, whilst equipment for a second automatic decorticater had been bought.

A tea project of 1,420 morgen is in progress in Vendaland, in the Northern Transvaal,(36) coffee nurseries have been established, and officials are experimenting with the introduction of various other crops such as cotton, castor oil, and tapioca.

The Departmental report stated that, at the end of 1964, 430 morgen were under vegetables, and 386,638 fruit trees had been planted.

Afforestation
In the statement quoted above, the Minister said that there were 112,493 morgen of indigenous forest in the Reserves (excluding the Transkei), and a further 47,762 morgen had been afforested. No saw-mills had, as yet, been established, but 11 creosoting plants were in operation.

Dr. Adendorff said that the Department planned to plant at least 4,700 morgen annually.

The issue of Bantu for June contained a description of the indigenous forests, containing many valuable trees, and of the pine
(36) Bantu, June.

AFRICAN RESERVES

and gum plantations in the Tate-Vondo Forest Reserve of Vendaland, from which it is hoped to produce 1,250,000 cubic feet of timber a year.

In the April issue there was an account of the only forestry school so far established for Africans, which is near Pietermaritzburg. In 1966 it had 23 students, numbers of them from the Transkei. The minimum entrance qualification is the Junior Certificate, and a diploma is awarded to those who pass the course. Government bursaries are available.

Stock farming and fisheries
According to the Department's report for 1964, during that year 452 stock sales were held at which 59,765 large and 18,402 small stock were sold, realizing R2,130,060.

At the end of 1964, there were 153 dairy schemes in operation, with 2,958 participants. The gross income they earned during the year was R55,952.
Work has been continued on the breeding of fish in dams and rivers as a source of food. Plans are in hand for netting and selling kurper, which are to be found in the Fundutzi lake in Vendaland. (37)

Extension workers
The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said in the Assembly on 5 August (38) that his department employed 435 African extension workers (officially known as Bantu agricultural advisers), and that a further 177 were being trained at agricultural schools.

COMMUNITY SERVICES IN THE RESERVES
A draft proclamation, published as Government Notice 1016 of 1 July, dealt with the construction and maintenance of community and emergency services in Bantu areas. Community services were defined as the burning of fire-breaks, erection or repair of works, making of hay and ensilage, maintenance of dipping tanks, and destruction of noxious weeds. Emergency services are the suppression of fires, and the minimising or prevention of damage by flood waters or other natural disasters.

In terms of this draft proclamation, the Bantu Affairs Commissioner may direct that any man between the ages of 19 and 65 inclusive, or any classes of such Africans, shall be ordered to perform work on any community service. The Commissioner will fix the rate of remuneration, if any. An African ordered to do such work may provide a suitable substitute for himself, or may be exempted if good reason is shown.

(37) Bantu, June.
(38) Hansard 1 cols. 258-9.

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The Bantu Affairs Commissioner may order every able-bodied man between the ages specified to carry out emergency services. Normally, no remuneration will be payable, but the Departmental Secretary may authorize ex gratia payments if the work performed is of substantial benefit to the Bantu Trust.

If anyone is injured on duty the Secretary will determine what compensation, if any, is payable. Men convicted of failing to obey an order to carry out community or emergency services are liable to maximum penalties of R20 or 20 days.

MINING IN THE RESERVES
Certain mineral rights in the Reserves were, in the past, granted to Whites. The Minister said on 5 August (39) that during the period 1 April 1965 to 3 June 1966 his Department received R272,110 from royalties and prospecting fees in respect of such rights.

Otherwise, the prospecting for and mining of minerals falls under the control of the Minister. The latest Departmental report states that the Bantu Trust is prospecting for diamonds in the Taung Reserve.

The BaFokeng tribe, near Rustenburg, has agreed to a contract in terms of which the Impala Prospecting Company (a subsidiary of Union Corporation) will mine platinum deposits in its area. (40)

TOWNSHIPS IN THE RESERVES
In reply to a question in the Assembly on 19 August,(41) the Minister gave details relating to 50 townships which had been established by his department in Bantu areas, at a cost of about R44,500,000. Their total population was estimated to be 183,200. The largest were Umlazi outside Durban (60,000 inhabitants), Zwelitsha outside King William's Town (11,500), Ga Rankuwa outside Pretoria (11,200), Thlabane outside Rustenburg (8,000), Madadeni near Newcastle (7,800), and Mountain View, also near Newcastle (7,300).

An examination of the Minister's list makes it clear that, except for the smallest of them, these townships all house urban workers or people employed in border industries. As pointed out in last year's Survey(42), official figures indicating the distribution of Africans as between towns, White farming areas, and the Reserves are becoming meaningless, since increasingly large numbers of Africans employed in towns are being housed in villages situated in Reserves fairly close at hand, from which they commute daily or weekly.

(39) Assembly Hansard I col. 259.
(40) Rand Daily Mail, 14 October.
(41) Hansard 3 cols. 1050-1.
(42) Page 111.

AFRICAN RESERVES

COMMERCE AND SECONDARY INDUSTRY IN THE RESERVES

The paragraphs that follow have been compiled from information given by the Minister in the Assembly on 9 August, as supplemented from other sources.(43) One of the activities of the Bantu Investment Corporation is to make loans available to approved African applicants in the Republic, the Transkei, and South-West Africa. Between its inception in July 1959 and 15 June 1966, the Corporation granted the following loans:

(a) 516 loans, to a total value of R2,031,952, to African traders for establishing or stocking businesses such as wholesale or retail trading companies, cafés, butcheries, bakeries, etc.;
(b) 71 loans, to a total value of R500,327, for the establishment of service concerns such as transport services, garages, etc;
(c) 27 loans, to a total value of R14,847, for the establishment of small manufacturing concerns-brickworks, cabinet making, furniture manufacturing, and others;
(d) 6 loans, to the value of R6,000, to enable Africans to float a private company;
(e) 228 individual housing loans, totalling R260,387.

The Corporation has erected 130 trading premises for sale or lease to Africans. It has itself established, or has purchased, wholesale businesses at Sibasa, near Groblersdal, at Bushbuckridge, at Soekmekaar, and near Rustenburg, is planning others at Umlazi and Pietersburg, and has set up a central buying organization in Pretoria, to serve these businesses. The Corporation has also established or taken over at least three bakeries (in the Groblersdal district, near Hammanskraal, and at
Sibasa), a furniture factory at Letaba, a small leather goods factory near Rustenburg, a grain mill, and a mineral water factory. All these concerns will eventually be disposed of to Africans and, meanwhile, they are being used as training centres.

A handicrafts centre has been established to the north of Pretoria, and another is nearing completion in a Reserve to the east of White River.

Four savings banks are functioning under the Corporation's control—at Umtata, Pretoria, Zwelitsha, and Umlazi. Deposits are accepted, too, by the Corporation's offices at other centres. As at 31 March 1966, Africans had deposited the following amounts:

- R94,732 in savings deposits;
- R9,226 in fixed period deposits;
- R1,414,348 in indefinite period deposits.

(43) Hansard 2 cols. 413-4. Also the South African Digest of 24 June and 29 July, Bantu for April, and an article quoting Dr. J. Adendorff in the Natal Mercury, 2 March.

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POSSIBLE USE OF WHITE CAPITAL IN THE
DEVELOPMENT OF THE RESERVES
As mentioned on page 138, the Bantu Investment Corporation is negotiating with certain White-owned companies which are prepared to finance the establishment of factories or commercial concerns, or to undertake afforestation projects, in Bantu areas. At the time of writing, negotiations are in progress. According to the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, the entrepreneurs will receive a reasonable profit on their investments, and will provide managers and technicians to train Africans to run the concerns. The undertakings will, however, remain under the control of the Bantu Investment Corporation until, ultimately, they become the property of the Africans.

BORDER INDUSTRIES
INDUSTRIES ON THE BORDERS OF
THE RESERVES
SOURCE OF MATERIAL
The information in the following pages is taken, in the main, from the 1965 report of the Permanent Committee for the Location of Industry and the Development of Border Areas.

SERVICES AND INCENTIVES PROVIDED BY THE GOVERNMENT
AND ITS AGENCIES
Between July 1960, when incentives were first made available to industrialists to establish undertakings in border areas, and the end of 1965, the assistance described below was given. In some cases a single concern received more than one type of help.

(a) The Industrial Development Corporation contributed
approximately R34,800,000, in 71 cases, in the form of loans, share capital, and the erection of factory buildings for lease or sale.
(b) Tax rebates, amounting to R1,027,000 spread over a number of years, were granted in 83 cases in respect of investments in building and machinery and, in some instances, the cost of power, water, and transport.
(c) Additional tax rebates, to the sum of R324,070 spread over at least ten years, were granted in respect of housing for key White personnel. Besides this, the Department of Community Development made R890,000 available for erection of houses for Whites.
(d) Loans totalling R250,000 were made to municipalities for the provision of rail facilities for industrial sites.
(e) Road transport concessions were granted in four instances.
(f) The 10 per cent railway rebate for the Transkei/Ciskei area, which came into operation on 1 May 1964, had cost the Exchequer R310,048 by the end of 1965.
(g) Wage concessions were granted to four undertakings.
(h) By March 1966, the Department of Bantu Administration and Development was likely to have completed almost 24,000 dwellings in 35 townships in Reserves in close proximity to the border areas. The total cost, including that of roads, drainage, water supply, sanitation, electricity, schools, recreation grounds, and public buildings, was likely to be approximately R20,900,000.
(i) By the end of 1964, Escom had invested more than R34,000,000 in electric power plants in border areas, and

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966
at that date schemes likely to cost an additional R10,000,000 were in the construction or planning stages.
(j) The Department of Water Affairs had invested R32,200,000, by 31 March 1966, in water schemes specifically for border area development or fitting in with industrial decentralization.

RESULTS ACHIEVED
The Committee stated that, over the past 5 years, 88 new industrial concerns had been established in border areas as a result of some or other form of assistance from the State, and 57 enterprises had received assistance to enable them to expand. The Committee was aware of a further 52 new concerns, or expansion of existing concerns, which had been undertaken in border areas since 1960 without State assistance, but as there is no compulsory registration, the figure may have been higher than this.
These new concerns, and expansions, involved private investment of more than R177,000,000, and provided employment for some 52,000 persons, of whom about 41,000 were Africans.

In the Assembly on 30 August(1) the Minister of Economic Affairs said that it was estimated that schemes contemplated for 1966 would provide employment for a further 4,200 Africans.

GROWTH-POINTS SELECTED BY THE GOVERNMENT

Hammarsdale

The Elangeni Estate at Hammarsdale, between Durban and Pietermaritzburg, was laid out by the Industrial Development Corporation. By the end of 1965, eleven factories had been built or were under construction there, four more were in the planning stage, and seven of these were in production. Total (including private) investment in the area amounted to approximately R 13,000,000.

Eventually, about 6,000 Africans may be employed in Hammarsdale factories.

According to the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development,(O) the African population was about 400 in September 1966. Of these, 168 were living in temporary wooden dwellings provided by his department.

This department is purchasing ground for laying out a township of about 7,000 dwellings, which will house Hammarsdale workers and those employed in the vicinity, for example at Cato Ridge.

In April 1966 the Trade Union Council of South Africa (Tucsa) published a fact paper in which the factories at Hammarsdale and in the other border areas were listed, and details were given of expenditure and employment opportunities in each area.

(1) Hansard 5 cols. 1678-9.
(2) Assembly, 2 September, Hansard 5 cols. 1907-8.

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BORDER INDUSTRIES

Rosslyn

In Rosslyn, which is about twelve miles from Pretoria, 12 large undertakings had been established by the end of 1965 (one of these being the Datsun-Nissan car and truck assembly and manufacturing plant), and 12 smaller concerns were operating from a "factory-nest" building, making use of certain common services. A further four factories were to be built, and applications had been received from another eight industrialists.

The total investment in the area already then amounted to R 11,000,000, and employment had been provided for 2,711 persons, of whom 2,283 were Africans(3) The African employees are housed at Ga Rankuya, in a Reserve about six miles away. Train and bus services are available.

The Ciskei area

Since 1960, 14 new undertakings (including the Cyril Lord textile factory) have been established in or near East London, and a number of concerns have been expanded. State assistance has been given to enable industrialists at King William's Town and Queenstown to expand their operations. Total investment in
these new undertakings and expansions is estimated to be R15,000,000, and employment has been created for 9,800 persons, 7,800 of them Africans. The African township of Mdantsane has been built in a Reserve about eleven miles north of East London, fairly near to the Cyril Lord factory. As described in last year's Survey, all the Africans of East London are eventually to be moved to Mdantsane.

Although it is situated in a border area, the Good Hope Textile Factory, near King William's Town, does not qualify for State incentives as it was established in 1946, before these became available. It employs more than 3,200 Africans and about 300 White executives.

Most of its African employees live in Zwelitsha township, just across the road but within a Reserve. This township has been extended in recent years, and various improvements have been effected (e.g. a new water supply, schools, and recreation facilities).

Pietermaritzburg and the Central Natal area
Nine new undertakings have been established in Pietermaritzburg during the past two years, others have expanded their activities, and the erection of other factories is likely. The total additional investment amounts to about R10,000,000, and employment has been created for about 1,800 persons, of whom 1,159 are Africans and 516 Indians.

(3) According to a later report, in the Star of 13 October, there were then about 400 Whites and 3,000 Africans employed at Rosslyn.

(4) Page 199.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966
African employees live in the new townships of Mbali or Ashdown, which are being developed by the City Council and the Local Health Commission, respectively.
Prospects of development in the Tugela Basin in central Natal are excellent. A harbour at Richard's Bay is envisaged. A few industrial concerns have been established during the past few years at Estcourt, Ladysmith, and Newcastle. Land for a large new African township, to serve Ladysmith and Colenso, has recently been purchased from White farmers by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development: it will become part of an adjoining Reserve.

Phalaborwa (Eastern Transvaal)
As described in last year's Survey, two large mining companies, Foskor and the Palabora Mining Company, are exploiting the phosphate, vermiculite, and copper resources at Phalaborwa. Four industrial undertakings have been established nearby. The total investment in mining and industry is estimated at R99,000,000. About 7,247 Africans were employed at the end of 1965, of whom 3,878 were temporary construction workers.

The Department of Bantu Administration and Development is constructing a new African township called Namakgale in the Makushane Reserve, which at one time was considered to be a black spot, but is now to be retained for Africans.

Pietersburg
Five new factories have been built in Pietersburg since 1960 (making a total of 46), and another was in the course of construction at the end of 1965. The Industrial Development Corporation has built a "factory nest" with 12 units, to accommodate smaller undertakings. A large new regional African township is being established.

Other Transvaal towns
Some industrial development has taken place in Potgietersrus, Tzaneen, Brits, and Rustenburg. Escom power is to be made available. The greatest immediate problem is a shortage of water.

Orange Free State
Since the Permanent Committee's report was compiled, official encouragement is being given to the establishment of border industries at Harrismith and Thaba 'Nchu.

GRENSKOR DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION
It was announced in February that the Grenskor Development Corporation had been formed in Johannesburg, with a nominal share capital of R1,000,000, to attract private initiative in the development of border areas. It had 566 foundation members who subscribed 321,600 shares of R1 each, further shares being offered for public subscription. The Corporation plans to help to finance new undertakings and to provide technical advice.

LIMITATION OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT ON THE REEF AND IN THE VAAL TRIANGLE
In a speech made at Meyerton (near Vereeniging) during March, the then Prime Minister, the late Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, announced that industrial development must be limited in the area served by the Vaal River. He advanced three reasons for this: the need to ease the strain on water resources; decentralization, in the interests of strategy, of essential industries; and the need to control the influx of a large African labour force.6)

On 1 April the Minister of Agricultural Technical Services and Water Affairs said, in an official Press statement,(7) "It is known that certain gold mines on the Witwatersrand are expected to reach the end of their useful lives within the foreseeable future. There can be no objection in principle against a limited amount of compensatory industrial development, within the limits of the resulting reduction in water usage, taking place when these mines close down. It is felt, however, that industrial expansion, outside the scope of such compensatory industries and present water consumption, cannot be encouraged ... within the supply area of the Vaal River."

A few days earlier, the Minister of Economic Affairs said, at the Rand Show, that the water crisis in the Vaal River catchment area had confirmed the "urgent necessity" of industrial decentralization away from the Southern Transvaal industrial complex.8)
On 1 December the Minister of Community Development announced that no new industrial buildings or extensions would be allowed without Government permission; and that serious consideration would be given to forcing industry away from the bigger urban complexes.

**WAGES PAID IN BORDER AREAS**

Wages and working conditions in border industries are determined by the Wage Board in consultation with the Permanent Committee for the Location of Industry and the Development of Border Areas.

During the year under review, the Trade Union Council of South Africa (Tucsa) has again protested that the wages paid are

(6) Star, 14 March.
(7) No. 106/66(P).
(8) Star, 7 April.

**A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966**

too low. It would appear that its complaints related, in the main, to the clothing industry.

One episode that caused resentment occurred in connection with two clothing factories (under the same ownership) in King William's Town. According to reports, some three years previously the employer requested permission from the Industrial Council for the Clothing Industry to pay lower rates than those laid down in the industrial council agreement, on the grounds that his workers were inexperienced and that he was finding it impossible to compete with established factories. The Industrial Council agreed that he might reduce the wages prescribed for the Eastern Cape by 20 per cent during the first year, 12-1 per cent during the second year, and 7-1 per cent during the third.

At the end of the second year the Industrial Council refused the employer's request for permission to continue making a 12-1 per cent cut. The latter then appealed to the Minister of Labour; and it was decided that, for the time being, wages of existing employees should continue to be 12-1 per cent below the prescribed rate, while those of new employees might be 20 per cent below this rate.

Shortly thereafter, the existing industrial council agreement came to an end. Following an unsuccessful application for exemption to the Industrial Council, the employer appealed to the Minister, who authorized him to reduce the new prescribed minimum wages by 20 per cent for all his employees, the gap to be reduced annually.

In its Fact Paper entitled The Industrial Development of the Border Areas of South Africa, Tucsa pointed out that African clothing workers at Hammarsdale were being paid wages that were 30 per cent lower than those payable to workers of any race engaged in similar work in Durban. (This gap was to be decreased to 27! per cent by January 1967.)

Rates of pay for a woman machinist were stated to be R7.35 a week at Hammarsdale and R7.50 in Charlestown, as against R13.42 a week in Johannesburg and Germiston. Hours of work were 45 a week in border areas, as
compared with 40 in urban centres; and only 14 days' (as against 21 days') annual leave were granted.

The general secretary of the Garment Workers' Union is reported (10) to have said that in the principal industrial areas, where the majority of clothing workers were employed, many employers paid more than the prescribed minimum wages. But, faced with competition from the border areas, these employers might reconsider their wage rates.

It was announced in September (" that the Minister of Labour had instructed the Wage Board to investigate pay and working
(9) Rand Daily Mail, 30 May, Sunday Express, 31 July.
(10) Sunday Express, 31 July.
(11) Ibid, 4 September.

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BORDER INDUSTRIES

conditions in the clothing industry in border areas. The Garment Workers' Union is pressing for this investigation to be undertaken without delay.

In a Paper delivered at the 1966 Council meeting of the Institute of Race Relations (" Tucsa's general secretary, Mr. J. A. Grobbelaar, said that the labour movement gave qualified approval to border industrial development, but on the clear understanding that this policy should not be allowed to undermine the whole system of collective bargaining. The danger that this might happen was increased by the fact that African workers were not permitted to join legally recognized trade unions.

Mr. Grobbelaar urged that the Industrial Conciliation Act be applied to appropriate border industries at the very earliest opportunity. The Act was a flexible instrument, he pointed out. It provided for wage differentials in similar industries having regard to the living costs of the workers and other factors. But agreements embodying differential rates, concluded under the Act, were the result of negotiations between employers and employees, and were not imposed from above.

In its Fact Paper, Tucsa maintained that wage differences should be continually under review as workers in border areas gained experience and efficiency. Reduced wage rates in these areas should be allowed only during a training period, the length of which should be determined by the Wage Board in consultation with the industrial council concerned.

(12) RR 164/65

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966
GENERAL MATTERS AFFECTING AFRICANS
STATISTICS RELATING TO INFLUX CONTROL

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 12 August ', the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development gave figures relating to the numbers of Africans who were admitted to and endorsed out of the prescribed areas (2) of Bloemfontein, Cape Town, Durban, East London, Kimberley, Pietermaritzburg, Port Elizabeth, Pretoria, and the Witwatersrand during 1965.
The statistics are incomplete, since no figures were available in regard to women in Durban. Moreover, it appears doubtful whether the Cape Divisional Council area is included. With these reservations, the totals were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Admitted</td>
<td>131,282</td>
<td>14,475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Endorsed out</td>
<td>66,303</td>
<td>19,883</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

More men were endorsed out than were admitted in East London and Pretoria; but this probably was because, as a result of schemes for racial zoning, numbers of workers were sent to live in "homeland" townships, within the borders of Reserves near at hand.

The figures for women are more revealing. For some reason the picture in Pietermaritzburg differs radically from that in other centres: 6,681 were admitted and 500 endorsed out. If these figures are subtracted from the rest, it transpires that in the other towns mentioned (except Durban, which could not furnish statistics), 7,794 women were admitted and 19,383 sent out. No women at all were admitted to the Cape Town municipal area.

More detailed figures for Africans (men and women) who were allowed to enter Witwatersrand towns, Pretoria, and Vereeniging in 1965 were given by the Minister on 4 February. They totalled 84,358. (For some reason, this figure is lower than that given for the Witwatersrand and Pretoria-excluding Vereeniging in the table that is quoted above.)

As mentioned later, Africans who wish to enter the Western Cape to take up employment are allowed to come only as contract labourers. According to the Minister, 29,526 men (and no women) were recruited for such work during 1965.

Of those who were ordered out of prescribed areas in 1965, the Minister said, 3,023 men and 1,043 women were sent out

3. Assembly Hansard 2 cols. 753-4.
4. Assembly Hansard 2 col. 630.
5. 12 August, Assembly Hansard 2 col. 629.

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after they had been deemed to be idle, and 92 men and 16 women because they were deemed undesirable. A majority of them (2,821) were sent to their original homes or to some other place indicated by the Bantu Affairs Commissioner; but another 1,283 were sent to a farm colony or refuge or rescue home, to perform such labour as might be required. In terms of the law, they may be detained in such places for up to two years.

AFRICANS REFUSED PERMISSION TO ENTER PRESCRIBED AREAS

No overall figures are available indicating how many Africans who apply for permits to enter prescribed areas are refused these. An "official spokesman" was quoted in The Star of 8 July as having said that such unsuccessful applicants, in
the case of Johannesburg, averaged between 900 and 1,000 men, and 400 women, each month.

ARRESTS FOR CONTRAVENTION OF THE "PASS LAWS"

There are numerous offences for which Africans may be arrested and charged under the "pass laws", the two most frequently-occurring being failure to possess identity documents which establish their right to be in the area concerned, and being in a prescribed area for more than 72 hours without permission.

In the Assembly on 12 and 28 August(7 the Minister of Justice gave statistics relating to those who were arrested and charged under these two heads, during the first six months of 1966, in the nine main areas listed in the first paragraph of this chapter. The totals were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not being in possession of proper identity documents</td>
<td>44,798</td>
<td>3,490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being in the area for more than 72 hours without permission</td>
<td>34,661</td>
<td>4,286</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of these people, the numbers convicted were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not being in possession of proper identity documents</td>
<td>36,762</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being in the area for more than 72 hours without permission</td>
<td>27,323</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The numbers arrested and charged for the first of these two offences only in 1965, for the Witwatersrand alone, were given by the Minister(8 as totalling 69,598 men and 5,739 women.


(7) Hansard 2 col. 628, Hansard 4 cols. 1241-3.

(8) Assembly, 1 February, Hansard 2 col. 438.

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It would appear, from numerous Press reports, that particularly during the earlier part of the year under review repeated police raids were conducted in the African townships of most urban areas, with the object of removing people who were there illegally and of reducing the rate of crime.

STRicter enforcement of influx control

Revised Bantu Labour Regulations were published on 3 December 1965, in terms of Government Notice 1292. These are complicated and lengthy, and it is most difficult for Africans and for White employers to understand the implications. Furthermore, Departmental directives to officials, dealing with the application of the various laws and regulations, are not made public.

As mentioned on page 36, the Black Sash has published two booklets which help to clarify the situation.

A few of the implications of influx control machinery that have recently become evident as a result of the Black Sash investigations and other enquiries are described in the paragraphs that follow.

Professional people
It has been made clear that professional people such as teachers are not exempt from the regulations. The usual permits are required if a teacher wishes to enter a prescribed area to take up an appointment.

Entry of wives

If a man who qualifies to remain in any particular prescribed area under Sections 10 (1)(a) or (b) of the Urban Areas Act marries a woman from outside this area he must obtain permission for his wife to come and live with him. Should the wife come from another prescribed area such authority may be granted if both Bantu Affairs Commissioners agree to issue the necessary permits, if the woman was living lawfully in the prescribed area concerned, if the couple can prove that they were lawfully married, and if accommodation for them is available. (It is often very difficult for Africans to produce acceptable proof of the legality of African customary unions, since there is no general provision for the registration of these.)

If, however, the wife previously lived outside a prescribed area, special permission for her entry must be obtained from the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, and this is rarely granted.

(0) See 1964 Survey, page 175.

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Tenancy of houses by women

The tenancy of dwellings in prescribed areas is, as a general rule, registered in the name of a man. Should a husband die, the tenancy may be transferred to his widow if she can prove that the marriage was legal, can afford to pay the rent, and qualifies to remain in the area.

The position is more difficult for a divorcee, even if the court has awarded her the custody of her children. The tenancy of the home cannot be transferred to her unless her ex-husband voluntarily agrees to cede his right to it (he cannot be forced to do so).

Applications for the tenancy of houses by unmarried mothers are not entertained.

Minor children

Even if a child was born in a prescribed area, he may lose the right to remain there (apparently conferred on him by Section 10 (1)(a) of the Act) if he is a minor and his parents are forced to leave the area concerned.

A child under the age of sixteen years who leaves a home in a prescribed area-for example to attend a rural boarding school-is supposed to be in possession of a document of identification which indicates that his father or guardian, or the Bantu Affairs Commissioner, has consented to his absence. While he is away, the father or guardian must ensure that the child's name remains on the housing permit.

As is well illustrated in the Memorandum on the Application of the Pass Laws and Influx Control published by the Black Sash, numerous cases arise in which minor children are prevented from returning to their parents because regulations have not been fully understood and complied with, or documents have been lost.
Absence of workers on leave
A man who does not qualify to remain in, a prescribed area, but has been permitted to work there, forfeits this permission if he goes away on leave for a period of six months or more, even if he is returning to his previous employer, unless, before leaving his home to return to the town, he obtains permission to do so from the Bantu Affairs Commissioner, and is freshly recruited. A woman worker may not be away for more than three months unless she complies with this procedure.
The obtaining of qualification for permanent residence
According to Section 10(1)(b) of the Urban Areas Act, an African may earn the right to remain in a prescribed area by virtue of having worked there uninterruptedly for a long period and fulfilling other qualifications. It appears, however, that in practice Africans who do so qualify find it difficult to have the endorsements in their reference books altered in such a way as to change their status from temporary to permanent residents of the area. In Cape Town, a judge ruled on 4 August 1965 in the case of Hougton Hlahlane that no African who did not register within 72 hours of 24 June 1952 will be deemed to have resided there previous to that date. This has prevented many Africans (particularly women) from qualifying for permanent residence under Section 10 (1)(b).
The Athlone Advice Office has ascertained, too, that if two firms amalgamate, any service with the first firm which, in consequence, loses its identity is disregarded for the purpose of qualifying for permanent residence.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966
of having worked there uninterruptedly for a long period and fulfilling other qualifications. It appears, however, that in practice Africans who do so qualify find it difficult to have the endorsements in their reference books altered in such a way as to change their status from temporary to permanent residents of the area. In Cape Town, a judge ruled on 4 August 1965 in the case of Hougton Hlahlane that no African who did not register within 72 hours of 24 June 1952 will be deemed to have resided there previous to that date. This has prevented many Africans (particularly women) from qualifying for permanent residence under Section 10 (1)(b).
The Athlone Advice Office has ascertained, too, that if two firms amalgamate, any service with the first firm which, in consequence, loses its identity is disregarded for the purpose of qualifying for permanent residence.

AFRICANS IN THE WESTERN CAPE
As explained in detail on page 157 of last year's Survey, the Government is making every effort to reduce the number of Africans in the Western Cape. Very large numbers of wives and children who do not qualify to remain there have been sent away, and no women work-seekers are admitted.
A male work-seeker from the Transkei or Ciskei must register at a labour bureau in his home area. If he wants employment in the Western Cape, and any vacancy exists there, he is offered a contract of not more than a year. If he accepts, it is illegal for him to break this contract or to change jobs, and at the end of the specified period he must return home unless special permission for one extension only is granted.
An employer in the Western Cape who wants non-white workers must first apply to the Department of Labour to find out whether Coloured persons are available. If not, he applies to the Department of Bantu Administration for the number of Africans he needs. Should no work-seekers who qualify to remain in the area be available, the employer is required to pay R15 a head to cover the cost of importing "contract" labourers.
There have been repeated complaints from industrialists that available Coloured workers are not prepared to do heavy manual tasks. Farmers have been dissatisfied with the official recruiting system. Four organizations have, apparently, been set up—the Durbanville-Philadelphia Group, the Cape Flats and Peninsula Farmers’ Group, the Hex River Farmers’ Group, and the Berg River Farmers’ Group—members of which share the costs of employing their own recruiting officers to act in a liaison capacity between Africans, officials, and the farmers; to do the paper work.

INFLUX CONTROL
required; to speed up official machinery; and to transport recruits.

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said in the Assembly on 16 September that in 1965 there were about 25,039 African families, and 131,414 single "contract" labourers, in the Western Cape. Quoting the Department of Statistics as its source, the Cape Times reported on 20 June that the population of the Cape Town municipal African townships in January 1966 was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Township</th>
<th>Bachelor quarters</th>
<th>Family units</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Langa</td>
<td>18,925</td>
<td>1,682</td>
<td>22,607</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gugulethu</td>
<td>5,946</td>
<td>6,429</td>
<td>12,375</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In his opening address at a session of the Council for Coloured Affairs that was held in October, the chairman, Mr. T. R. Swartz, complained about the growing number of Africans in the Cape Town area. As so many of them were there without their wives it stood to reason, Mr. Swartz said, that many would seek association with Coloured women. As a result, the "character and appearance" of the Coloured community was being changed.

INFLUX CONTROL ON THE WITWATERSRAND
A symposium on "Effective Bantu Employment", organized by the National Development and Management Foundation in Benoni on 21 June, was opened by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr. B. Coetzee. In his address Mr. Coetzee said, "The
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966

Government cannot allow an unlimited flow of Bantu labour to the Witwatersrand. This flow of labour must be reduced, then it must be stopped, then it must be turned back."

The African population of the Rand exceeded the White population by more than 500,000, Mr. Coetzee said. He gave the following percentage breakdown of the racial groups in the Witwatersrand complex:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured and Asians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East Rand</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>69.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Rand</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>78.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Rand</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>60.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanderbijlpark</td>
<td>49.5</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>50.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of Africans could be reduced without retarding work, Mr. Coetzee continued, by a combination of influx control, more effective use of labour, increased mechanization, the decentralization of industries, and the development of the Bantu homelands. (17)

Previous statements on this matter by other Cabinet Ministers are quoted on page 159.

SOME COMMENTS ON THE PASS LAWS AND INFLUX CONTROL

In the Assembly on 4 August, Mr. S. J. Marais Steyn (United Party) said that the Nationalists "are changing the nature of that Black labour force from a settled, law-abiding community to an excessive proportion of migrant labour with no roots and no interest in the part of South Africa where they live and move and have their being: . . . with no stake in the country in which they earn their livelihood, with no security, with no roots whatsoever, with no family life, with no home ownership, with none of the fundamental things which are necessary for good citizenship . . . They are sowing dragons' teeth for South Africa."

"We," Mr. Steyn continued, "want to establish a stable Black middle-class in the White areas of South Africa, a propertyowning middle-class enjoying family life."

In its Memorandum on the Application of the Pass Laws and Influx Control, referred to earlier, the Black Sash described how Africans, seeking somewhere where they may legally live and work, are often sent from department to department, even from town to town or from town to country, while all the officials deny responsibility. In order to prove his right to be in any area, "the African must be a collector of documents from the day of his birth to the day of his death."

"For thousands of Africans these laws result in broken families," the Black Sash said, "in unemployment, in poverty and (17) Ibid, 21 June, and South African Digest, 1 July. (18) Hansard 1 cols. 180-3.
INFLUX CONTROL
malnutrition, insecurity and instability, and in a state of hopelessness . . . Millions of rands are spent in administering these laws, and millions of man-hours are wasted in the attempt to enforce unenforceable laws. The real cost must be counted in terms of human sorrow, bitterness, suffering, and tragedy on a vast scale."

Speaking in the Assembly on 13 October (Hansard 11 col. 4140), the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development again emphasized his Party's policy that Africans were present in White areas purely for the work they performed. This statement is outlined on page 146. The Minister went on to say that influx control measures must be strengthened, and that industrialists must not continue to be allowed to establish factories wherever they wished, without regard to the composition of the labour force. The Government, he said, was giving very serious consideration to ways and methods of placing this matter under statutory control.

"FOREIGN" AFRICANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Questioned in the Assembly on 5 August,(19) the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that in 1960 there were 585,429 "foreign" Africans in South Africa. No later figure was available. Asked about where these people were employed, the Minister replied:

(a) as at 31 December 1965, 256,276 were working on mines that were affiliated to the Chamber of Mines;
(b) as at 30 June 1964, 42,091 were working on unaffiliated mines;
(c) as at 30 June 1964, labour bureaux had registered 53,213 contracts of service for foreign Africans in prescribed areas, and 27,401 in non-prescribed areas.

During 1965, the Minister said, 1,438 Africans had been repatriated on completion of their contracts (this figure does not include Africans who were repatriated by the mines).

The Minister's figures left large numbers of "foreigners" unaccounted for, and these workers are probably mainly on White-owned farms. According to the Agricultural Census for 1961-2,(20) of the Africans employed on farms in June 1962, 95,967 (including 21,675 women) had been born outside South Africa. All foreign Africans in the Republic were required to be in possession of passports from the beginning of 1966; but, apparently, many did not know this and failed to apply for these documents. In certain circumstances this may be condoned, and an alien's permit is issued. If an African from a country other than Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, or Portuguese East Africa is permitted to work in South Africa, a fee of R20 must be paid when the service contract is registered, towards the cost of his eventual repatriation.(21) (This arrangement does not apply to mine-workers, who are repatriated by the mining authorities.)

(19) Hansard 1 col. 236.
(20) R.P. 65/1965, page 44.
(21) Letter dated 17 July from Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner for the Witwatersrand.
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AID CENTRES
As mentioned on page 182 of the 1964 Survey, the Bantu Laws Amendment Act of that year made provision for aid centres, with the object of keeping petty offenders out of gaol. The Minister said on 4 February(2”) that no such centres had yet been established.

CIVIL ACTIONS BY AFRICANS AGAINST THE STATE
The Bantu Laws Amendment Act, No. 63 of 1966, added a new Section 32A to the Bantu Administration Act of 1927 to the effect that no civil action against the State or any of its officers, a Cabinet Minister, a chief or headman, or an African tribe or community, in respect of any matter arising from the Act or rules or regulations made thereunder, shall be capable of being instituted if a period of twelve months has elapsed from the date on which the cause of action arose.

ESTATES OF DECEASED AFRICANS
Revised regulations for the administration and distribution of the estates of Africans, in cases where Bantu law and custom apply and the deceased left no valid will, were published as Government Notice R 34 of 7 January. The common law is applied (as for Whites) if a valid will was left, or if the deceased had been a partner in a marriage in community of property or under antenuptial contract, or if the Minister considers that in any particular case the application of Bantu law and custom would be inappropriate.

LEGAL STATUS OF AFRICAN WOMEN
The Minister announced in 1962 that he intended instituting a departmental enquiry into the legal rights and the status of African women. Questioned in the Assembly on 16 September,23) the Minister indicated that the Department had changed its mind. He replied that this "is a matter which, in the first instance, affects the Bantu population, and which, in view of the trends in the development of self-government by the Bantu, will have to be regulated by the Bantu themselves."

URBAN BANTU COUNCILS
The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development told members of the Assembly on 30 August(2”) that only three Urban Bantu Councils had, thus far, been established-in Welkom, Benoni, and Kroonstad. There is, apparently, another at Sharpeville, Vereeniging.

STATE EXPENDITURE ON AFRICANS
As mentioned on page 120 of the 1961 Survey, the Urban Bantu Councils Act, No. 79 of 1961, provided that these councils will replace advisory boards in areas where the local residents so wish, and may be granted wider powers than the boards possess. They will have both elected and selected members. If a council is to be established for a particular national (i.e. "ethnic") unit, only members of the...
unit concerned will vote for the elected members. Otherwise, all qualified Africans who live in the area for which the council is to be established may vote. Plans for an Urban Bantu Council in Johannesburg have been delayed pending a decision on the constitution of such a body. The Soweto Joint Advisory Board wanted elections to be run on a regional or ward basis; but, after lengthy negotiations, the Minister finally decided they should be conducted, instead, on an "ethnic" (tribal) basis!5 Some comments on the limitations of this system were mentioned on page 165 of the 1965 Survey.
The Daveyton Bantu Council, in Benoni, has committees dealing with general administration, social services, township development, and transport and licensing.

DIRECT EXPENDITURE BY THE STATE ON BEHALF OF AFRICANS

The Report of the Controller and Auditor-General for 1964-5(26) sets out direct expenditure by the State during that year on behalf of Africans.
The statistics exclude advances from Loan Account for housing, and statutory appropriations to the Transkeian Government (see page 129). They include expenditure by the Republican Government on services such as health, police, and others which it still provides in the Transkei.
The column headed "General Administration" includes expenditure which employers are required to incur for registration fees of workers, and contributions to the Bantu Services Levies.(27) General Social Capital Department Administration Services Expenditure Totals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service</th>
<th>R1</th>
<th>R2</th>
<th>R3</th>
<th>R4</th>
<th>R5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bantu Administration and ....</td>
<td>4,405,067</td>
<td>3,644,718</td>
<td>28,798,398</td>
<td>36,848,183</td>
<td>19,010,231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development</td>
<td>4,405,067</td>
<td>3,644,718</td>
<td>28,798,398</td>
<td>36,848,183</td>
<td>19,010,231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bantu Education</td>
<td>1,405,546</td>
<td>19,433,575</td>
<td>1,357,567</td>
<td>22,196,688</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education, Arts and Science</td>
<td>9,504</td>
<td>112,061</td>
<td>10,694</td>
<td>132,259</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health and hospitals</td>
<td>16,726</td>
<td>20,368,752</td>
<td>20,385,478</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other departments</td>
<td>218,618</td>
<td>343,974</td>
<td>562,592</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R15,638,061</td>
<td>53,296,184</td>
<td>30,201,186</td>
<td>99,135,431</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(25) Star, 27 October.
(27) In terms of Acts 64 of 1952 and 53 of 1957.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966

AMOUNTS PAID BY AFRICANS IN TAXATION

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 9 August,28) the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development gave the following figures relating to the 1963-4 financial year, and excluding Africans in the Transkei:
(a) 3,978 paid normal income and provincial taxes, the sum collected being R 112,645;
(b) R7,592,325 was paid in basic and additional general taxes, including an estimated R230,000 paid by 114,140 persons liable for the additional tax;
(c) R48,141 was paid in hospital levies;
(d) R3,121 was received from rates imposed by Bantu Authorities;
(e) R967,440 was paid in tribal levies.
A different figure relating to normal income and provincial taxes was given by the Minister of Finance on 2 August, also relating to the 1963-4 year.(29) He said that 4,271 Africans paid R18,033.
On an earlier occasion(30) the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that in the 1964-5 financial year, 2,620,000 Africans were liable to pay general tax, the sum collected being R8,248,948.
The Controller and Auditor-General reported(31) that in 1964-5, there were 404 compulsory and 795 voluntary tribal levies in force (again excluding the Transkei). They yielded R1,652,952. (Bantu Authorities decide for themselves if levies should be imposed, and whether or not these should be compulsory.)
A separate report on taxes paid in the Transkei in 1964-5 was published by the Controller and Auditor-General. The amounts, in round figures, were:
R
Income tax ...... ...950 General tax 1,184,090
Local tax ..227,537 Quitrents ..107,941 General levy.... .... 233,492
Tribal levies 25,555
Regional levies 1,144
District levies 4,270
R1,784,979
(28) Hansard 2 col. 385.
(29) Assembly Hansard I col. 22.
(30) Assembly, 28 January, Hansard 1 col. 248.
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AFRICAN TAXATION
At a rough approximation, then, in 1964-5 Africans in the country as a whole paid R11,856,174 in direct taxation. But, besides this, Africans in urban areas paid large sums towards the erection of schools and the salaries of teachers additional to those whom the Department can afford to pay; Africans, like other sections of the community, contribute to the country's revenue from customs and excise duties; and, by their labour, Africans help to make possible the profits on which mining and other companies are taxed. Furthermore, free labour is often made available for the construction of works in Bantu areas.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966
COLOURED AND ASIAN AFFAIRS
LOCAL GOVERNING BODIES IN URBAN AREAS
In the Assembly on 19 and 23 August(33) the Minister of Community Development gave details relating to the 20 Coloured management committees, 28 Coloured consultative committees, 5 Indian consultative committees, and 11 Indian local affairs committees that had, thus far, been established(34)
Early in 1966 the Western Cape Regional Board, under the chairmanship of Dr. Erika Theron, organized a series of seminars for leaders of the Coloured community and Coloured businessmen - in Paarl, Bellville, Worcester, Stellenbosch, and Beaufort West. Discussions were held on the conducting of meetings, Government policy in regard to housing, the establishment of business concerns, the administration of welfare organizations, and other matters.

It appears that the local government system has, so far, reached a more advanced stage in Indian group areas of Natal than elsewhere. Initially, all the members of local affairs committees were appointed. A second stage has now been reached in Verulam, Glencoe, Estcourt, and Isipingo Beach, in which three of the five members of the committees are elected by adult men and women who own rateable property, or rent property to the value of R500 or more. So far, these bodies possess only advisory powers; but it is planned gradually to confer on them certain executive and financial authority. An Indian has been appointed Assistant Town Clerk of Verulam, which is eventually to become an all-Indian town; and other local authorities plan to employ Indians in order to give them experience in administration.

RURAL COLOURED AREAS
A number of scattered Coloured rural settlements exist, situated mainly in the Northern and Western Cape, with a total area of 1,912,751 morgen. As at 31 March 1965, there were 41,193 inhabitants, amongst whom were 7,599 registered and 2,512 nonregistered occupiers of property. Only 4,878 of the dwellings were regarded as being of a permanent nature, but township planning is in progress. There were then 62 schools, with 10,860 pupils.

At that date, R704,685 had been spent on development works. The Boards of Management are required to repay ten per cent of the costs to the Department of Coloured Affairs. The amount refunded, constituting ten per cent of sums collected in rates, was then R18,469.

The Minister of Coloured Affairs said in the Assembly on 20 September (1) that the average annual income from rates levied by all Boards of Management over the past three years had been R42,609.

The Annual Report of the Soil Conservation Board for the year ended 30 June 1965 (6) stated that, during that year: 50 miles of boundary fencing and 256 miles of camp fencing had been erected; 31 boreholes had been drilled and 13 of them equipped, 6 open waters developed, 8 miles of pipeline laid, and 13 waterways and culverts built;
24 miles of contour banks had been constructed; 81,722 trees had been planted; 3 bridges had been built; 15 morgen of driftsands and 132 morgen of grazing had been reclaimed, 285 morgen of noxious weeds cleared, and 35 morgen of termite-damaged grazing land treated.

In a speech made in February 7) the Secretary for Coloured Affairs said that the Coloured Development Corporation, established in 1962, had a share capital of R1,750,000. (All the shares are owned by the Government.) One of its activities had been to found the Spes Bona Savings and Finance Bank, which, besides normal banking activities, provided free, expert advice on business management. Two Coloured and two White men constituted the Board of Directors. A Coloured man was being trained to take over as manager; and all other members of the staff were Coloured. The Minister added, later, that by 31 August 1966, Coloured persons had deposited R95,722 in savings accounts and R145,536 on fixed deposit.

The Minister said, too, that between 1962 and 31 July 1966 the Corporation had made loans totalling R1,282,479 to 80 private Coloured undertakings. (Later, on 12 October, the Minister said that 130 business undertakings had been assisted.) Concessions for diamonds in Coloured areas in Namaqualand and Van Rhynsdorp, and for quartzite in the Richtersveld, have been granted to the Corporation; but as this body lacks the necessary capital and mining experience, the prospecting and subsequent exploitation will in most cases be carried out by White companies, who will pay to the Corporation a percentage (five per cent during the prospecting stage) of the gross value of the yield. The Minister said on 20 August 10) that, to date, the Corporation had received R4,031 from this source.

(5) Hansard 8 col. 2425.
(7) Cape Times, 19 February.
(8) Assembly, 20 September, Hansard 8 col. 2425.
(9) Assembly, 16 August, Hansard 3 col. 821, and Hansard 11 col. 4045.
(10) Assembly Hansard 8 col. 2426.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966
The Leliefontein area in Namaqualand is an exception: there the rights were granted to a company, named Leliefontein Mining Company Ltd., which had been registered by a group of Coloured diggers. Mr. Graham S. Eden, who represents the Coloured people of the Karoo in the Assembly, said on 15 October11) that, in accordance with an offer made by the Coloured Development Corporation in 1964, the company applied to the Corporation for assistance in raising the necessary capital. The Corporation, apparently, offered a loan of R50,000, which was totally inadequate in view of the fact that it was unknown whether or not diamonds existed in the area, and prospecting would, thus, be expensive. The Coloured company then approached De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd., which agreed to advance all the money required for prospecting and the pre-development of any mine that was established, at current rates of interest, without
requiring any security for the loan. All the profits, if any, would accrue to the Coloured company. Coloured people would be trained to take over the entire operations. In return, De Beers wanted only the right to buy any diamonds produced, at ruling prices.

Mr. Eden said that the Leliefontein company informed the Minister of Mines of this suggested arrangement: "they wanted more or less approval to go ahead". Out of courtesy, a copy of this letter was sent to the Coloured Development Corporation. The Corporation wrote back saying, "Any assistance granted by De Beers to your company would not be acceptable to this Corporation's directors". It gave the Coloured people three months' notice, from 13 September, of its intention to cancel the concession unless they floated a company.

The Corporation has acquired a quota in the rock lobster export market on behalf of Coloured fishermen, and floated a company for the purpose, the share-holders being the Corporation and individual Coloured persons. As this company was unable to fulfil its quota in 1965, five private companies were allowed to export against it. As at 30 June 1966, the Corporation's profit on this venture amounted to R85,031.

EMISSION OF COLOURED PEOPLE
It is reported(13) that, since 1963, at least 900 Coloured people have emigrated from South Africa because there were better opportunities for them elsewhere. Most are said to have gone to Canada, because the Canadian Government does not require a financial deposit against the emigrant's becoming a burden on the State. Others have gone to England, the United States, Nigeria, and other African states.

A high proportion of these people were teachers; but other
(11) Assembly Hansard 11 cols. 4401-5.
(12) Minister of Coloured Affairs, Assembly, 4 February, Hansard 2 col. 732, and 20 September, Hansard 8 col. 2426.
(13) Sunday Times, 1 May.
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COLOURED AND ASIAN AFFAIRS
professional people have left, including four highly qualified medical practitioners—Dr. Ralph Hendrickse, Dr. Paul Hendrickse, Dr. H. Jadwat, and Dr. Rustin Gool.

CONFERENCE ON THE INDIAN SOUTH AFRICAN
During October, the Natal Region of the Institute of Race Relations arranged a two-day conference on "The Indian South African", papers being given by Mrs. Fatima Meer, Mr. L. P. McCrystal and Mr. G. Maasdorp, Dr. B. Rambiritch, Mr. L. Schlemmer, and Mrs. P. Ramasar. Attention was drawn, inter alia, to the need for higher education; to the under-employment of Indians; and to the social problems arising from poverty and from the re-settlement of people in new group areas.(14)

INTER-PROVINCIAL MOVEMENT BY INDIANS
Indians require permits if they wish to move, even for a visit, from one province to another. In June(5) the South African Society of Journalists pointed out to the Minister of Indian Affairs that, as these permits were not obtainable at times when the official offices were closed, Indian journalists were often placed at a disadvantage when they wanted to leave at short notice for another province to follow up a news story.

NATURALIZATION OF INDIANS
In 1966, another 228 stateless persons born in India were granted South African citizenship. These are people who were born in areas under the authority of a rajah or other Indian ruler and were, thus, not British citizens. They had settled in South Africa before the Indian Republican Constitution came into effect in January 1950, and thus were not regarded as citizens of India.

SOUTH AFRICA’S CHINESE PEOPLE
The Institute of Race Relations has issued a brief memorandum on the Chinese people of South Africa (RR. 161/65).

(14) Copies of these addresses are available from the Institute's office in Durban.
(15) Natal Mercury, 23 June.

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A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966
GROUP AREAS, COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
AND HOUSING
LEGISLATION AND REGULATIONS
The Community Development Act, No. 3 of 1966, the Housing Act, No. 4 of 1966, and the Group Areas Act, No. 36 of 1966, were consolidating measures. New regulations under the Community Development Act were published as Government Notice R 1247 of 19 August. They deal, inter alia, with the compilation and maintenance of lists of affected properties, the powers of valuators, the procedure relating to the determination of basic values and appeals to revision courts, the expropriation of properties, and arbitration proceedings.

COURT RULING ON POWERS OF EXPROPRIATION
During 1965 the Pretoria City Council, to which the Government authorities had delegated powers to develop group areas, decided to expropriate a number of African-owned properties in Lady Selborne, Eastwood, and Claremont, which have been proclaimed White group areas. No opportunity was afforded the owners to state their case or to make objections. One of them, Mr. Sampson Modimola, instituted an action against the Council, in the Pretoria Supreme Court, to set aside the expropriation notice that had been served on him. His contentions were upheld by the judge, who said that, in terms of the law, the Council could acquire immovable property by expropriation if it was satisfied that it was expedient to do so for the attainment of any of the objects of the Group Areas Act. But, in order to satisfy itself on this question, some sort of inquiry should be held, at which the owner of the property concerned should be given the opportunity of being heard.

COMMITTEES TO INVESTIGATE URBAN RENEWAL AND SLUM CLEARANCE
The Minister of Community Development announced on 14 September, 2) that committees of officials had been set up to work in collaboration with City Councils to replan and develop District Six in Cape Town (this committee is called Corda), the North-End area of East London, the South-End area of Port Elizabeth, Cato Manor, Riverside, and Prospect Hall in Durban, and the Pageview-Vrededorp complex in Johannesburg.

(2) Assembly Hansard 7 cols. 2026-8.

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GROUP AREAS AND HOUSING
Besides this, he said, a committee of enquiry was to be appointed to investigate the causes of physical deterioration in towns, statutory powers existing and needed to combat this, standards with which town planning schemes ought to comply, what bodies should be responsible for various matters, and the assistance they would need. The chairman would be the Deputy Secretary of his department, and on the committee would be representatives of the Housing Commission, the Departments of Community Development and of Planning, the Provincial Administrations, the United Municipal Executive, and a private architect.

SHORTAGE OF HOUSING
On 1 February 03) the Minister said that the shortage of housing, due to overcrowding, housing of poor quality, and resettlement plans, was estimated to be:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Transvaal</th>
<th>Cape</th>
<th>Natal</th>
<th>Free State</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>5,500</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>500</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6,400</td>
<td>21,200</td>
<td>1,400</td>
<td>750</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>10,700</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18,000</td>
<td>14,800</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td></td>
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LOAN FUNDS MADE AVAILABLE FOR HOUSING SCHEMES
Loans amounting to R12,000,000 had been made to local authorities for the erection of 2,478 dwellings for Coloured people in the Transvaal, the Minister continued, 28,761 in the Cape, 373 in Natal, and 160 in the Free State. The Department of Community Development was itself planning 1,000 dwellings at Moonshiville, Johannesburg, and 1,400 at Wentworth in Durban.

So far as Indians were concerned, R9,000,000 had been lent to local authorities for the provision of 295 dwellings in the Transvaal and 7,859 in Natal. The Department would shortly build 500 houses at Lenasia and 1,000 at Shallcross, Durban, and was planning 1,200 in the Cape Peninsula.

An amount of R4,000,000 had been advanced for the erection of 10,227 dwellings for Africans.

During 1965, local authorities and the Department spent about R31,000,000 on housing for Whites, and, during the first nine months of that year, the private sector undertook schemes to the total value of R171,400,000. (A small proportion of this last amount may have been spent in non-white group areas.)

As mentioned in the next chapter, the Government deemed it desirable in 1966 to adopt anti-inflationary measures, including the curtailing of capital expenditure.
This has slowed down the provision of housing. The Chairman of Johannesburg's Non-European Affairs Committee, Mr. P. R. B. Lewis, reported in August (3) Assembly Hansard 2 cols. 477-8.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966
that Government housing loans made available to Johannesburg thus far in 1966 were R1,361,700 for Whites, R1,000,000 for Coloured, but only R260,000 for Africans. Mr. Arthur Hopewell, M.P. for Pinetown, stated on the same day that a sum of R4,477,000 had been requested by the Durban City Council for African housing at Umlazi, but only R1,951,000 was to be made available.34 Seven mining houses came to Johannesburg's assistance by providing a loan of R750,000 for African housing, at low rates of interest.

It was reported during the following month(5) that, in a circular letter sent to all local authorities on 12 August, the Secretary for Community Development stated that, because housing schemes had been accelerated, there was a danger that the Department's available funds would become exhausted before the close of the current financial year, with many contracts still incomplete. Local authorities were asked immediately to decrease the pace of building operations being carried out under the Housing Act.

Then, on 29 August, a further letter was sent requesting local authorities, for the rest of the year ending 31 March 1967, to use loans from their reserve funds for the financing of housing schemes then under construction in their areas. The Cape Town City Council was asked to provide R1,460,000 in this way to meet the expenditure on nine schemes for Coloured people and two for Africans.

QUALIFYING INCOME LIMITS FOR ASSISTED HOUSING
The Minister of Community Development announced in mid1966(6) that more generous terms were to be introduced in regard to the qualifying income limits for admission to new assisted housing schemes, and to the rentals to be paid. These would apply in the case of dwellings occupied for a first time after 1 August by Whites, Coloured people, and Asians.

So far as sub-economic housing schemes were concerned, the qualifying income limits would be- raised from R80 to R100 for Whites, and from R50 to R60 for Coloured and Asians.

The limits in respect of new economic dwellings would be raised from R180 to R225 for White families with up to two dependent children; from R250 to R300 for White families with more than two dependent children; and from R180 to R225 for all Coloured and Asian families.

For all three racial groups, the rentals of houses built with State funds would be subsidized for families in the lower income groups. Families with incomes of R101 to R130 a month would pay 3 per cent on the capital outlay, while those with between R131 and R160 would pay 5 per cent. The Housing Fund would bear the loss incurred: at that time the rate of interest on loans that it was required to pay to the Treasury was 6- per cent.

(4) Star, 31 August, and Rand Daily Mail, 17 November.
(5) Cape Times, 17 September.
GROUP AREAS AND HOUSING
THE POSITION OF INDIAN TRADERS UNDER THE GROUP AREAS ACT
Most of the Muslims in South Africa have traditionally been traders: they were the pioneers of trade in many country towns, non-white townships, and farming areas. Many of the Hindu and Tamil people are traders, too, but a high proportion is employed in other sectors of the economy.
As described in more detail later, the general pattern that appears to be emerging, particularly in the Transvaal and Cape, is for large regional townships to be created into which Indians from surrounding areas will gradually have to move. In a few towns where new Indian group areas are reasonably close to the existing built-up area (e.g. Heidelberg in the Transvaal) the Indians are likely to have to move their shops as well as their homes. But in cases where these group areas are some distance away, or where regional townships are planned, traders would be ruined if their businesses had to be moved to these new settlements. In a few of the larger cities centrally situated trading areas are to be demarcated, where Indians will be able to conduct businesses (although their homes will have to be moved); but these areas are not large enough to accommodate all the traders at present operating in the cities concerned.
In the Assembly on 14 September the Minister of Community Development said, "At this stage we cannot give preference or particular attention to the removal of Indian traders. We must first of all transfer the Indians residentially and . . . develop commercial potential in the areas to which they must be removed, because one dare not . . . deprive people of their subsistence without offering them other means of existence. We are engaged in planning for the creation of other avenues of employment for Indians . . . It is a long-term process". (The encouragement of Indian industrial undertakings is dealt with in the next chapter.) In the meanwhile, however, some Indian traders have been forced to leave areas being developed for other racial groups. Most of the rest require occupation permits (which often have to be renewed annually) from the Group Areas Board; and it appears that very few applications for permits to establish new businesses are being granted. Indian traders on White-owned farms are in a particularly precarious position. The difficulties that are being experienced by those in the Transvaal were described in a booklet published recently by the Institute of Race Relations.(8)
GROUP AREAS IN THE TRANSVAAL
The general pattern
In this booklet, the writer attempted to estimate how the
(7) Hansard 7 col. 2097.
(8) Group Areas: the Emerging Pattern, with Illustrative Examples from the Transvaal,
by Muriel Horrell.
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Coloured and Indian people of the Transvaal (who number approximately 119,700 and 99,000 respectively) have been affected by group areas proclamations that have so far been gazetted. The position appears to be as follows:
Percentages of total population
Coloured Indians
People who are not affected (to remain in their present areas) 15.01 7.50
People already moved 31.89 23.65
People in urban areas who are to be moved 37.37 63.97
People in urban areas whose future is uncertain 9.16 1.36
People in rural areas whose future is uncertain 6.57 3.52
Johannesburg
Some 17,000 of Johannesburg's 37,300 Indians have already moved their homes to Lenasia. As this township is between 19 and 22 miles out of the city, it is most inconvenient for people with irregular working hours, for example waiters, vegetable dealers, and others to live there, since it is often impossible for them to obtain transport to and from their homes at times to suit their needs. In consequence, many are forced to lodge with friends in town during the week, returning to their families only on days when they are off-duty. Transport costs are high—a monthly train ticket costs R5.75—and the journey is time-consuming, taking 40 to 50 minutes each way.
This township is administered by the Department of Community Development. Residents are still dissatisfied with conditions: medical, recreational, telephone, police, and other services are still highly inadequate. Some of the wealthier Indians have built expensive modern houses at Lenasia, and the Department and the Housing Commission have erected various types of economic and sub-economic dwellings for sale or renting; but numbers of the poorest families, crippled by high transport costs, are living in squalor in converted army barracks. Since the Indian high school in Johannesburg was closed by the authorities at the end of 1963, senior pupils who are still resident in the city area have been forced to travel out to Lenasia for their schooling. Free transport facilities are available, but the journey is long and tiring.
One of the oldest Indian residential and trading areas in the city is Pageview, which was set aside for Asians soon after an enabling Act was passed in 1885. In 1956 this was declared a White group area. No immediate action was then taken by the authorities; but early in 1966 some 230 of the Indian families there were served with notices to leave. The Pageview Standholders' and

GROUP AREAS AND HOUSING
Traders' Association briefed counsel to apply on their behalf for continued occupation permits: at the time of writing no decision has, apparently, been reached.

The Johannesburg municipality has consistently pleaded that an area within its boundaries be allocated to Indians. For years the Government has been adamant that Lenasia should be the only Indian township to serve the city; but a possible change in attitude was indicated by the Minister of Planning in the Assembly on 3 October. He said that, following an interview with members of the South African Indian Council, the Minister of Indian Affairs had agreed that the matter should be investigated.*

The planning of an open trading area (mainly for Indians) in the Burghersdorp-Fordsburg suburbs is being continued.

The City Council is extending its housing schemes for Coloured people at Western Township, Newclare, and Riverlea; and the Department of Community Development is doing so at Bosmont and is planning to build in the Nancefield area. According to the writer's estimates, by June 1965 about 37,432 of the Coloured people of Johannesburg were accommodated in Coloured group areas, 21,274 had still to be moved from areas allocated to Whites, while the future of some 8,300 was uncertain.

As in other towns, the municipality built some sub-economic dwellings, at Riverlea, for the poorest Coloured families. In terms of Housing Commission regulations for the use of loan funds made available for this purpose, these dwellings were most austere. It was announced in June() that, to avoid the creation of further inferior housing, the City Council would contribute the difference between the money advanced by the Government and the sum needed to provide acceptable dwellings.

The Minister of Community Development said in September() that, for some reason, there had recently been an influx of Chinese people into Johannesburg. The Department of Planning had been asked to expedite plans for a Chinese group area for the Witwatersrand; but there were still differences of opinion as to where this should be located.

East Rand and Heidelberg

All the Indians of the East Rand are, apparently, eventually to be required to live in group areas outside Benoni or Heidelberg, and all the Coloured people in a group area at Boksburg. With the exception of two small townships at Springs (which for the time being remain controlled areas) the entire municipal areas of all other towns in this region have been allocated to Whites. The local authorities concerned are continuing to develop housing schemes in the non-white group areas: industrial sites have been demarcated in the Indian areas.

(9) Hansard 10 cols. 3440-1.
(10) Star, 14 June.
(11) Assembly Hansard 7 cols. 2097-8.

*It was announced, later, that the Government was not prepared to consider the proclamation of a further group area for Indians in Johannesburg.
The land set aside for Coloured people at Boksburg is likely to be inadequate in size: during the past year White residents of townships to the west have opposed plans for the extension of the Coloured area in their direction.

It appears that some 3,300 East Rand Indians were unaffected by the group areas proclamations; 2,075 had been moved by May 1966; and about 5,790 had still to be moved. Similar statistics for the Coloured people were: unaffected, 1,478; already moved, 8,522; to be moved, 6,876.

West Rand
On the West Rand, too, practically all of the built-up areas have been allocated to Whites. A new regional township is to be developed for Indians to the south of Krugersdorp, into which approximately 2,600 people will eventually have to move.
Coloured people will retain the township of Davidsonville at Roodepoort. But all the rest, numbering about 4,700, will gradually have to move into a new regional township which is being established at Randfontein.

The Vaal Triangle
The Vaal Triangle includes Residensia and Evaton in the north, Vereeniging in the south-east, Vanderbijlpark in the southwest, and a number of villages.
All of the Indians of this area, numbering about 1,870, are to be moved to a new township called Roshnee, being developed about nine miles to the north of Vereeniging. The approximately 2,130 Coloured people will have to go to another new township named Rust-ter-Vaal, near Roshnee. It is planned that a Chinese group area will be developed in this vicinity.

Pretoria
In terms of a 1958 proclamation, all the Indians of Pretoria are to move to Laudium, some six miles to the south-west of the city, and all the Coloured people to Eersterust, about eight miles out of town to the north-east.
By May 1966, about 4,000 Indians were living at Laudium, while another 5,500 were still in the Asiatic Bazaar and other parts of the city, and more than 300 in surrounding areas. Some 3,200 Coloured people had been resettled at Eersterust, and 5,800 had still to be moved.
The Department of Community Development is to redevelop the Asiatic Bazaar as a trading area for non-whites.

A Chinese group area has been proclaimed, adjoining Laudium; but as services such as roads and water have still to be provided, building has not commenced there. There are about 122 Chinese families in the city.

GROUP AREAS AND HOUSING
Soon after group areas were decided upon, the Pretoria City Council accepted delegated powers to develop these. It was reported in May(2) that the Council was finding this to be too heavy a financial burden. Although loan funds were available for the erection of housing, the municipality was losing large sums on purchasing buildings, in previously-mixed residential areas, that had to be demolished. An agreement was, thus, concluded in terms of which all amounts
spent by the Council on capital development in group areas would be refunded to it by the Department of Community Development, as a 30-year loan.

Other towns in the Transvaal
(a) New proclamations
During the year under review, Delareyville, Duiwelskloof, Fochville, Groot Marico, Haenertsburg, Hartbeesfontein, Meyerton, Ohrigstad, Orkney, Ottosdal, Phalaborwa, and Sannieshof were all declared to be White group areas.

Group areas for Whites and Coloured were proclaimed in Christiana.

(b) How Indians are affected
Summing up the general pattern thus far, it is only in Barberton, Brits, Balfour, and, possibly, Witbank, that Indians will retain Bazaars that were already segregated before the Group Areas Act was passed. A few of the Indians in White River and Zeerust may be allowed to remain in their present homes, and a very small minority in Pietersburg will be undisturbed. For the rest, Indian group areas, on previously undeveloped land, have been proclaimed in 20 towns, and three further such proclamations are likely. The planning of townships is in progress in a few of these local authority areas, e.g. Potchefstroom, Klerksdorp, Middelburg, Rustenburg, and Ermelo; but, in most of them, development has not as yet taken place, mainly, it would seem, because the small local authorities concerned cannot afford to supply the proposed Indian areas with services such as roads, electricity, and sewerage. Even if the Department of Community Development and the Indians themselves (with the aid of Housing Commission loans if necessary) undertake to build the houses.

In some towns there are very small numbers of Indians, and the authorities may decide to move them out altogether to regional townships, up to 60 miles away. This may be the case, for example, in Belfast, Machadodorp, Komatipoort, Bronkhorstspruit, Wakkerstroom, Groblersdal, the Duiwelskloof area, and others.

In a few towns with sizeable Indian populations, such as Volksrust, the future is undecided.

(12) Rand Daily Mail, 31 May, 1966

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Even before the Group Areas Act was passed, Indian residential accommodation in the Transvaal was very badly overcrowded because of the restrictions which had existed from 1885 onwards on their ownership and occupation of land. Since about 1952, however, it has been well-nigh impossible for those in White or in unzoned portions of towns to acquire additional premises or to extend existing ones. In consequence, Indian living accommodation has become quite appallingly congested.

Even if occupation permits are granted by the Group Areas Board, conditions may be imposed, and the permits have to be renewed at stated periods, often annually. This, of course, leaves the people in a continuing state of insecurity. If a man dies, there is no assurance that his family will be granted a permit to remain.

(c) How Coloured people are affected
Coloured group areas have been proclaimed in twelve Transvaal country towns: Barberton, Bethal, Christiana, Ermelo, Klerksdorp, Piet Retief, Pietersburg,
Potchefstroom, Rustenburg, Standerton, Warmbaths, and Zeerust. Further proclamations are likely in Lydenburg, Middelburg, Nelspruit, and Witbank. Except in the case of Barberton, to the writer's knowledge little or nothing has so far been done to develop the proclaimed areas; hence the Coloured people, like the Indians, are living in a state of uncertainty, and housing conditions are often highly inadequate. In Witbank, for example, about fifty families are living in deplorable mud shacks. There are only communal latrines and a communal water standpipe. For years, pending the proclamation of group areas, these people have been forbidden to build proper homes.

Coloured teachers stationed in Middelburg are in despair. One family of five is existing in one small room, about twelve foot square, with concrete walls. There is a minute, detached kitchen. There was a fire recently in the mixed Coloured and Indian school; but pending the development of group areas, which is likely to take years, the authorities made only very slapdash repairs, and the teachers and pupils used some of the schoolhours to do renovation and painting.

In many of the smaller Transvaal towns there are very few Coloured people. A minority, teachers and other professional people, are living under permit in White group areas. The rest, who are of the labouring class, are accommodated in municipal African townships or on White-owned farms near the towns. It was announced by the Minister of Planning on 1 December that most of the approximately 10,000 Coloured people in the Transvaal who live outside the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging complex are eventually to be concentrated in five regional group areas—Klerksdorp, Potchefstroom, Middelburg, Witbank, and Standerton. The Coloured group area at Barberton will remain, but no expansion will be permitted. Consideration will be given to allowing the Coloured people of Lichtenburg to remain in a group area there. But the development of other proclaimed Coloured areas is to be discontinued and discouraged.

GROUP AREAS IN THE CAPE PROVINCE

Housing for Coloured people in the Western Cape

During June, the Department of Coloured Affairs arranged a symposium on the fuller use of Coloured labour. Addressing this gathering, the Mayor of Stellenbosch is reported(3) to have said that there were 504,965 Coloured people in urban areas of the Western Cape, but by then only 24,245 houses had been built, with 3,253 under construction.

New group areas in Cape Town

(a) District Six

There have been numbers of group areas proclamations for Cape Town but, until recently, a few of the most controversial areas were left unzoned. One of these was the centrally-situated District Six—a racially mixed, highly overcrowded area, with a very special, traditional character of its own. According to a memorandum by the City Council(4) Coloured people established themselves in this area soon after the abolition of slavery in 1834.

The exact population of District Six appears to be unknown. As mentioned on page 214 of the 1964 Survey, the Minister of Housing said that year that there
were about 61,000 Coloured and Malay inhabitants, 800 Whites, and 600 Indians.
The estimated market values of properties were R17,000,000 for those owned by
Whites, R6,000,000 for Coloured, R5,000,000 for Indian, and R7,000,000 for
municipal and state properties.
According to the Minister of Community Development,(5) 76 per cent of the
inhabitants are tenants. There are some well-built properties in the area, but in
general the appearance is that of a slum. Mr. Brian Barrow wrote in the Cape
Times on 5 March that, while the general arrangement was for absentee landlords
to be responsible for the upkeep of the outside of the buildings, a majority of them
had neglected this duty. Very many of the tenants, however, had spent
considerable sums on the maintenance of the insides of the dwellings and on
fittings, and were keeping these in a spotless condition.
In terms of Proclamation 43 of 11 February, the major portion of District Six was
rendered an area for White occupation and ownership. Only after the publication
of this proclamation was it
(13) Cape Times, 11 June.
(14) Quoted in the Star, 18 March.
(15) Assembly 14 September, Hansard 7 col. 2055.
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announced that the Department of Community Development was to conduct a
survey of the number of Coloured and Indian people who would become
disqualified residents, and of the value of affected properties.(6) It is,
consequently, unknown how many of these people will eventually have to move:
estimates appear to vary between 20,000 and 33,000. The Minister said in the
Assembly on 5 August(17) that about 5,700 families were involved, but that the
survey had not been completed.
There was, already, a great shortage of housing for Coloured people in Cape
Town: the Medical Officer of Health said on 19 April(18) that 9,800 families
were on the waiting list for Council houses. This shortage had been very
considerably augmented by the necessity to move Coloured people from areas
allocated to Whites. Because of this, the City Council had been forced to delay
plans for the rehousing of families from the worst of the slums in District Six. In
1962, however, the Council decided to purchase most of the properties there and
to replan the area on modern lines. A pilot scheme for building about 250 flats at
a cost of R791,339 and for the provision of social and other amenities was
submitted for approval to the National Housing Commission; but the latter
intimated that no decision could be made pending the proclamation of group
areas.(")
Meanwhile, the Government appointed a Committee for the Rehabilitation of
Depressed Areas (Corda), to draw up a ten-year scheme for the replanning of
District Six, Woodstock, and Salt River. Its recommendations for the two latter
areas are not publicly known.
The proclamation of most of District Six as a White area caused great public
dismay. On 21 February a mass citizens’ protest meeting was held, presided over
by Dr. O. D. Wollheim, M.P.C., and attended by some 1,300 people, including City Councillors, representatives of the Christian Council and of individual churches and the Jewish community, the Progressive Party, Civil Rights League, Black Sash, National Council of Women, and others. The meeting expressed its abhorrence and shame at the Government's decision and urged that the proclamation be withdrawn. (20)

About 120 ratepayers signed a petition asking the Mayor to convene a meeting of voters to express their views on the whole matter. It was presented by a deputation of leading citizens headed by an ex-Chief Justice, the late Hon. A. van de Sandt Centlivres.

The Christian Council, in association with the Archdiocese of Cape Town of the Roman Catholic Church, issued a statement protesting "in the strongest terms against this further invasion of the rights and liberties of many of our citizens", and asking

(16) Rand Daily Mail, 12 February.
(17) Hansard I col. 231.
(18) Cape Times of that date.
(19) Race Relations News, April.
(20) Cape Times and Rand Daily Mail of 22 February

GROUP AREAS AND HOUSING

churches to make special prayers for District Six. Prayers were said, too, in all Cape Town mosques.

The District Six Defence Committee prepared a memorandum on the injustice of the decision for submission to the Coloured representatives in the Assembly and Provincial Council, and sought an interview with the Minister of Community Development. (Subsequent action taken by the Government against some of the members of this committee is described on page 67.) It was reported

(21) that residents of the area affected staged silent protests by walking through city streets bearing notices stating, "I am from District Six!", and by hanging black flags from their windows.

In a memorandum submitted to the Minister of Planning, the Cape Town City Council urged the Government to reconsider the proclamation, reiterated its willingness to develop District Six for the benefit of all its inhabitants, and asked the Minister to receive a deputation. When he refused to do so a similar approach was made to the then Prime Minister, again without success.

A Press statement by the Cape Western Region of the Institute of Race Relations, in which the Government's decision was termed "an indefensible sacrifice of the defenceless", was given wide publicity. (22)

The Minister of Community Development said in the Assembly on 14 September (23) that District Six was an expensive neighbourhood where the prices of properties were assessed at a minimum of R2,000. Almost half of the inhabitants were people who fell in the sub-economic group and would, in any case, have to be resettled on cheaper land if urban renewal were to be undertaken.
They would be removed gradually and systematically over a period of, perhaps, ten years.

(b) Lotus River area
In terms of proclamations gazetted on 26 November 1965 and 7 January, the Lotus River area (to the north of Simonstown) was divided between White and Coloured people, with a border strip between. A portion of Grassy Park, in the same vicinity, became a Coloured group area.

(c) Fraserdale
On 1 July the area along the Black River known as Fraserdale (between Rosebank/Rondebosch and the Coloured area of Athlone) was allocated to Whites. Some 300 families live here, about half White and half Coloured, the latter being middle-class people owning houses costing between R6,000 and R12,000. (04)
Earlier, on 3 December 1965, a stretch of land in Wynberg, adjoining Athlone, was added to the Coloured group area.
(21) Sunday Times, 27 February.
(22) See June issue of Race Relations News.
(23) Hansard 7 col. 2055.

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(d) Claremont
Previous proclamations had left unzoned two areas on either side of Main Road, above the railway line in Claremont. On 24 June these were declared White group areas. The Minister said, in the speech quoted earlier, that about 500 Coloured and Malay families would, as a result, have to move, but the Department's survey had not been completed.
Numbers of the heads of these families run small shops, while others are bricklayers, tailors, and other artisans: all will be seriously inconvenienced when they are moved to new townships some distance away. There is a mosque, a Coloured school, and the Tafala Institute in the area. (25)

(e) Coloured group areas
So far as available loan funds permit, the Cape Town City Council is continuing to extend housing schemes in Bonteheuvel, Heideveld, and other fairly recently-established Coloured townships. The Cape Flats Distress Association (Cafda) has, however, been denied permission to extend its schemes at Retreat, described on page 212 of the 1964 Survey.
According to various reports in the Cape Times (e.g. 13 May and 15 October), Coloured business-men have purchased "minor" of the stores, and an hotel, previously owned by Whites in the Athlone area, and numbers of professional men have established practices there. A magistrate's court is to be opened in the township, where Coloured clerks will be trained. The Coloured Development Corporation is planning a supermarket with floors of office accommodation above it.
Other towns in the Cape
As described in the issues of this Survey for 1961, 1963, and 1965, practically the whole of Port Elizabeth has been zoned under the Group Areas Act. In terms of Government Notice 108 of 15 April, a year's warning was given that large numbers of erven in Korsten are to be occupied for business purposes only. Numbers of Coloured families have been moved from White group areas to small sub-economic dwellings at Gelvandale. Some of these people, who are fairly well-to-do, had to dispose of furniture that could not be fitted into their new homes.

A Government Notice gazetted on 24 June placed restrictions for ten years on the erection or alteration of any buildings in certain racially-mixed areas of Port Elizabeth and East London, pending the finalization of plans for slum clearance and urban renewal. It was stipulated, too, that during this period the use to which existing buildings are put may not be altered.

(25) Cape Times, 28 June.

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As described on page 215 of the 1964 Survey, about ten blocks near the centre of Stellenbosch, predominantly occupied by Coloured people, have been allocated to Whites. During May, the Government appointed a committee to assist the Town Council in the replanning of this area.

During the year under review, Komgha, Hopetown, the Sir Lowry's Pass area and Tulbagh were proclaimed White areas. Group areas for both Whites and Coloured were set aside in Adelaide, Ashton, Barrydale, Betty's Bay, Bonnievale, Britstown, De Rust, Dordrecht, Dysseldorp, Hankey, Hermanus, Keimoes, Kenhardt, Klawan, Kleinmond, Petrusville, Somerset East, Vanrhynsdorp, and Veldrif.

Coloured group areas were proclaimed for the towns of Robertson, Somerset West, Williston, and Vredenburg.

As mentioned last year, Macassar and Firgrove have been divided between Whites and Coloured. Some apprehension has been expressed(6) that all the Coloured people from nearby-towns such as Somerset West, the Strand, and Gordons Bay may be required to move to Macassar.

There has been great concern, too, among the Indian people, since so few Indian group areas exist in the Cape. Anxious to avoid removal to one of the larger cities, where they would find it well-nigh impossible to make a living, some traders in country towns have been trying to have themselves re-classified as Coloured, under the Population Registration Act. Many of them have close associations with Coloured people of the Muslim faith.

GROUP AREAS IN NATAL

Durban

Some of the few remaining controlled areas in Durban and its vicinity have become group areas during the year under review. To the White group have been allocated the Woodville and Van Riebeek Park areas near Wentworth, Forest Hill at Bellair, and a strip of land along the Jan Smuts Highway. Other parts of the
Wentworth area, and the Theresa Road and Clover Leaf areas have been assigned to Coloured people; and the Indian group area at Springfield has been extended. The Indians are still most apprehensive about the future of the Grey Street area, near the city centre, where they are reported to own properties worth more than R30,000,000.7 A new Oriental Bazaar is being planned, by private enterprise, in Albert Street; but this is unlikely to make adequate provision for all the Indian traders who will probably have to move from a section of the Indian market which is to be cleared to make way for a new major road (let alone those from Grey Street).

(26) Star, 13 May.
(27) Natal Mercury, 20 May.

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The Department of Community Development has been expropriating numbers of properties in Cato Manor, Riverside, and Prospect Hall, which are proclaimed White areas. The Minister said in the Assembly on 14 September(7) that this was being done because the whole of these areas had to be re-planned. Numbers of Indians who owned good houses protested that sums offered in compensation were far too low to enable them to erect dwellings of comparable standards elsewhere. Because of the high demand, land values in the better-class Indian suburbs, reasonably near to the centre of town (e.g. Asherville) have risen sharply and prices realized when properties are sold are very considerably in excess of the municipal valuations.29

It was reported(7) that many of the Indians concerned were served with orders to vacate their houses before claims for compensation had been settled, or were informed that they could continue to occupy the houses provided that they paid rentals (fixed at a high figure) to the Community Development Board. Members of the South African Indian Council made complaints to the Ministers of Indian Affairs and Community Development, who promised to investigate the matter. According to the Sunday Times of November 20, on the previous day a judge of the Supreme Court ordered two members of the local three-man Arbitration Court, which presides over disputes arising from contested valuations of expropriated properties, to recuse themselves. He found that the valuations they had made in areas such as Riverside and Prospect Hall had consistently tended to be on the low side.

So far as housing funds permit, the Department of Community Development and the Durban City Council are continuing to erect housing in the Indian and Coloured group areas. The question of training and using Indian building artisans, at lower rates of pay than Whites receive, has been under discussion510 There is still insufficient land available for the necessary additional Coloured housing schemes.

In an attempt to overcome the grave housing shortage, the City Council has built a number of shacks in the Merebank area: this scheme has been criticised on the ground that new slums are being created.32) As in other centres, a considerable proportion of the dwellings in new housing estates are of the austerity type, financed from sub-economic loan funds. Official approval for extensions to a
Coloured housing scheme at Sparks Estate was withheld because the plans were considered to be too lavish.\footnote{33}

The City Council has complained that its income from rates and service fees in new non-white townships is insufficient to cover the interest and redemption of housing loans. In consequence of this (and of the fact that the Government intends that Coloured and Indian townships should eventually become autonomous local authorities), plans for social and recreational facilities in these townships have been delayed pending decision on which authority should assume the financial responsibility.

Groups of Indian businessmen are to finance the development of a "prestige" suburb for Indians at Newland Heights, and the erection of a civic centre at Chatsworth. The City Council hopes that Indians will take up options on industrial sites in the new township for members of their group.

Chinese occupation is allowed in the Norse Street area of Durban. During July, a Chinese family who lived at Point Road was prosecuted for failing to vacate this area, which has been allocated to Whites, after having been warned to do so. The householder has a White identity card, but is regarded as Chinese under the Group Areas Act because he has a Chinese wife. The persons concerned were convicted, but sentence was postponed until 21 December.\footnote{36}

Other towns in Natal

During 1966, group areas for Whites only have been proclaimed in Amanzimtoti, Charlestown, Hattingspuit, Kingsburgh, Lower Illovo, the Newsel-Umdloti Beach, Paulpietersburg, Umbogintwini and Van Reenen. Areas for Whites and Indians were demarcated in Dannhauser, Howick, Tongaat, Wasbank, and Weenen; and for Whites, Indians and Coloured in Newcastle and Pinetown. The Indian group area at Isimingo has been enlarged. Consternation was caused among the Indians of Ladysmith when the Group Areas Board advertised proposals for deproclaiming part of their area for allocation to Whites.

An estimated 3,000 Indians are likely to have to move as a result of the Pinetown proclamation. The Roman Catholic Mariannhill mission near this town, which is run for the benefit of Africans, falls within the White group area, and its future is, thus, uncertain.\footnote{7}

Port Shepstone was proclaimed a White group area in 1965. During August, the Department of Planning rejected a suggestion by the Town Council that an "open"
trading area be created there, where Indian businessmen would have a secure future.\textsuperscript{38}

\textbf{ORANGE FREE STATE}

A small group area for the Coloured people of Bethlehem was demarcated during September.

\textsuperscript{35} Ibid, 30 September and 7 October.

\textsuperscript{36} Ibid, 22 July, and Minister of Community Development, Assembly 11 October,

\textit{Hansard} 11 cols. 3910-1.

\textsuperscript{37} Natal Mercury, 30 April.

\textsuperscript{38} ibid, 23 August.

\textbf{194 \hspace{1cm} A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966}

\textbf{SOME NOTES ON AFRICAN TOWNSHIPS}

\textbf{Johannesburg}

The City Council and the Resettlement Board are continuing to erect houses and hostels in the Soweto area, to the south-west of the city. In spite of a rapid rate of building the waiting-list remains an extremely long one, due mainly to the natural increase of the population.

Residents of Pimville (separated from Soweto by the Potchefstroom road) are being rehoused at Klipspruit, across this road. The major portion of Pimville was a slum; but there were good modern houses there too, and people who have been required to move into smaller dwellings at Klipspruit have, in some cases, had to dispose of furniture that could not be fitted in.

In June 1965 the distribution of the African population of Johannesburg was:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline
Area & Population (000s) \\
\hline
town & 52,000 \\
hostels & 12,400 \\
private compounds & 9,400 \\
Crown compounds & 21,973 \\
residential compounds & 8,863 \\
urban council controlled area & 118,861 \\
PKloof and Meadowlands & 377,249 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

East Rand

All the Africans from the East Rand, except those in mine compounds or living on the premises of their employers, are eventually to live in Tembisa (to the north of Kempton Park), or Daveyton (north-east of Benoni), or the Natalspruit area (south of Alberton), or the Kwa Thema area (south-west of Springs), or in townships serving Nigel.

According to information furnished by local authorities and by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development,(39) it would appear that by mid-1966,
some 304,421 Africans were living in these areas, while at least another 113,000 had still to be removed from older townships in Benoni, Boksburg, Brakpan, Springs, Kempton Park, Edenvale, and others, plus unknown numbers now living in Alexandra Township but employed on the East Rand.

(39) Assembly, 16 September, Hansard 7 col. 2210.

GROUP AREAS AND HOUSING

West Rand

Three main areas are being established for the accommodation of Africans on the West Rand (again excluding those in mine compounds or privately housed). Those working in Roodpoort live in Dobsonville, adjoining Meadowlands, which in mid-1966 had 28,000 residents. The township of Munsieville, to the north of Krugersdorp, is eventually to be abolished. Some 6,500 Africans live there now. In 1957 a new township called Kagiso was established, to the south: 25,500 Africans are accommodated there. Africans are being moved from Madubulaville, just outside Randfontein, to the newer township of Mohlakeng: only about 65 families have still to be resettled. Mohlakeng has some 23,000 residents. Further to the south is the Bekkersdal township, serving Venterspos and Westonaria, which has about 7,727 residents.

The Vaal Triangle

Evaton, which is some twelve miles north of Vanderbijlpark, has for long been an African area, in which freehold rights are available. As mentioned in previous issues of this Survey, to the east of this is a mixed residential area called Residensia, which in 1962 was proclaimed a White group area. But the Whites living there, fearing African encroachment, preferred to sell their properties to the Government and at their wish, in 1965, the area was re-proclaimed an African one.

On 3 June a management board for the area (which is now called Sebokeng) was constituted, consisting of representatives of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, the Peri-Urban Areas Health Board, and neighbouring local authorities, to administer both Evaton and Sebokeng. Its secretary announced in September(4”) that the Government was to pay an estimated R2,000,000 as compensation to White property owners, and, in addition, was acquiring adjoining farming land. Houses and hostels are being erected at a rapid rate; and eventually all the Africans from Vereeniging, Vanderbijlpark, Meyerton, and other parts of the Vaal Triangle, numbering some 160,000, will be required to move to this new township.

As mentioned on page 136 of the 1963 Survey, the Better Administration of Designated Areas Act enabled the State President to declare an area where Africans have acquired interest in land to be an urban location, where the whole range of laws affecting the residence and employment of Africans will apply. This Act was, subsequently, applied to Evaton. According to the Rand Daily Mail of December 2, Mr. John Tielima challenged the relevant proclamation in the Supreme Court, Pretoria, on the ground that it adversely affected his rights of ownership of property in the portion

(40) South African Digest, 2 September.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966

of Evaton which was a released area. His action failed, the judge ruling that, in the context concerned, the State President had powers of legislation equal to those of Parliament, and it was competent for him to repeal the Common Law or any statutory law.

Pretoria

The Pretoria municipal townships for Africans are Mamelodi, to the north-east, and Atteridgeville/Saulsville (which, it has been proposed, should be renamed Lesedi) to the south-west. Some 86,337 people now live in the former, and 66,601 in the latter area.

Previously, very large numbers lived in the freehold areas of Lady Selborne and Claremont but, in 1959, these were deproclaimed as African townships, and are to become White areas. The City Council is buying up African-owned properties there and demolishing buildings on them; but in mid-1966 about 18,910 Africans were still in these areas. People who were forced to leave and who owned land in freehold were given the opportunity of acquiring plots in the "homeland" villages of Ga Rankuwa or Boekenhoutfontein (roughly fifteen miles to the north-west of Pretoria as the crow flies). Others who are in lawful employment in the city are being accommodated at Mamelodi.

There are still large numbers of "squatters" in the environs of Pretoria, for example at Eersterust.

Other Transvaal towns

Wherever feasible, Africans are being moved from municipally-controlled locations to villages within the borders of African Reserves which are controlled by the Government Department of Bantu Administration and Development. As mentioned in previous issues of this Survey, such moves are in progress in Pietersburg and Potgietersrus. The Government has taken over control of the Rustenburg township named Thlabane, having extended the boundaries of a neighbouring Reserve to include this area. A new Government township is to be built near Zeerust.

For many years the Africans of White River and Nelspruit have lived in deplorably overcrowded and neglected townships pending decision as to the siting of new residential areas. It has recently been decided that the people from White River should be moved about eleven miles to the east, to a new township being created in the Nzigazi Reserve, from where they will have to commute daily. Those employed in Nelspruit (other than domestic servants and workers housed on citrus estates) will have to move about sixteen miles out of town, to a proposed village on the farm Nyamasan.

In the Assembly, on 19 August(41) Hansard 3 cols. 1050-1.

GROUP AREAS AND HOUSING
ships so far established in Bantu areas of the Transvaal, which have a total estimated population of 65,970. The largest (as described on page 152) is Ga Rankuwa.

Towns in the Cape
The numbers of Africans living in Cape Town are mentioned on page 167. During 1965 the Government decided that all the approximately 1,600 Africans who lived in the pleasant, 60-year-old township of Luyola, on the hill-slope above Simonstown, should be moved to Gugulethu, twenty miles away. (2) This move has now been completed, the homes in which the people lived having been demolished. As the municipality found, however, that it was impossible to maintain essential services unless some Africans lived closer at hand, it obtained permission for 22 "single" men to live in barracks near the old township. (43) About 800 Africans who were living in an emergency shack settlement at Wellington are being accommodated in Paarl's Mbekweni township. (44)

The African townships of Port Elizabeth, East London, and other urban areas of the Cape were described on page 199 of the 1965 Survey. Mdantsane, outside East London, is growing rapidly: the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development said in the Assembly on 4 October (45) that 5,700 families were then living there, some 8,550 of the people being in employment. As mentioned last year, all the Africans in the municipal townships of East London will eventually be moved to Mdantsane, which is within the borders of a Reserve, about eleven miles to the north of the city.

Mdantsane is designed, too, to house workers employed in border industries around East London. Africans from the Transkei who wish to work in border factories have to migrate many miles, to East London, King William's Town, or Queenstown. If they want to bring their families with them and acquire permanent residential rights in the "homeland" villages serving these industrial areas, they are required to sign statements renouncing rights to land in the Transkei. According to the Ministerial statement quoted earlier, there are ten "homeland" villages in the Cape (outside the Transkei), the largest being Mdantsane and Zwelitsha (outside King William's Town). At least three of them—at Kuruman, Mafeking, and Taung—accommodate urban workers.

Durban
In October 1965 the Natal Regional Research Officer of the
(42) See 1965 Survey, page 199.
(43) Cape Times, 11 May.
(44) Ibid, 25 July.
(45) Hansard 10 col. 3475.
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Institute of Race Relations prepared a memorandum (N.R. 128/65) on African housing in Durban. The Africans were then housed as follows:

Municipal family accommodation ........ 123,200 Municipal hostels and compounds .......... 22,200 Government township of Umlazi ........ 55,000
Government and industrial compounds .... 32,500
Domestic servants privately housed 31,500
African-owned property 1,100
Temporary shacks (since eliminated) 4,500
270,000

A few months after this memorandum was prepared, Durban's municipal Director of Bantu Administration said(44) that, as the result of stricter influx control measures, the resident African population had been reduced to 209,000. But, as explained below, this is an artificial figure, since very many of the people who are in legal employment in Durban live in squatter camps outside the municipal boundaries.

Considerable progress is being made with housing schemes. In Umlazi (a Government-controlled township to the south of the city) some twenty houses are being completed daily, a total of about 14,000 dwelling units having been provided by September. There were, then, about 60,000 inhabitants.(44)

Kwa Mashu is a municipal township, to the north of Durban. According to the Durban City Engineer,(48) 11,598 dwelling units had been completed there by May.

Another "homeland" township called Ntuzuma is being established to the north of Kwa Mashu.(49) and the Government is planning another extensive housing scheme in a released area between Clermont and the Inanda Reserve. Both of these, together with Kwa Mashu, may eventually constitute one enormous "homeland" housing complex.

But, in the meanwhile, there is still a very great backlog. Various reports(50) state that some 6,000 Africans who qualify to have their families with them are on the waiting list for houses, and there is a shortage of some 48,000 beds for "single" men.

For this reason-and also, probably, because many men wish to defy the influx control regulations and have their families with them-approximately 12,000 families are reported(51) to be living in shack settlements on privately-owned land on the outskirts of

(46) Natal Mercury, 27 April.
(47) Ibid, 29 September, and Assembly, 19 August, Hansard 3 cols. 1050-1.
(48) Ibid, 6 May.
(49) Ibid.
(50) Ibid, 28 July and 3 August.
(51) Ibid, 28 July.

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TRANSPORT FOR AFRICAN COMMUTERS

Durban, mainly in the Inanda district, inland from Kwa Mashu. The hygienic conditions in numbers of these settlements are highly unsatisfactory.

Similar shanty settlements are reported(2) to exist along the South Coast of Natal.

Other Natal towns

Other housing schemes for Africans in Natal were described briefly on page 201 of last year's Survey. As was stated, the inhabitants of Pietermaritzburg's Sobantu village are eventually to be moved to new townships outside the city: Imbali,
being built under a municipal contract, or Ashdown, in the Local Health Commission's area of Edendale. Both are situated in African Reserves. The first stage of the Imbali project, comprising 1,486 dwellings and 432 cottage hostels, each accommodating eight men, has now been completed. Some 31,000 Africans may eventually live here.(53)

According to the Minister,(54) the present numbers of Africans in the townships mentioned are:

- Sobantu .......... 11,012
- Imbali .. .. .. .. .. 10,049
- Ashdown ....... 2,811

In another statement(55) the Minister gave details relating to ten further townships, in Reserves near Camperdown, Empangeni, Eshowe, Ladysmith, Newcastle, Richmond, Vryheid, and elsewhere. They had, between them, some 25,300 inhabitants.

Free State

Two "homeland" townships in the Free State mentioned by the Minister were Selosesha at Thaba 'Nchu (2,500 residents) and Witzieshoek (300). Eleven African women and two men were given a twelve months' suspended sentence on 16 November on a charge of public violence, arising from the stoning of policemen who were enforcing eviction orders on Africans who were required to move from the old location at Harrismith to a new township. The police fired a few shots, slightly wounding three women.

TRANSPORT FOR AFRICAN COMMUTERS

According to the Statistical Year Book for 1965 (Table P9), the numbers of passenger-journeys on South African Railway services were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1st class</th>
<th>2nd class</th>
<th>3rd class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Long-distance Train</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>884,000</td>
<td>4,010,000</td>
<td>20,343,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suburban</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>113,086,000</td>
<td>8,307,000</td>
<td>278,808,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Road motor services</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>2,275,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6,542,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the third-class passengers, and a proportion of the others, were non-whites. Railway services for African daily commuters are subsidized by the Government. The Official Estimates of Expenditure show(6) that the loss on the operation of these services was R7,500,000 in 1965-6, and was estimated at R8,800,000 for 1966-7. Railway fares were increased as from 1 September; but the Minister of Transport announced that these increases would not apply in the cases of third class services provided between urban centres and their African townships or other "resettlement areas". Not all non-white commuters benefited from this concession, however for example, people in Cape Town who travel from the townships by bus to railway stations where they join suburban trains.
Some bus companies have found it necessary to increase fares: this led to a prolonged boycott of buses operating between Bekkersdal township and Westonaria or Randfontein.

The two busiest rail services are those running between the Soweto area and Johannesburg, and between Kwa Mashu and Durban. It was estimated in The Star of 6 August that some 190,000 persons travel daily, on working days, between the SouthWestern townships and Johannesburg, mainly Africans, but including Indians from Lenasia and Coloured people from Noordgesig. The main rush is between the peak hours of 5.30 and 7.15 a.m. In the Assembly on 5 August the Minister of Transport said(57) that an average of 145,973 persons were transported during these peak hours. Forty-five train sets, each consisting of eleven coaches, were in use during these hours: the seating capacity in the coaches totalled 41,172.

So far as the journey between Kwa Mashu and Durban is concerned, the Minister added, 29,432 persons were transported daily at peak periods. Eleven train sets were in use during these hours, their seating capacity totalling 12,688.

Because of the congestion on these trains and the short intervals between their times of departure, there are larger numbers of casualties than would otherwise be the case when accidents do occur. In October 1965, for example, when there was an accident near Effingham station on the Kwa Mashu line, 91 Africans were killed and several hundreds injured. A White signalman rushing to the scene was, apparently, mistaken for the train driver, was attacked by angry Africans, and was killed. Two accidents occurred in 1966 on the New Canada (Johannesburg) section of the line, in May and August, respectively, in which 19 Africans were

(56) R.P. 1/66 page 41.
(57) Hansard I col. 260.

TRANSPORT FOR AFRICAN COMMUTERS

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966

EMPLOYMENT

THE GENERAL ECONOMIC SITUATION

As mentioned on page 204 of last year's Survey, following a meeting of the Economic Advisory Council held in October 1965, the Prime Minister announced that the country's current income was insufficient to finance the enormous increase in expenditure on both capital and consumer goods. The human and material resources of the country were unable to keep pace with the general rate of development, and this rate would have to be decreased for the time being. The Government was curtailing its capital expenditure programme: provincial administrations and local authorities were asked to follow suit; and mining houses and insurance and investment companies were urged to postpone the less essential of their expansion programmes.
In his Budget Speech, in August, the Minister of Finance referred to a “disturbing continuance of a potentially inflationary situation”. He described measures which had already been taken to counter this: the Reserve Bank had requested the monetary banks to restrict their credit to the private sector to the level which obtained at the end of March 1965; the control of interest rates on deposits had been lifted; certain relaxations had been made in import control. Government expenditure, the Minister continued, would as far as possible be financed from current revenue. The rates of income and other forms of taxation were raised, and rail tariffs increased.

Following a meeting of the Economic Advisory Council in February, the then Prime Minister announced that the restrictive measures adopted “with a view to retarding the rate of development to a level more in keeping with the country's available resources” had led to a levelling off of the general rate of economic activities. The time had, however, not yet arrived for a relaxation of these restrictive measures.

Curbs likely to be imposed on industrial expansion in the major urban complexes are mentioned on page 159.

MANPOWER RESOURCES

During the past few years much thought has been given to the rate of economic growth at which South Africa should aim in the light of its available and potential resources, and to the question of how these resources can be augmented. During 1964 the Government established an Advisory Council for Manpower.

ECONOMIC SITUATION

Research and Planning to co-ordinate the activities of various agencies concerned with these matters. Since then, a Resources and Planning Advisory Committee has been created. A National Productivity Conference was held in Pretoria during October, at which it was decided to recommend that a national productivity council be set up.

According to an article in The Star on 27 October, it became clear at this conference that unless industry, commerce and the public services made more efficient use of manpower and equipment, the country had no adequate answer to inflation and overseas price competition. Addressing a meeting of the Institute for Social Research of the University of Natal, Dr. E. G. Malherbe (ex-Principal of this University) said that economic development depended on three main factors-capital investment, technological development, and, most important, human resources, with the emphasis on quality instead of quantity.

In an address given in Pretoria on 16 September, the Minister of Labour pointed out that many more trained workers were urgently required to maintain South Africa's expansion and to assure a future for the growing population. He emphasized the need for greater productivity. Some of the Government's plans for increasing the numbers of trained White workers were outlined on pages 238-9 of
the 1964 Survey, and are described in the chapter of this Survey dealing with technical training.

Industrial experts have again, during 1966, pointed to the fact that it is impossible for the white section of the population to supply all the skilled labour that is needed and that if greater prosperity is to be achieved, it is essential that the productivity, skills, and earnings of the non-white peoples should be advanced. In February, Mr. J. H. Liebenberg, president of the South African Confederation of Labour and of the Federal Consultative Council of Railway Staff Associations, said(6) that the country's economic growth could not be maintained at the rate recommended by the Economic Advisory Council(7) without a more intelligent use of labour resources, involving further concessions to allow non-whites to do more skilled work.

Similar opinions were expressed by the senior vice-president of the Trade Union Council of South Africa, Mr. T. P. Murray, in an address to the National Productivity Council. He stated(8) that any attempt to raise the general level of productivity was doomed to failure at the outset unless there was a determined move to develop the skills and thereby utilize the potentials of the nonwhites. Positive steps to increase African proficiency and productivity to the point where higher remuneration could be justified

(4) Natal Mercury, 21 October.
(5) Star of that date.
(6) Rand Daily Mail, 3 February
(8) Star, 27 October.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966

would strengthen the domestic market and offer a sound base for the development of export markets.

These opinions were backed by leading business-men, including Mr. L. Lulofs, president of the Federated Chamber of Industries; Mr. F. G. Hill, a mining expert and a former president of both the Associated Scientific and Technical Societies and the South African Institute of Personnel Management; and by the Cape Town industrialist, Mr. C. S. Marx(9)

The second report of an Education Panel (appointed in 1961 by the Witwatersrand Council of Education in conjunction with the Ernest Oppenheimer Memorial Trust) was published during November, under the title Education and the South African Economy. Members of this Panel included leading educationists and industrialists, and a former Judge of Appeal. They pointed out that "Practically all economically active whites are now engaged in skilled work, so that if the proportion of the total population which is engaged in such work is to rise (as it must do), all the new recruits to the skilled ranks needed to bring about this increase must be non-white". The Panel had "no hesitation in declaring that further economic growth in South Africa is quite impossible without the constant
shifting of the boundaries between work done by whites and non-whites ... a good deal more rapidly than in the past".

As mentioned last year,(9) the Economic Advisory Council recommended that non-whites be assisted and encouraged to undertake more advanced work in their own group areas and in the Reserves. Dr. P. J. Riekert, Economic Adviser to the Prime Minister and chairman of the Economic Advisory Council, said in a Press statement in March 1965 that "the indivisibility and inter-dependence of the South, African market will ensure that any improvement in the quality and productivity of labour, irrespective of the region where it is employed, will render its contribution to an increased overall rate of economic advance". In June 1966, Dr. Riekert pointed out(10) that it was only through higher productivity that the real per capita income of the population could be augmented. He urged that wage increases should be matched by greater productivity.

Following a meeting of the Economic Advisory Council held in June, the then Prime Minister said(11) that the authorities in charge of non-white education were paying particular attention to technical education in order to relieve the pressure on skilled manpower, making it possible for non-whites to make a greater contribution "within the framework of the Government's policy". The use made of non-white manpower in various sectors of the economy is described in subsequent sections of this chapter.

(9) Star, 2 November.
(10) Pages 203, 211.
(12) Sunday Times, 10 July.

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JOB RESERVATION
JOB RESERVATION

According to Tempo, published by the South Africa Foundation in June, and to statements by the Minister of Labour and by Mr. S. J. Marais Steyn in the Assembly,(13) the seventeen job reservation determinations made up to the end of 1965 apply to sectors of industry employing 20 per cent of the labour force, and affect only 5 per cent of the actual labour market. Numerous exemptions from the terms of the determinations have been granted in response to shifts in the prevailing employment patterns.

Determination No. 17, described on page 213 of last year's Survey, dealt with the jobs of waiters, wine stewards, pages, "barboys", bedroom attendants, and handymen in the liquor and catering trade in the Western Cape and certain Natal towns. So far as the Western Cape is concerned, Coloured or Asian people must be employed in these posts when new jobs are created, or when Africans already so employed leave.

During April, concern was expressed in the National Hotelier (official journal of the Federated Hotel Associations of Southern Africa) that this determination would damage the hotel tourist trade.(14) The Minister of Labour said in the Assembly on 11 October(15) that his Department was continually receiving applications from hotel owners who wanted to employ Africans in the jobs
concerned. "I regard the hotel attendants' trade here in the Cape as a trade which is pre-eminently suitable for the Coloureds," the Minister said. He had met owners of hotels to urge that this work be made more attractive by improving conditions of employment, and had set up a committee on which the owners would serve along with representatives of the Department of Labour and Coloured Affairs in order to go into this whole matter.

Two new determinations have been made during the year under review. No. 18, published as Government Notice R 124 of 28 January, applied to the footwear industry throughout the Republic, providing that white workers may not be replaced by non-whites, and Coloured persons may not be replaced by Africans. Whenever a post becomes vacant, it must be reserved for a White or Coloured person.

Determination No. 19, gazetted on 28 October, dealt with the driving of motor vehicles, road construction machines, and earthmoving machines above a stipulated horsepower or weight, in the construction of roads or streets, and the excavation or levelling of ground preparatory to the erection of buildings, in the Transvaal, Free State, and Natal. As from April 1967, no employer may replace a white driver of such vehicles or machines by a nonwhite. This determination will not apply in African areas, nor if the work is carried out on premises of which the employer who is

(13) 11 October, Hansard 11 cols. 3951, 3982.
(14) Cape Times, 9 May.
(15) Hansard 11 col. 3978.

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undertaking the work is the registered owner or hirer and if the work is not being done for private profit. Local authorities will, presumably, thus be exempt. It will not apply, either, to non-white employers who at the date of the determination are in the permanent service of any other employer. Non-whites will continue to be allowed to operate heavy road construction machines in the preparatory stages before the foundation layer of a road is laid.

EXTENSION OF THE CONCEPT OF BORDER INDUSTRIES
It was decided in March 1965 that the benefits which had previously been available in approved cases to White industrialists operating on the borders of African Reserves would be extended to White, Coloured, and Indian industrialists in selected retarded areas where unemployment existed. Coloured and Indian entrepreneurs would be assisted only if there were large concentrations of their own people in the areas concerned.

The scheme would initially apply in George and Knysna for the employment of White women and Coloured persons; in Upington, Heilbron, and Wepener for the employment of Coloured; and in Pietermaritzburg, Verulam, Tongaat, and Stanger for the employment of Indians.

According to the 1965 Report of the Permanent Committee for the Location of Industry and the Development of Border Areas, by the end of that year benefits had been made available to one new White and two new Indian undertakings.
based on Indian labour, and to two White concerns that wished to extend their activities to employ additional Indian and Coloured labour. This had resulted in the total (including private) investment of more than R13,000,000, of which R2,600,000 was in Pietermaritzburg; and in the additional employment of 103 Whites, 1,307 Indians, and 25 Coloured persons.

FACTORIES ESTABLISHED WITH INDIAN CAPITAL
For years past Indian entrepreneurs have interested themselves in the establishment of manufacturing concerns in Natal, especially Durban; but this is a fairly recent development in the Transvaal. As explained on page 181, it is very necessary that industrial establishments employing Indians be set up in the Transvaal, since large numbers of these people are likely to be forced out of trade.

As mentioned last year, the Government has decided to establish an Indian Investment Corporation to assist Indians to develop industrial enterprises. The Minister of Indian Affairs said in the Assembly on 20 September (17) that a senior officer had recently been appointed to his Department to plan the creation of this Corporation.

(16) 1965 Survey page 216.
(17) Hansard 8 cols. 2536-7 and 2524.

THE COST OF LIVING
It was estimated, the Minister stated, that during the past two years Indian entrepreneurs had invested R20,000,000 in the development of manufacturing concerns, and that Indian factories were producing about half of the clothing for the middle and lower income groups in the country.

On another occasion (8) the Minister said that in 1962 there were 142 Indian-controlled manufacturing concerns in Durban, including clothing, footwear, plastic containers, button, and mineral water factories and a bus body works. Thirty-six industrial sites were available in the Indian group area of Chatsworth, but had, thus far, not been taken up.

Factories erected or in the course of being built in Pietermaritzburg included one clothing, one paper bag, and two textile factories, and extensions to a firm manufacturing concrete pipes. A soap and edible oil factory was being planned, the Minister continued.

A Lancashire company has established a textile firm, using Indian workers, at Tongaat; and White-owned capital has been used to set up a saw-mill and woodboard factory at Verulam. Indian-owned concerns include a food-processing plant at Tongaat, a rice-mill at Glendale, and a sugar mill at Stanger. White executives are at present employed in this mill, but Indian youths are serving apprenticeships there as fitters or electricians.

So far as the Transvaal is concerned, a German firm has assisted in the establishment of a factory at Lenasia, Johannesburg, to manufacture steel files. It will eventually employ about 150 Indians. For the time being the supervisors are Germans; but some Indians have been sent overseas for skilled training. An establishment to manufacture a range of pliers, and a candle factory, are to be built on adjoining sites.
There are three factories at Laudium in Pretoria, producing textiles and pottery; a plastic bag factory in Heidelberg, and a concern in Barberton that is manufacturing nails. Benoni is hoping to attract Indian industrialists.

THE COST OF LIVING

Consumer price index

In his Budget Speech the Minister of Finance made reference to increases in the price indices between June 1965 and June 1966, stating that while these had been slightly lower than those during the preceding twelve months, they were still too high and were harmful to the economy.

The Bureau of Statistics gives the following consumer price indices (being weighted average figures for the nine principal urban areas, with a base of 100 in October 1958):

(18) Assembly 21 September, Hansard 8 cols. 2543-5.

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September 1965 September 1966
All items .... 113.7 118.9
Food only .... 115.8 120.9

A new enquiry into the spending habits of White families is to be conducted by the Bureau towards the end of 1966, with a view to adopting a more up-to-date system of calculating the consumer price index.

Measures taken by the Government to control rises in the cost of living

The Minister of Finance announced in August(9) that, for the remainder of the financial year, the prices of essential foodstuffs such as maize, milk, butter, cheese, bread, and sugar would not be increased. There is, however, no price control on meat and other foods not listed by the Minister, and the costs of many of these items have risen very considerably, inter alia, because of continued drought.

During August, also, rent control was extended to all residential and business premises.

African male starting cash wages in Johannesburg

The Research Branch of the Johannesburg municipal NonEuropean Affairs Department carries out half-yearly investigations into the starting wages paid to Africans who are placed in employment in the city. A report covering the period January to June 1965 dealt with the starting wages paid to 53,252 men.

Of these men, 79.33 per cent were placed in weekly-paid employment. Their cash wages (i.e. excluding the value of any payments in kind, such as free food or quarters), when converted to a monthly basis, averaged R36.62.

A comparison with the results of previous surveys showed that, over all sectors of employment combined, there had been a gradual rise in wages. The percentage of men in weekly-paid employment, for example, who received a cash equivalent of less than R30 per month decreased as follows:

Percentage
July 1963 to June 1964 ......31.07 July 1964 to December 1964 .... 19.31
January 1965 to June 1965 .... 16.15
Cost of living in Soweto, Johannesburg, 1966
The Institute of Race Relations has recently published a study entitled Cost of Living in Soweto, by Mrs. Sheila Suttner. In order to have results that would be comparable with those of
(19) Assembly, 4 August, Hansard 1 cols. 202-3.
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previous studies published by the Institute.(2") similar bases of calculation were used.

In order to estimate incomes, Mrs. Suttner worked out the average minimum monthly wages paid to African workers in trades or undertakings in which the largest numbers are employed in Johannesburg (excluding the mines, which draw mainly on migrant labour housed in compounds). These are the building, commercial distributive, and motor trades; the iron, steel, engineering, and metallurgical industries; and municipal undertakings. In these, the average minimum monthly wages per worker were R35.62. (This is a slightly lower figure than that for average starting wages, as quoted above, but the municipal survey probably covered a proportion of semi-skilled and operative workers.)

The municipality found, in 1950, that there was an average of 1.3 wage-earners per household in Soweto. On this basis, the average household income there in 1966 would work out at R46.31. This represented an increase of 29.5 per cent over the 1958 figure.

Calculated on a poverty datum line basis, the minimum essential household expenditure per month for a family of five in Soweto in 1966 was as follows, Mrs. Suttner found:

R
Food ...... 31.50
Clothing ....10.04 Rent 5.80
Fuel and light .. 3.47
Cleaning materials 2.04
Transport .. 2.39
Tax ...... 0.33
R55.57

The total showed an increase of 15 per cent over 1958 prices. The gap between household income and essential minimum expenditure had narrowed, but remained a large one-of R19.95 a month if the wages of the head of the household only were taken into account. (According to Report No. 6, dealing with Soweto, published by the Bureau of Market Research of the University of South Africa in 1963, there was only one wage-earner in 45.8 per cent of the households.) The shortfall is probably met, in most cases, by economizing on food, below the minimum diet which the Department of Nutrition considers is necessary for the maintenance of health.

Poverty datum line budgets do not include expenditure on items (many of which are necessities for urban people) such as
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966

education, medical care, furniture and household goods, insurance, repairs, dry cleaning, personal care, etc., let alone "luxuries" such as recreation, reading and writing materials, tobacco, and other items. For this reason, Professor E. Batson of the University of Cape Town has suggested that an "effective minimum level" of essential expenditure be calculated, equal to about 150 per cent of the poverty datum line expenditure. On this basis, the average household income in Soweto should be R83.35 a month for a family of five.

Miss Joan Verster, Research Officer of the Johannesburg NonEuropean Affairs Department, has recently found that the average size of a household in Soweto had previously been underestimated, and is now about 6.5 persons. Mrs. Suttner points out that, calculated on a basis of six persons per household, the effective minimum household expenditure would work out at R95.98 per month. The shortfall between this figure and the average minimum wage of a single earner is R60.36 a month.

Further points made by Mrs. Suttner are, firstly, that the food budget is based on the lowest prices prevailing in large city stores: housewives who are forced to buy in small quantities at a time from traders in the townships have to pay up to R4.76 a month more than the R31.50 allowed in the table quoted above. Secondly, the clothing requirements, as estimated in earlier surveys, are probably now inadequate.

The cost of living for Africans in Durban

During 1965 the Institute for Social Research of the University of Natal published A Study of the Social Circumstances and Characteristics of Bantu in the Durban Region, by Margaret A. Young.

She found, inter alia, that, according to random sample studies in six townships, the dwellings contained averages of 5.7 to 7.7 persons (some of these being relatives or lodgers staying with the families).

In 1964, median family incomes were R31 per month; and the poverty datum line expenditure for a family of five was R55.53. About 84 per cent of the heads of families, or 70 per cent of the households, had incomes below the poverty datum line.

African purchasing power

Mr. G. S. J. Kuschke, managing director of the Industrial Development Corporation is reported(21) to have said during February that over the past two years there had been a 44 per cent increase in the aggregate incomes of the Africans. Their earnings represented between 20 and 23 per cent of the net national income. According to a report of the National Development and Manage-

(20) e.g. The Cost of Living for Urban Africans, by Mrs. J. de Gruchy, published in 1960, reflecting wages and essential expenditure in 1958.
THE COST OF LIVING

ment Foundation,(22) African purchasing power in 1965 was approximately 17.6 per cent of the consumption expenditure. (A considerable proportion of the incomes of Africans is in kind.) Mr. E. Silberbauer, Director of the Bantu Wage and Productivity Association, estimated in March(23) that the total purchasing power of Africans was about R1,200,000,000.

As has been pointed out by Professor O. P. F. Horwood, Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Natal, however,(4) the average wage ratio between skilled and unskilled labour has changed very little in recent years, being 4.6 to 1 in 1955 and 4.5 to 1 in 1964.

The work of the Bantu Wage and Productivity Association has been described in previous issues of this Survey(2) During 1966 the National Development and Management Foundation has supported the plea that Africans be trained to specialize in particular jobs, and be paid wages commensurate with the value of their work.

The Star pointed out on 4 November that "unless we are to be bogged down for ever in profitless argument about the precedence of wages and productivity, it is going to be necessary to draw a distinction between wages below subsistence level and those above it". The Star referred to warnings by economists that to increase wages without also increasing productivity is to promote inflation, and commented that this argument is unassailable when one is talking about wages above subsistence level. But, it was stated, there is a good deal of evidence to show that people who are getting less than a living wage are producing less, and doing it less efficiently, than they would if they had enough to live on. Wage increases up to the subsistence level may well be, in themselves, a productivity-promoting factor, it was suggested.

Cost of living for Coloured people in Durban

Report No. 11 of the Bureau of Market Research of the University of South Africa dealt with the incomes and expenditure patterns of Coloured households in Durban.

The mean household size was found to be 5.59 persons. Of the heads of households, 17.6 per cent were women, and 47.3 per cent of the households had only one wage-earner. The average number of earners per household was 1.79.

The average monthly household income was R142.63, and the average expenditure R135.80, made up as follows:

(22) Quoted in the South African Digest, 17 June.
(23) Rand Daily Mail, 7 March.
(24) Star, 25 April.
(25) e.g. 1963 Survey, page 201.

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R

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>50.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>18.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuel and light</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Transport  
Taxes ..  
Medical and dental expenses  
Education  
Insurance ......2.7  
Hire purchase and loans 8.0  
Washing and cleaning 2.6  
Dry-cleaning and repairs 2.2  
Recreation 22.9

R135.8 
Cost of living for Indians in Durban
The 12th report of the Bureau of Market Research dealt with the Indian community of Durban. It established that the median household size was 6.6 persons, with an average of 1.8 income earners per household. The mean monthly household income was R95.78; but the median was considerably lower (R77.30). A median figure is more important to establish for Indians than for other communities since there is a small minority of comparatively wealthy professional men, traders, and industrialists, and a majority of people who live in poverty. The survey showed that just over half of the households had incomes below the poverty datum line figure, and that 58.4 per cent of the heads of households earned less than R60 a month.

The mean monthly expenditure was found to be R94.27, about 76 per cent of this being spent on poverty datum line items.

EMPLOYMENT IN AGRICULTURE
Farm owners and employees
The 36th Agricultural Census(26) showed that the number of holders of farms, including tenants in charge, as at 30 June 1962, and the areas of their holdings, were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of holders</th>
<th>Area in morgen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>100,442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>2,910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registered companies</td>
<td>1,213</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(26) R.P. 65/65 page 10.

EMPLOYMENT
(The report did not deal with holdings by Africans in Bantu areas.)

In the information given about employees,27) the term "casual employees" includes seasonal and occasional workers, but excludes contractors and their employees. The numbers, during June 1962, were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regular employees.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites    Coloured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14,121          95,869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casual employees:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic servants:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Combined Totals ..

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1,106</td>
<td>87,007</td>
<td>31,637</td>
<td>129,744</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,356</td>
<td>118,644</td>
<td></td>
<td>130,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,462</td>
<td>215,651</td>
<td></td>
<td>238,112</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15,983</td>
<td>246,667</td>
<td>22,635</td>
<td>272,244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>225</td>
<td>343,078</td>
<td>306,098</td>
<td>649,176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>212</td>
<td>15,551</td>
<td>112,149</td>
<td>127,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>292</td>
<td>1,524,796</td>
<td>246,667</td>
<td>1,771,463</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Labour tenants

Included with the regular African employees, presumably, are labour tenants, who work for farmers for part of each year in return for the right to live on the farm and, in most cases, keep stock and cultivate plots of land. This system was described on page 249 of the 1964 Survey. The Government intends gradually to abolish it in favour of full-time labour. The system is controlled by divisional councils in the Cape, and elsewhere, by labour tenants control boards (on which local farmers are represented), or where such boards have not been established, by Bantu Affairs Commissioners.

In 1964 the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development was empowered to establish Bantu labour control boards which have jurisdiction in respect of all farm labourers and domestic servants as well as labour tenants. In terms of notices published in the Gazettes of 3 June and 4 November, such control boards have been established in Bronkhorstspruit, Delmas, Warmbaths, Groblersdal, Hammanskraal, Nylstroom, Witbank, and Zeerust.

The Minister said in the Assembly on 30 August 2\" that at the end of 1965, 28,192 labour tenants and 704,465 African squatters on farms were registered. During that year, 19,867 labour tenants had been found redundant, and 33,545
squatters had been removed. These people had been resettled on other farms, or in Bantu areas.
(The Minister's figures differ from those given in the report of his department for 1964,(29) in which it was stated that the 142 boards functioning at the end of that year had registered 163,103 labour tenants, finding 7,998 of them to be redundant.)

Mr. G. F. van L. Froneman, the Deputy Chairman of the Bantu Affairs Commission, emphasized on 15 September30) that it was essential that all farm workers should be registered and possess reference books. One of the objects, he said, was "to ensure that farm labour is not diffused and lost to industry". The labour tenant system, he added, had been abolished in all prescribed areas as from the beginning of 1965. Elsewhere, however, it would be abolished only with the concurrence of district farmers’ associations. In terms of Government Notices gazetted on 24 June and 4 November, it was laid down that no labour tenants may be employed in areas under the jurisdiction of the Bantu Affairs Commissioners at Delmas, Warmbaths, Groblersdal (excluding the Bronkhorstspruit magisterial district), Nylstroom, and Witbank.

Wages paid to farm workers

The Agricultural Census, quoted above, gave figures relating to wages paid in cash and kind during the year ended 30 June 1962.01) They represented costs to the farmers. Payments in kind include housing, certain rations, water, and often fuel. Farmers may provide free medical attention, and free dipping for stock owned by employees, and many of them help with the ploughing and fertilization of plots allocated to the workers.

It should be borne in mind that workers can often grow much of the food they need in addition to the rations that are supplied, and can sell any excess produce from their allotments.

The census figures were as follows:

(28) Hansard 5 cols. 1662-3.
(29) R.P. 14/66 page 5.
(30) Press release 52/66 K.
(31) Pages 54, 60, 65, 72, and 78.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regular and casual workers</td>
<td>17,109,445</td>
<td>18,009,589</td>
<td>1,115,876</td>
<td>59,881,021</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic servants</td>
<td>20,256</td>
<td>1,354,596</td>
<td>50,201</td>
<td>4,968,765</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimated bonuses earned</td>
<td>475,180</td>
<td>147,792</td>
<td>9,606</td>
<td>1,576,990</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Payments in kind</td>
<td>1,317,022</td>
<td>4,103,584</td>
<td>237,328</td>
<td>22,519,753</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimated value of free grazing rights</td>
<td>277,466</td>
<td>155,820</td>
<td>2,258</td>
<td>3,753,057</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimated rent value of arable land made available to workers</td>
<td>63,512</td>
<td>28,865</td>
<td>3,184</td>
<td>1,923,675</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
No meaningful figures showing the average cost per employee can be worked out, since some of the workers were on a part-time basis-labour tenants for example; some, especially women, did merely occasional seasonal work; and the statistics include wages paid to juveniles.

Studies of the cost to the farmer of employing individual male adult African labourers are, however, carried out by the Department of Agricultural Economics and Marketing; and in 1957-8 Miss Margaret Roberts conducted such a study for the Institute of Race Relations in the Albany and Bathurst Districts of the Cape.

Similar studies have been made in Natal, in recent years, by the Department of Agricultural Economics of the University of Natal. Some of the results were published in a booklet entitled Techniques and Tenure in South African Agriculture, by Professor H. I. Behrmann, published by this University, and in the book Agriculture in Natal: Recent Developments, published by the Oxford University Press in 1957 on behalf of the Natal Regional Survey of the University's Economics Department.

Professor Behrmann points out that costs vary greatly according to the type of labour (e.g. recruited, resident, labour tenants, or seasonal), and to the location of a farm. Wages are highest near urban centres. He has kindly made available to the Institute of Race Relations some of the results of his Department's studies. Three extracts are given, relating to the highest, lowest, and approximately median monthly costs to the farmer, in the areas investigated in 1965, of employing a full-time male adult worker.

(33) 1957-8 Survey, page 168.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966
Howick Midlands Kokstad
Fresh milk
R
Cash wages. .......... 10.37
Purchased rations 3.48
Other cash costs ..........0.62 Farm produced rations 1.61
Grazing charges(34) ...... 0.12
Interest on value of labour farm(35) 0.08 Use of arable land(36) .. 0.20
Housing(37) .. .. .... 0.30
Beef
R
7.89
2.43 1.95
0.51
0.16 0.47
Mixed farming
R
4.01 1.84 0.18 3.02 0.41 0.05 0.07 0.36
Total per month
         .. .. R16.78 R13.41

EMPLOYMENT IN MINING
According to the monthly Bulletin of Statistics 38) the average numbers employed in mining in December 1965 were 64,094 Whites, 4,422 Coloured persons, 421 Asians, and 538,746 Africans. The average cash wages paid during that month worked out at R262 for Whites, R49 for Coloured and Asian workers, and R14.5 for Africans. The African workers receive free accommodation, food, medical care, and protective clothing: no recent figures are available indicating the costs to the mines of payments made in kind.
The composition of the African labour force of members and contractors of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (i.e. most of the gold mines and certain coal mines) as at 31 December 1965 was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country in which recruited</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Republic</td>
<td>135,747</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basutoland</td>
<td>61,315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bechuanaland</td>
<td>20,518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swaziland</td>
<td>4,547</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Coast</td>
<td>102,177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tropical territories</td>
<td>68,059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>392,363</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>34.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(34) At 25 cents per animal unit per month.
(35) At 6 per cent of value of land.
(36) Ditto.
(37) At R4 per hut per year.
(38) Tables B5 and B22.
R9.94
216

EMPLOYMENT
A description was given on page 220 of last year's Survey of the proposed scheme in terms of which the conditions relating to the payment of White miners might be improved, and productivity increased, if some of the duties of the Whites were delegated to responsible, especially trained Africans. This scheme had been suggested by leaders of the (White) Mine Workers' Union, but was opposed by a "rebel" group. In consequence, a number of strikes of White miners took place-these did not concern matters which had any bearing on the relations between the employers and employees, but resulted from internal disputes within the trade union.

With the agreement of the workers immediately concerned, the labour experiment was tried out on a number of mines, temporary exemptions from the mining regulations being granted for the purpose by the Government Mining Engineer. It
was reported that the experiment had proved a success. However, because of the disputes and unrest, it was terminated, and the Government instructed the Industrial Tribunal to inquire into the whole matter.

Disputes within the Mine Workers' Union continued during 1966, and there were further strikes. Eventually, in October, the Government introduced the Industrial Conciliation Further Amendment Bill, which became law as Act 61 of 1966. It prohibited strikes and lock-outs for any purpose unconnected with the relationship between employer and employee.

The Minister of Labour announced on 24 August (39) that the Tribunal had arranged for members of the Union to hold new elections of office-bearers. It had still to make a detailed report on the system of wage regulation.

According to a Press report, (40) in its preliminary report the Tribunal said that both groups of mineworkers participating in the dispute "have agreed that it will be necessary in the near future to consider a scheme under which Bantu labour on the mines is not only made more productive, but can also be employed in such a way as to release (White) mineworkers from some of their present responsibilities that are not necessary and make available more production time to them".

In the annual report of the Federale Mynbou-General Mining Group its chairman, Mr. W. B. Coetzer, is reported (41) to have said that the gold mining industry would soon be affected by the shortage of white labour unless better use could be made of whites in supervisory capacities by employing competent non-whites to help them.

Mr. F. G. Hill, technical services manager of Rand Mines, said at the National Productivity Conference that the ending of the mines labour experiment had been most detrimental to the over-all well-being of the industry. "Unless wiser counsels prevail"

(39) Press Statement 34/66 K.
(40) Rand Daily Mail, 27 August.
(41) Rand Daily Mail, 21 June.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966

in the near future," he added, "the industry will soon be labouring under the blows of further closures of mines."

"(42) When the new elections of office-bearers took place, in November, the right-wing "rebel" group gained control of the executive committee of the Mine Workers' Union (which is reported to have some 17,000 White members). Its adviser, Dr. L. J. E. ("Ras") Beyers, was given a full-time appointment, and a new general secretary, Mr. F. Short, was installed.

According to The Star of 26 November, Mr. Short took an oath to protect the interests of the White worker "unto death", and to fight all forms of "liberalism and leftism" and also the influence of the Broederbond.

Much confusion followed, resulting from attempts to oust the previous general secretary, Mr. A. "Eddie" Grundling. When the matter was taken to court, on 1 December, an interdict was issued preventing Dr. Beyers and Mr. Short from
interfering with Union affairs, the return date being set for 21 February, 1967. Mr. Grundling was, however, not re-instated.

MANUFACTURING

Employment statistics for private manufacturing, as given in the Bulletin of Statistics, are as follows for the month of April 1966:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number employed</th>
<th>Average wage per head</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>247,400</td>
<td>R219.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>159,500</td>
<td>R56.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>52,700</td>
<td>R59.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>505,000</td>
<td>R42.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In recent years the growth in average African wages has been more rapid than it has for other groups. This is largely because "the rate for the job" applies in many industries, and increasing numbers of Africans are being employed in semi-skilled spheres of work. This trend is particularly evident in engineering.

The Minister of Labour pointed out in the Assembly on 11 October 1966 that, in the steel and engineering industries, the percentages of the artisans who are White have remained almost unchanged in recent years: the figure was 88.4 per cent in 1959, and 87.3 per cent in 1965. On the other hand, the proportion of operatives and semi-skilled workers who are White fell from 24.5 per cent in 1959 to 15.7 per cent in 1965.

According to a survey by Mr. A. S. van Straaten, head of the training and education department of Vecor, the unskilled African labour force is used wastefully. He estimated that many labourers in the jobbing engineering industry were usefully employed for only half of their working hours.

(43) Tables B7 and B22.
(44) Hansard 11 cols. 3983-4.
(45) Rand Daily Mail, 6 July.

EMPLOYMENT

The motor industry is about to adopt a labour rationalization scheme. Mr. E. J. Keevill, chairman of the South African Motor Industry Employers' Association, has stated that it will have the effect of adding between 3,000 and 4,000 skilled artisans to the labour force. The less skilled operations previously performed by journeymen will gradually be handed over to African "semiartisans", leaving the journeymen free to concentrate on skilled aspects of the work. Their rates of pay and fringe benefits (e.g. pension and medical aid schemes) are to be considerably improved.

CONSTRUCTION

Employment statistics for the month of December 1965, as extracted from the Bulletin of Statistics, are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number employed</th>
<th>Average wage per head</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>36,300</td>
<td>R236.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>20,700</td>
<td>R105.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>R123.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As will be clear, a higher proportion of Coloured and Asian workers is employed on skilled and semi-skilled work in construction than in manufacturing. But this is the case mainly in the Cape and Natal.

The Bantu Building Workers Act of 1951 provided for the training and employment of Africans as skilled building workers in African townships at lower rates of pay than those stipulated for builders of other races, but prohibited the employment of Africans in skilled work in other parts of urban areas. This Act was followed by the job reservation Determination No. 6, which came into force in 1961 and reserved for Whites skilled work in the building industry in urban areas of the Transvaal and Free State other than in African townships. Some exemptions were granted, mainly in order to allow Coloured artisans to work on Coloured housing schemes. Then, in 1963, Determination No. 13 reserved for Whites stipulated trades (varying from area to area) in the building industry in the "White" parts of larger towns of the Cape and Natal. Coloured and Indian workers already employed in the trades concerned were permitted to continue this work.

During February, building employers and employees in the Transvaal reached a new agreement, in terms of which white artisans would receive very considerable increases in pay and "fringe" benefits if they accepted the introduction of a new class of non-white "operator", between that of labourer and artisan. In practice, the majority of these "operators" would be Africans. Power to determine precise details of the work they could do and the rates of pay were vested in the Industrial Council for the Building Industry. According to a statement by this Council, the wages would range between those prescribed for labourers and, unless otherwise determined, 60 per cent of the wage prescribed for artisans. Tasks considered to be artisans' work were listed in the agreement.

It was reported that, as the immediate effect was that employers had to pay more to White artisans, some of the latter were dismissed, in order to cut costs. The building trade unions in Natal refused to fall in with the terms of the Transvaal agreement. One of the four unions concerned there (an all-White one) wanted the improved benefits granted in the Transvaal without accepting the labour rationalization scheme. The others rejected this scheme, too, pressing for "the rate for the job". In the end these three unions negotiated an agreement in terms of which their benefits were improved, but not to nearly the same extent as in the Transvaal.

In terms of Government Notice R 148 of 28 January, the work reservation Determination No. 6 was relaxed to enable the Transvaal experiment to be carried out. It was provided that for one year (until 7 February 1967) exemption from the determination was granted to the extent that non-white persons in the Transvaal and Free State might perform any work in the building and monumental masonry industry other than that specified in the definition of "artisan". If, however, any
employer replaced a white worker by a non-white this exception would cease to operate in his case.

The rates of pay for trained African building workers employed by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development in Bantu areas were set out in the February issue of the Bantu Education Journal. These are:

Building worker: R408 x 42 - R618
Building foreman: R450 x 42 - R660 x 90 - R960

A new wage determination for those employed in urban areas was gazetted as Government Notice 1822 of 18 November. The rates vary in different parts of the country.

It was stated in the Report of the Department of Labour for 1964 that, by the end of that year, 3,755 African building workers had been trained, and 446 were registered as learners.

COMMERCE

During 1966, Mr. Z. Conco succeeded Mr. R. J. P. Maponya as president of the National African Chamber of Commerce (NACOC). This Chamber is establishing a bursary fund for commercial education in memory of its first national secretary, Mr. B. Masekela. The (White) Johannesburg Junior Chamber of Commerce assisted the Johannesburg branch of NACOC, headed by Mr. M. Mncube, to run a series of six-week training courses in retail trade, which were held in various townships in the Soweto complex, diplomas being awarded to some 200 African traders who successfully completed these courses.

Government Notice R 1168 of 29 July prohibited Africans from carrying out certain street trades in prescribed areas (outside Bantu residential areas) unless special consent has been obtained from the local authority concerned. The trades specified are selling firewood, coal, foodstuffs, beverages, wood-carvings, or hand-made articles of beads, wire, clay, grass, hide, bone, or horn.

The terms of a circular minute that was issued to local authorities on 14 February 1963 were described on page 148 of the 1963 Survey. The object was to prevent African business-men from operating in the "White" parts of the towns, and to deter them from setting up large concerns even in urban African townships.

Africans were advised to transfer their interests to the "homelands". It was laid down, inter alia, that no African might carry on more than one type of business in an urban township; that the establishment of companies or partnerships would not be allowed; and that no new business which did not confine itself to the provision of daily essential domestic necessities should be set up. New licences for dry-cleaning, garages, and petrol filling stations, for example, should not be granted. Persons already holding such licences could continue to operate until "the opportunity arises" to close the concerns or to persuade the owners to move to a "homeland".
These provisions have caused considerable resentment among Africans, particularly in large new townships, some miles away from the cities concerned, to which Africans are being removed under rezoning plans. During August the Southern Transvaal Regional Committee of the Institute of Race Relations wrote to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, bringing to his attention the dissatisfaction and sense of grievance that the circular had caused, and urging that it be rescinded.

Plans (which proved abortive) by the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, the Johannesburg Rotary Club and others to establish a commercial college for Africans in Soweto are described in the next chapter of this Survey.

Coloured businessmen, for example in Port Elizabeth, are setting up traders' associations in Coloured group areas.

The subject of Indian trade is dealt with on page 181.

(50) Evening Post, 29 September.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966
PUBLIC SERVICES

General employment statistics

The monthly Bulletin of Statistics gives the following average employment figures for 1965 (excluding the S.A. Railways and Harbours): (1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central Government</td>
<td>122,068</td>
<td>25,132</td>
<td>1,496</td>
<td>125,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincial Administrations</td>
<td>75,200</td>
<td>8,061</td>
<td>6,573</td>
<td>66,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Authorities</td>
<td>41,000</td>
<td>16,300</td>
<td>3,100</td>
<td>102,100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Totals: 238,268 49,493 11,169 293,650

These employees are of a wide variety of skills, ranging from senior professional people (including teachers) to labourers. Average monthly salaries and wages paid in 1965 would work out at R163 for Whites, R70 for Coloured, R77 for Asians, and R29 for Africans. (A high proportion of the Africans was, in addition, supplied with food and quarters.)

According to the Report of the Department of Coloured Affairs for 1965 (14) the staff of this Department, excluding teachers, on 31 March 1965 consisted of 2,819 Whites and 2,362 Coloured persons. Of the latter, only six were holding administrative or professional posts. The Minister of Indian Affairs said in the Assembly on 20 September (55) that there were then 232 Whites and 113 Indians on the administrative and clerical staff of his Department.

Questioned in the Assembly on 8 February, the Minister of the Interior gave the following information about the pay of nonwhite public servants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Less than R2</th>
<th>More than R2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number Percentage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>94,363</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>9,334</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>637</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(53) Evening Post, 29 September.

(The Minister's figures relating to total employment differ from those in the Bulletin of Statistics: it is not clear what categories of employees are included.)
EMPLOYMENT

In a memorandum RR 57/66, the writer produced figures and graphs comparing the salaries earned over 20 years by people with comparable qualifications, holding comparable posts, but of different racial groups. The earnings of Africans were shown as 1.0. To give one example of the results, the ratios of amounts earned by male clerks in the public service with university degrees worked out at: Whites 3.1; Coloured, 1.3; Indians, 1.7; Africans, 1.0.

Police force

The Minister of Police said in the Assembly on 30 August57) that the strength of the police force was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>White</th>
<th>Non-white</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Members....</td>
<td>15,460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Africans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary members</td>
<td>795</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women assistants</td>
<td>837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wardresses</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17,119 14,678

A full account of the training and salary scales of African policemen was given in the issue of Bantu for March. There are two branches—the Criminal Investigation Department and the Uniform Division—and four ranks: Chief Sergeant, Senior Sergeant, Sergeant, and Constable. By November 1965, 30 men had been promoted to the rank of Chief Sergeant. An unmatriculated constable has a starting salary of R450 a year, while a Chief Sergeant can progress to a salary of R1,440.

Post Office

Table B 14 of the monthly Bulletin of Statistics shows that in June 1966 the Post Office was employing 33,632 Whites, 3,390 Coloured persons, 267 Indians, and 8,739 Africans.

Questioned in the Senate on 23 September,(58) the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs said that 832 Coloured, 173 Indians, and 810 Africans were employed as postmen and messengers, positions that had previously been occupied by Whites.

South African Railways and Harbours

During June 1966 the South African Railways and Harbours Administration was employing 116,383 Whites, 12,808 Coloured, 942 Asians, and 95,515 Africans. (57) Hansard 5 col. 1650.

(51) Tables B15-17.
(52) Average figure for four quarters.
(53) Calculating from Table B26.
(54) R.P. 25166 page 1.
(55) Hansard 8 col. 2535.
(56) Hansard 3 col. 1022. Percentages calculated by the writer.
222
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966
In statements made in the Assembly on 1 February and 19 August(59) the Minister of Transport said that whites in specific trade-hand grades were being gradually replaced by non-whites, but this was done only after consultation with the Railway Artisans' Staff Association. As at 31 December 1965, 16,022 nonwhites were employed in positions previously occupied by whites: 637 of them as clerks in non-white ticket offices, road transport drivers in the Transkei, stokers or deckhands on tugs and dredgers, crossing attendants, flagmen, trade hands, brakesmen, pointsmen, lampmen, shed attendants, or messengers, and the rest as general railworkers.

General wage increases had been made during September 1965, the Minister continued, those for non-whites to an overall extent of 11.26 per cent. Average annual incomes during that year were R2,179.5 for whites and R 392.4 for non-whites. At the beginning of 1966 the wages of non-white employees, including the value of rations supplied, were, per working day:(°)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Less than R2</th>
<th>More than R2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>94,986</td>
<td>1,932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>8,053</td>
<td>4,818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>1,055</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of the revised salary scales were given by the Minister in the Assembly on 28 January.(1) As an example, the salaries of porters are, per month:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>R90 x 5 - R120</th>
<th>R37.70 x 5.20 - R63.70</th>
<th>R28.60 x 2.60 - R41.60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

South African Navy
The Minister of Defence told members of the Assembly on 20 September(62) that the South African Navy at Simonstown was employing 53 privates and lance-corporals of the S.A. Coloured Corps; 40 workers grades 3 and 4 of the Cape Corps Auxiliary Service, and 1,553 Coloured civilians as artisans, clerks, dockyard assistants or skilled labourers, and "boss-boys".

Government Non-White Employees Pensions Act, No. 42 of 1966
Act No. 42 of 1966 empowered the Minister of Social Welfare and Pensions, in consultation with the Minister of Finance and on

(59) Hansard 2 cols. 448, 469, 520; Hansard 3 col. 1060.
(60) Percentages calculated by the writer.
(61) Hansard 1 col. 239.
(62) Hansard 8 cols. 2429-30.

EMPLOYMENT
the recommendation of the Public Service Commission, to make provision for the establishment of a pension fund for non-white employees of the government, including African teachers whose salaries are paid in full by the Department of Bantu Education, but excluding employees in the Railway Administration,
"officers" in the Public Service, and members of existing official pension or provident funds. Non-whites in South-West Africa will be included on the same terms as those in the Republic.

The Minister was given full powers to make regulations governing the administration and operation of the pension fund, including amounts possibly to be paid to it from the Consolidated Revenue Fund, the Bantu Education Account, or the South-West Africa Revenue Fund.

When introducing the Bill,63 the Minister of Social Welfare and Pensions said that, in terms of a non-contributory scheme introduced in 1923, non-white employees of the Government received, on their retirement, small lump sums, or monthly pensions, or both, according to the period of their service, but without regard to the salaries they had earned. A man who had served for 25 years or longer received a pension of R3 per year for each completed year of service. A pension fund was now to be introduced, instead, for the more highly-paid employees. They would only be admitted to membership of the fund after serving for a qualifying period of five years (since there was a large turn-over of staff during that period); but then, if they wished, could "buy in" previous periods of service. If they did not elect to do so, they would, on retirement, receive benefits based on the aggregate of their contributory and non-contributory service.

Members would contribute at the rate of 5 per cent of their pensionable incomes, and the State would contribute R for R.

A person who retired after completing ten years' contributory service would receive a pension calculated at the rate of oneninety-sixth of his annual average salary during the last seven years of service, for each year of his contributory service. He would also receive a gratuity at the rate of four per cent of the same average salary for each year of contributory service. Members with less than ten years' contributory service would receive a gratuity only. Provision would be made for the payment, upon the death of a member, of a gratuity to his dependants.

The position was to be improved for those in the lower-paid groups, too. The pension payable would be calculated at the rate of one per cent of the employee's annual salary prior to retirement in respect of each completed year of service.

So far as African teachers were concerned, the Minister stated, the State contribution would come from the Bantu Education Account. Should this Account, in consequence, not be able to

(63) Assembly, 10 August, Hansard 2 cols. 521-3, 532-3.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966
meet all its obligations from its revenue, the Treasury might make an interest-free loan from year to year until "the time may be ripe for an increase in Bantu taxation" and for the redemption of that amount.6"

The savings fund for railway employees was described on page 234 of the 1965 Survey.

TRADE UNIONISM
Statistics
During 1966 the Bureau of Statistics published its Report No. 292, dealing, inter alia, with the membership of trade unions as at 31 December 1964. There were then 171 registered trade unions, 89 of which limited their membership to Whites, 37 to Coloured and Asians, and 45 accepted members of all three racial groups. (African trade unions are not officially registered.)

The membership was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>236,883</td>
<td>28,480</td>
<td>265,363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed unions</td>
<td>61,418</td>
<td>28,438</td>
<td>89,856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>298,301</td>
<td>56,918</td>
<td>355,219</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Coloured

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coloured/Asian unions</td>
<td>26,666</td>
<td>11,644</td>
<td>38,310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed unions</td>
<td>23,723</td>
<td>61,712</td>
<td>85,435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>37,989</td>
<td>59,224</td>
<td>97,213</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Asians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coloured/Asian unions</td>
<td>9,820</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>10,099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed unions</td>
<td>19,431</td>
<td>4,385</td>
<td>23,816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29,251</td>
<td>4,664</td>
<td>33,915</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Combined totals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exclusive racial unions</td>
<td>265,363</td>
<td>38,310</td>
<td>303,673</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed unions</td>
<td>89,856</td>
<td>61,712</td>
<td>151,568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>489,219</td>
<td>100,022</td>
<td>589,241</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Analysing these figures in a different way, the membership according to type of union was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exclusive racial unions</td>
<td>265,363</td>
<td>38,310</td>
<td>10,099</td>
<td>313,772</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed unions</td>
<td>89,856</td>
<td>61,712</td>
<td>23,816</td>
<td>175,384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>489,219</td>
<td>100,022</td>
<td>339,605</td>
<td>829,844</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(64) Assembly, 28 September, Hansard 9 cols. 3127-8.

TRADE UNIONISM

The Minister of Labour said in the Assembly on 10 August(‘-’) that at that date (in 1966) there were 176 registered unions, 91 of them White, 39 Coloured, and 46 mixed.

Trade union co-ordinating bodies

Trade unions co-ordinating bodies, and their policies, were described on page 237 of last year's Survey. During January, the Federation of Free African Trade Unions of South Africa decided to disband. Of its original 20 affiliated unions only 12 remained, and the membership of affiliates had, in consequence, dropped from 36,000 to 13,000. The remaining unions were advised to affiliate to the Trade Union Council of South Africa (Tucsa) if they had not already done so.(0) The right wing S.A. Confederation of Labour claims to have 180,000 members, nearly all of them White. It has opposed the labour rationalization schemes, described earlier in this chapter; and it is also antagonistic to mixed trade unions and to suggestions that African trade unions be granted official recognition. The Confederation's Chairman, Mr. J. H. Liebenberg, is reported(7) to have said that Bantu workers tend to use trade unions for political purposes and there is general illiteracy and lack of development which "militates against reasonable success in the establishment and maintenance of sound and stable trade unions at this stage".
Tucsa's approach is that the key to the strength of workers lies in solidarity. It adopts a non-racial stand in labour matters, and believes in "the rate for the job". In recent years it has concerned itself increasingly with the organization of African workers, pointing out that the inclusion of Africans in the general trade union movement is the surest way of preventing employers from using them, at low rates of pay, to replace Whites and Coloured.

In a statement issued to the Sunday Express on 27 March Tucsa's general secretary, Mr. Arthur Grobbelaar, said that Africans were being absorbed into industry and commerce in increasing numbers, and were doing more and more responsible work. This trend could not be reversed. With improved education and economic position, Africans were bound to create organizations, within or without the law.

"Here is the crux of the White worker's dilemma," Mr. Grobbelaar continued. "Can he preserve his own standards and position by cutting himself off from the African worker, risking the danger that without responsible leadership this enormous labour force may fall into the hands of subversive elements? Or should he, rather, accept the responsibility himself, now, and provide sound leadership to the emergent African proletariat, along the lines of proved trade union principles?"

(65) Hansard 2 col. 546.
(66) Rand Daily Mail, 29 January.
(67) Star, 25 March. (At a subsequent meeting of the Confederation, Mr. Liebenberg declined re-election to the chair.)

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966
Tucsa has set up an African Affairs section; headed by Mr. E. F. Tyacke, employs six African organizers, and assists in such ways as running courses for shop stewards. In September, it had 13 affiliated African unions, with about 7,000 paid-up members. In an address to the Southern Transvaal Regional Committee of the Institute of Race Relations, on 22 September, Mr. Tyacke said that although African unions did not enjoy the privileges of registered unions, they could help their members by ensuring that the provisions of industrial legislation were observed by employers, and by providing more effective means of communication between employer and employee. Their main problems were practical difficulties in the collection of subscriptions (since the stop-order system could not be applied), and the fear of some workers that they would get into trouble either with the government or with their employers by joining a union. This non-racial approach is opposed by some White members of unions that are affiliated to Tucsa. Certain rival, all-White, right-wing unions have been trying to induce such people to change their allegiance.

In May, the Amalgamated Engineering Union, with about 17,600 members, decided, in consequence, to disaffiliate from Tucsa. It has, however, not joined any other co-ordinating body. During August the previously mixed National Union of Distributive Workers decided to split into two bodies, one for Whites
and the other for Coloured and Asians. Both unions would seek separate affiliation to Tucsa. There have been reports(68) that some members of the S.A. Typographical Union and of the Motor Transport Workers' Union are opposed to Tucsa's multi-racial policy. But four more unions decided to affiliate during recent months.

At Tucsa's annual conference, held in Durban during May, there were closed sessions on the issue of the affiliation of African unions. It was decided to leave the matter in the hands of the incoming executive committee. A motion that Africans be allowed to join registered trade unions was, however, adopted without dissenting votes.690

In September, a Tucsa official stated that this body then had 80 affiliated unions, with more than 200,000 members.

Large numbers of unions remain unaffiliated to either Tucsa or to the Confederation.

INDUSTRIAL CONCILIATION. AMENDMENT ACT, No. 43 OF 1966
The Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act dealt with the compulsory deduction of trade union dues from the wages of workers.

(68) e.g. Rand Daily Mail, 11 March and 11 May.

TRADE UNIONISM
An order for the deduction of subscriptions must come from the Minister of Labour, who may issue it if he deems it expedient, having regard to the manner in which any registered trade union is functioning and any other circumstances which he may consider relevant.

In general, before issuing such an order the Minister must be satisfied that at least half of the persons in an area or portion thereof, who are employed in any undertaking, industry, trade, or occupation, and are eligible for membership of a trade union that is registered in respect of that undertaking or occupation, are, in fact, members of that union, and have signed requests that their trade union subscriptions should be deducted from their remuneration.

But the Minister may act without this assurance having regard to the difficulties in any undertaking, industry, trade, or occupation with reference to the collection of membership fees by any registered trade union which in terms of its constitution limits its membership either to Whites or to Coloured (including Asian) persons. An order issued by the Minister will apply to all members of a trade union in any area or portion thereof in any undertaking or occupation in respect of which the union is registered. But even if such an order is issued, not all of the members will be forced to agree to the deduction of their subscriptions from their remuneration. This will be done only if a member so requests.

Employers must forward the money collected to the trade union concerned within one month, but may retain a collection fee of up to 5 per cent.

Spokesmen for Tucsa expressed the fear that this measure will be used to discriminate against unions with mixed membership.
During the debate in the Assembly the Minister of Labour admitted(70) that the new Act was not in the interests of "the leftist organization" Tucsa. On the other hand, the Co-ordinating Council of S.A. Trade Unions (a constituent body of the Confederation) had welcomed it. Tucsa was concerned, the Minister said, "because they fear that this compulsory stop-order system will encourage the establishment of separate (i.e. new, exclusively White or Coloured) trade unions . . . This side of the House . . . want separate trade unions to be established. We want them to grow and to be strong." Mixed unions would eventually bleed themselves to death.

The reason for introducing the measure, the Minister stated, was that some employers refused to grant stop-order facilities to right-wing, conservatively inclined unions, although they did so for mixed unions.

(70) 10 August, Hansard 2 col. 542; and 28 September, Hansard 9 cols. 3154-8.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966
THE GOVERNMENT'S SEPARATE INDUSTRIAL CONCILIATION MACHINERY FOR AFRICANS

The machinery provided in terms of the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act was described on page 208 of the 1961 Survey. Inter alia, it made provision for works committees, instead of trade unions. The Minister of Labour said in the Assembly on 11 October("") that only 49 of these committees had been established.

In 1965, he added, through the intercession of the Bantu Labour Board, wage increases to the amount of approximately R7,000,000 had been granted. There had been only 31 strikes, involving 1,800 African workers, which were quickly settled by officials of the Board: they lasted an average of five hours each.

(71) Hansard 11 col. 3943.

BANTU SCHOOL EDUCATION
BANTU SCHOOL EDUCATION
FINANCING

Bantu Education Account: Estimates of Revenue
According to the official publication R.P. 9/66, the estimated balance in the Bantu Education Account as at 31 March 1966 was R1,800,000. Estimates of revenue to be received during the 1966-7 financial year were:

R

Transferred from Revenue Account:
Fixed annual amount .. .. .. .... 13,000,000 Additional sum for university colleges .. 1,500,000
Proceeds of African general tax (excluding the Transkei) ...............10,000,000
Miscellaneous ...............840,000
R25,340,000
(The Transkei’s education budget is dealt with on page 134.) Estimated expenditure from the Bantu Education Account

The same publication gave the estimates of expenditure:

- Salaries, wages, allowances .......... Postal services, printing, stationery, etc., and miscellaneous (including R10,000 for vacation courses for teachers) ..........
- Supplies and services (including R9,100 for books for pupils, and R4,000 for school libraries) Bursaries and loans
- Examination expenses ..............
- Subsidies to schools
- Assistance to schools for capital expenditure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Loan Account for capital expenditure</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assistance to schools for capital expenditure</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redemption of loans from Loan Account</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study loans to students at the Natal Medical School</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School buildings</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building works at universities, colleges: Fort Hare</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College of the North</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College of Zululand</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributions to previously-existing pension funds, and gratuities for retired teachers</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimated expenditure from Loan Account</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is stated on pages 77 and 88 of R.P. 8/66 that the estimated expenditure from Loan Account in 1966-7 is:</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study loans to students at the Natal Medical School</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School buildings</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building works at universities, colleges: Fort Hare</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College of the North</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College of Zululand</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buildings for special schools</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R128,000 recoverable.</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Financial assistance to university colleges: Fort Hare</td>
<td>R800,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College of the North</td>
<td>R632,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College of Zululand</td>
<td>R514,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,946,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributions to previously-existing pension funds, and gratuities for retired teachers</td>
<td>R396,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R25,375,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimated expenditure from Loan Account</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is stated on pages 77 and 88 of R.P. 8/66 that the estimated expenditure from Loan Account in 1966-7 is:</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study loans to students at the Natal Medical School</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School buildings</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building works at universities, colleges: Fort Hare</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College of the North</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College of Zululand</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buildings for special schools</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 1,519,500 | R          |
On page 316 of R.P. 1/66 it is shown that, besides the R14,500,000 to be transferred to the Bantu Education Account, the State will pay:

- Contribution to Bantu Education Department's head office expenses: R26,500
- Financial assistance to State-aided special schools: R235,500
- Amount owing by Bantu Education Account to Loan Account: R262,000

In his report for 1964-5 the Controller and Auditor-General shows the following position:

1. Capital expenditure, 1964-5: R6,605,946
2. Less redemption instalment: R244,923
3. Net debt, 31 March 1964: R7,459,558

Erection of school buildings:
According to the 1964 report of the Department of Bantu Education, a total of R1,510,082 was spent on school buildings during the 1964-5 financial year. In urban areas, the costs of building lower primary schools (up to Standard II) may be included in housing loans obtained by local authorities, the capital costs being recovered gradually by adding amounts of up to 20 cents a month to the rentals. It would appear that some local authorities themselves contribute to the costs: the Departmental report stated that in 1964-5 municipalities spent R185,957 from their own funds and R121,870 from "other" funds. Elsewhere in "White" areas the building costs of lower primary schools are met by owners of farms, mines, or factories, or by private persons—R34,984 was spent in this way in 1964-5. It appears that, in the Reserves, the costs are met by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development.

So far as higher primary and post-primary schools are concerned, it was decided in 1956-5 that in both urban and rural areas African school boards would have to raise half of the capital costs. The Government has, however, changed this policy. It still applies in urban and "White" rural areas; but in the "homelands" the full costs are paid by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, which spent R832,024 on school buildings in 1964-5.

Africans living in "homeland" townships thus score a considerable advantage over those in municipal townships. This leads to anomalies, for example in the case of Durban, where some of the Africans live in Umlazi, controlled by the Government, and others in Kwa Mashu, controlled by the municipality0)
In 1964-5, African school boards and tribal authorities spent R184,231 from their own funds on higher and post-primary schools, R145,716 contributed by the Department in R for R funds, and R5,300 diverted from funds previously devoted to school feeding.

(4) R.P. 32/66 page 15.
(5) See 1955/6 Survey, page 188.
(6) Information given by the Minister of Bantu Education, Assembly 23 September, Hansard 8 col. 2758.

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A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966

Questioned in the Assembly on 23 August, the Minister of Bantu Education said that in 1965-6, 56 school boards (which had already raised their half-share of the capital costs) applied for R for R grants for the erection of higher or post-primary schools. Seven of the applications could not be approved during that year because the Department lacked adequate funds.

Examination fees

Revised examination fees were introduced from 1 July 1966. Candidates entering for the Junior Certificate pay R4. Full-time candidates for the National Senior Certificate pay R4, and part-time candidates R1.20 per subject written. Students who write the Joint Matriculation Board examination pay R6, plus a registration fee of R2.

NUMBERS OF SCHOOLS

It was stated in the April issue of the Bantu Education Journal that the numbers of schools for Africans in the Republic (excluding the Transkei) in 1965 were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of School</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lower primary</td>
<td>2,718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher primary</td>
<td>385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combined primary</td>
<td>3,862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The actual total number of schools was 7,222 (and not 7,255 as the above figures would indicate) since there was some overlapping.

The classification of these schools, and the proportion of the total number of pupils for which they catered, was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of School</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government and Government-aided:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government schools</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community schools</td>
<td>3,883</td>
<td>77.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm schools</td>
<td>2,521</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mine, factory, scheduled and hospital schools</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic schools</td>
<td>490</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7,222 100.0

(7) Hansard 4 col. 1244.
Bantu Education Journal, April and June.
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BANTU SCHOOL EDUCATION
Between 1964 and 1965 the number of farm schools showed the greatest increase. The Minister of Bantu Education said in the Assembly(9) that in June 1965 there were 196,823 lower primary and 25,976 higher primary pupils attending the 2,521 farm schools, and 3,432 teachers, of whom 536 were privately paid.

ENROLMENT
The Departmental Report for 1964 stated that approximately six out of every seven African children in the 7 to 14 age group were attending school. But the Minister gave a lower estimate in the Assembly on 13 October(10) when he said, "As far as the lowest level of the pyramid is concerned (presumably, the lower primary schools) the Bantu figure is 74 per cent of the Bantu pupil potential."
The Bantu Education Journal for June gives the following distribution of pupils in 1965 (excluding the Transkei):(11)

| Percentage | 428,181 25.87 306,206 18.50 256,787 15.51 193,678 11.70 |
| Higher primary | 1,184,852 71.58 |
| Std. III | 148,409 8.96 |
| Std. IV | 105,542 6.38 |
| Std. V | 80,649 4.87 |
| Std. VI | 73,066 4.41 |
| 407,666 | 24.62 |

The Secretary for Education the following enrolment figures:

| Number | Percentage | Combined |
| Number Primary | Lower |
| Form I | Form II | Form III | Form IV | Form V | Other |
| Form | Form | Form | Form | Form | Vocational and technical Teacher training |
| 25,362 | 1.53 | 17,615 | 1.06 | 10,362 | 0.63 | 2,420 | 0.15 | 1,183 | 0.07 |
| 56,942 | 3.44 |
| 2,307 | 3,668 | 5,975 |
| 2,307 | 3,668 | 5,975 |
| 0.14 | 0.22 | 0.36 | 100.00 |

in the Transkei has kindly sent

Number primary
Lower

(9) 23 August, Hansard 4 col. 1244.
(10) Hansard 11 col. 4214.
(11) Percentages calculated by the writer.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966
Lower primary pupils Higher primary pupils Secondary schools High schools
...... Vocational training schools Teacher training schools ..
Numbers
215,795 76,690
9,281
683 433 889
Percentage
71.04 25.25
3.06 0.22 0.14 0.29
303,771 100.00
If the two sets of figures are combined (excluding pupils taking vocational or
teacher training courses, which subjects are dealt with later) the total African
enrolment in South African schools in 1965 appears to have been:
Lower primary schools Higher primary schools Secondary and high schools
Numbers
1,400,647 484,356 66,906
1,951,909
Percentage
71.76 24.81
3.43
100.00
In addition, there were 1,900 African children attending schools for Coloured
children in the Cape, only one of them in a post-primary class. ")

CONTROL OF ENTRY INTO AFRICAN SCHOOLS
In terms of regulations published in the Bantu Education Journal for April, it was
laid down that principals of schools for Africans must not allow members of the
public to enter the premises during school hours without the express permission of
the Department.

SOME NOTES ON THE PRIMARY SCHOOL COURSE
By means of a great deal of self-denial, a Bakwena tribe at Bethanie in the
Rustenburg district of the Transvaal raised R20,000 towards the costs of building
a secondary and two primary schools. As these were to be situated in a
"homeland", generous Departmental help was forthcoming; and, by the chief's
decision, since 1964 lower primary education has been compulsory in this area."
The picture is a different one in rapidly-growing urban townships, where would-
be pupils have to be turned away. The prob(12) Minister of Coloured Affairs,
Assembly 16 September, Hansard 7 col. 2207.
(13) Star, 27 July.

BANTU SCHOOL EDUCATION
lem is particularly acute in higher primary and secondary schools. As mentioned in earlier Surveys, double sessions were introduced in the sub-standards in 1955, mainly because of a shortage of teachers. By 1965, this system was still being used in 4,057 schools, involving about 586,919 pupils and 5,960 teachers. It is being discarded gradually as more teachers and more classrooms become available. But, from 1958 onward, it led to an increased demand for accommodation in higher primary and postprimary schools-and, as mentioned earlier, in "White" areas the African people themselves must raise half the costs of building these schools. The problem is aggravated in large, long-established townships, where, through the natural increase in the population apart from other factors, the number of children of school-going age is growing very rapidly. The Government's answer to this question-i.e. that urban children wanting postprimary education must seek this in the "homelands"-is dealt with later in this chapter.

The medium of education remains a controversial issue. All African children in the Republic have since 1956 been educated through the mother-tongue language until the end of Standard VI. The first of the official languages (that predominantly spoken in the area concerned) is introduced as a subject in sub-standard A, and the second in sub-standard B. A complicating factor is that the Bantu Education Department has introduced new terminologies in African languages, with the objects, firstly, of combining numbers of dialects into seven main African languages; and secondly, of introducing terms which were unknown to tribal Africans, for example, mathematical terms.

As mentioned on page 128 of last year's Survey, the Transkeian Government has decided that an official language-in practice English, in its case-should gradually be substituted for the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction from Standard III instead of Standard VI.

The net result of the 1956 syllabus, however, has been that Africans have, increasingly, found difficulty in expressing themselves coherently in either official language. The standard of English is particularly inadequate.

At a conference of the English academy, held in Johannesburg during July, Mr. K. B. Hartshorne, then an Inspector of Schools (he has since been promoted) pointed out that in African schools English, whether taught as a language or used as a medium of instruction, was almost completely in the hands of non-mother-tongue speakers of English (Africans or Afrikaans-speaking White teachers). One out of every ten pupils in the first four years of schooling was taught by a professionally unqualified teacher; the great majority of the others by women teachers who had only an eight-year primary education before receiving professional training.

(14) Bantu, April; and Minister of Bantu Education; Assembly 16 August, Hansard 3 col. 799.

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A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966
As a result, patterns of "African English"-aberrant non-standard English-had evolved and were being perpetuated. It was important, Mr. Hartshorne emphasized, that teachers be trained in the use of modern audio-lingual aids. Professor L. W. Lanham, head of the Department of Phonetics and Linguistics at the University of the Witwatersrand, had headed a team of investigators into the standards of English in African schools in Johannesburg. Among the team's main conclusions was that a systematic approach to the teaching of English pronunciation in primary schools was essential to halt the serious deterioration and to restore norms that were socially acceptable and adequate for communication with English mother-tongue speakers. It was suggested that a second language would probably be taught more effectively and quickly if its introduction were postponed until Sub-B.

At the English Academy Conference, Professor Lanham pointed out that social and political trends had served to isolate African children from others at the best age for learning a language. If present trends continued, he said, spoken English in various African territories might well be reduced to little more than local patois. Professor Lanham advocated the use of tapes in conjunction with a phonetic alphabet which he and a few collaborators had tentatively initiated.(15)

STANDARD VI EXAMINATION RESULTS

It was stated in the Bantu Education Journal for March that, in the Republic (excluding the Transkei and South-West Africa but including the Caprivi Strip) the Standard VI examination results at the end of 1965 were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Candidates</td>
<td>66,493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obtained a continuation pass (enabling them to enter secondary schools).</td>
<td>31,876 47.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obtained a school leaving certificate</td>
<td>23,951 36.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failed</td>
<td>10,666 16.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the Secretary for Education for the Transkei, 11,065 candidates entered for the examination in that territory, of whom 6,983, or 63.1 per cent, passed.

SOME NOTES ON THE SECONDARY SCHOOL COURSE

In a speech made on his behalf at an education conference at Fort Hare during September, the Minister of Bantu Education said that among the objectives of his Department in the near future (15) Reports in Rand Daily Mail and Star of 15 July. 238

BANTU SCHOOL EDUCATION

would be more specific consideration of the needs of secondary education. Responsibility for the everyday administration of education would increasingly be placed in the hands of the territorial authorities.0 6) A question that is causing considerable concern is the Government's scheme whereby increasing numbers of urban African children will have to go to the "homelands" for secondary education.
According to the Minister(“) and to a letter from the Transkeian Secretary for Education, the present distribution of secondary and high school pupils is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Urban areas</th>
<th>Rural areas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Forms I to III:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic</td>
<td>24,334</td>
<td>36,641</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>8,896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Forms IV and V:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic</td>
<td>1,601</td>
<td>2,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>514</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was stated in the Bantu Education Journal for November that, in future, only the most essential needs for secondary education would be provided in urban areas. Government policy was that most of the high schools, and all future trade schools, should be situated in the "homelands". There was now at least one secondary school (up to Form III) in each tribal area, and the aim was that these should be developed into full high schools. Hostel accommodation would be necessary for children from urban areas. It was suggested that families living near the schools should establish "thriving businesses" by taking in boarders. Such an arrangement will, of course, add very considerably to the costs that urban parents incur in the education of their children.

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 23 September,(") the Minister said that there were 71 high schools at which the accommodation was not fully occupied: they could accept an additional 1,233 pupils. The calculation had been made on the basis that 30 pupils in each of Forms IV and V constituted an economic unit, and that 35 pupils were the maximum number per class.

In an address to the Cape Western Region of the Institute of Race Relations in August"9) the eminent educationalist, Dr. Robert Birley, said that while the chemistry equipment at the University College of the North (Turfloop) was superb, never in his whole educational experience has he seen a greater contrast within one country than that between the chemistry laboratory at Turfloop and the laboratories in the African secondary schools.

"I can give these figures for four of the secondary schools in Soweto which take their pupils up to the matriculation examination," Dr. Birley continued. "At the end of last year they had between them 3,080 children, of whom the great majority, over 80 per cent, are taught some science. Between them they have thirteen Bunsen burners, six balances (and one more which seemed to me quite useless), and three microscopes. A school of about 1,000 children receives an
annual grant for scientific equipment of about R35 a year, out of which it has to buy the essential materials for the very simplest chemical experiments... I cannot see how it is to be expected that the African university colleges will get the students they deserve unless something is done to narrow the gap between them and the secondary schools from which the students must come."

According to the Bantu Education Journal for October, the Department is offering special bursaries of R100 a year to pupils who show an aptitude for mathematics in the Junior Certificate examinations. Two years ago, a special one-year course was introduced at the Amanzimtoti Training School for promising pupils who did not take mathematics for the Junior Certificate, but were interested in science and would be given special coaching to enable them to write the Junior Certificate mathematics examination and then proceed to take mathematics for matriculation. This course has proved so successful that it is to be introduced, too, at the Hebron Training School north of Pretoria, at Lovedale, at the Moroka High School at Thaba 'Nchu, and at the Setotolwane High School near Pietersburg. Boarding facilities are available at all these schools.

With assistance from other regional offices, the Southern Transvaal Region of the Institute of Race Relations has continued its scheme for collecting books, sorting these to form balanced libraries, and sending these libraries to African schools, together with suggestions for cataloguing books and running libraries. Approximately 60 schools have received books during the current year. The Region also conducted a survey of library facilities available in Soweto (R.R. 118/66).

During his stay in South Africa Dr. Birley has interested himself in this matter. He obtained contributions for libraries at African schools from schools in Britain, receiving R for R grants from the Department of Bantu Education. White matriculants in South Africa have been asked to pass on discarded text books to African pupils. Further, Dr. Birley raised money for a library room and a reading room, which can be used for film shows, at Orlando High School, and hopes to do the same for other Johannesburz schools.

BANTU SCHOOL EDUCATION

The Department has revised its regulations for the subsidization of school libraries. In high schools (only) an R for R subsidy was previously paid; but now the Department pays the full amount, up to a maximum of R900 per region per year, for the purchase of books from officially approved lists. Regulations have been promulgated for the control of libraries; and it was laid down that special periods should be set aside for library use.

The Transvaal Provincial Library has started an experimental scheme for establishing and serving African libraries and depots (it previously ran such services for other non-whites). According to the 1965 report of the Library Advisory Board, it has been found that the books that Africans request are mainly those required for study purposes.

THE JUNIOR CERTIFICATE AND MATRICULATION COURSES
The following table, showing the elimination of pupils in secondary schools, was given on page 33 of the Departmental report for 1964. The Transkei is excluded.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form I</th>
<th>Form II</th>
<th>Form III/IV</th>
<th>Form V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>March 1961</td>
<td>15,415</td>
<td>12,994</td>
<td>8,411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1962</td>
<td>18,712</td>
<td>12,170</td>
<td>8,932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1963</td>
<td>0,800</td>
<td>13,345</td>
<td>8,491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1964</td>
<td>23,825</td>
<td>15,452</td>
<td>8,957</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was stated in the issue of Bantu for March that in 1969 the Joint Matriculation Board and the Department of Education, Arts, and Science would be introducing new syllabuses. All education departments in South Africa were revising their Junior Certificate syllabuses accordingly. Those of the Bantu Education Department would be based, fundamentally, on the syllabuses being compiled for Provincial Administrations at the request of the National Advisory Council for Education.

The Department of Bantu Education decided early in 1966 that all Africans entering for the Junior Certificate examination must write a Bantu language on the A-grade. But there would be a concession for those whose home language was English or Afrikaans: provided that such a candidate obtains at least 40 per cent in one of the official languages on the A-grade, and at least 25 per cent in a Bantu language on the A-grade, he will be credited with a pass in the Bantu language on the B-grade.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966

JUNIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION RESULTS

Since 1963, a new system of classification has been introduced for Africans who pass the Junior Certificate (at the end of Form III). As before, a minimum aggregate of 40 per cent is required for a pass; but those who obtain between 40 and 45 per cent are credited only with a third class pass, which does not qualify them for admission to Form IV as full-time students, but does qualify them for admission to teacher training and vocational courses.

As before, a 55 per cent aggregate is required for a first class pass, and 70 per cent for a pass with distinction.

The results obtained by full-time candidates in 1965 (including those in the Transkei and South-West Africa) were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of schools where examination was written</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of candidates</td>
<td>11,644</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passed with distinction</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99 in 1st class</td>
<td>1,473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in 2nd class</td>
<td>4,804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in 3rd class</td>
<td>2,796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failed</td>
<td>2,524</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MATRICULATION RESULTS

Detailed analyses of the matriculation results in various years are contained in the Departmental report for 1964.
The issue of the Bantu Education Journal for March gives details of the matriculation results in 1964 and 1965. In the latter year, the results obtained by full-time students who wrote the National Senior Certificate examination of the Department of Education, Arts, and Science, or the Joint Matriculation Board examination,2) in December, were:(23) Republic and Transkei
Number Percentage
Number of schools where examination was written ...............60
Number of candidates .......... 1,311
University entrance pass:
1st class .................. 24 1.8
2nd class .................. 291 22.2
3rd class .................. 8 0.6
Total ....................... 323 24.6
(20) Minister of Bantu Education, Assembly 27 September, Hansard 9 col. 2971.
(21) Bantu Education Journal, March.
(22) See 1965 Survey, page 252.
(23) Totals and percentages as calculated by the writer, since there appears to have been an error in the official publication.

BANTU SCHOOL EDUCATION 243
School certificate pass:
1st class .................3 0.2
2nd class ................. 294 22.4
3rd class ................. 207 15.8
Total .................... 504 38.4
Failed ...................... 484 36.9
Of these candidates, 28 entered from three schools in SouthWest Africa, 11 of them passing, all obtaining 2nd or 3rd class School Certificate passes.
Of the 323 students who obtained university entrance passes, 106 passed in mathematics.
The results of the supplementary examinations held in March have not been published at the time of writing.
Some 5,000 students were studying privately, writing one or more subjects at a time. During 1965 some of these, no doubt, completed the six subjects necessary for the certificate granted by the Bantu Education Department: their numbers have not been stated.

SPECIAL SCHOOLS
Special schools for Africans in the Republic (excluding the Transkei) were as follows in 1964:(0)
School Region Controlled by Type of Enrolment pupil
Boisele  N. Transvaal Dutch Reformed Church Blind 80
Deaf mute
and deaf
Kutlwanong S. Transvaal .. .. .. blind 172
Deaf and
Vuleka Natal .. .. .. blind 28
Deaf and
Bartimea Free State .. .. .. dumb 63
Siloe N.Transvaal Roman Catholic Church Blind 95
Dominican S.Transvaal ,, ,, Deaf 97
St. Thomas Ciskei .. .. .. Deaf 50
In addition, the Thamelang school for cerebral palsied children has recently been
opened in the Lichtenburg district of the Transvaal. It is controlled by the Dutch
Reformed Church. Special schools in the Transkei are described on page 134.
The Bantu Special Education Act was summarized on page 278 of the 1964
Survey.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966

ADULT EDUCATION

Quoting from an address by Mr. G. S. J. Kuschke, the managing director of the
Industrial Development Corporation, the South African Digest stated on 25
February that the general African literacy rate in South Africa is about 45 per
cent. In the age group 7 to 14 years, however, about 80 per cent were literate in
1963. (It appears that, in South Africa, officials consider Africans to be literate if
they have passed Standard II.)

It is difficult to establish the numbers of evening schools (providing primary
education) and continuation classes (postprimary) that are operating for African
adults, since official statistics, given at various times, differ from one another. In
the paragraphs that follow, the writer has tried to combine information given by
the Minister of Bantu Education in the Assembly on 16 September(”) and 23
September,(“) in the issues of the Bantu Education Journal for April and August,
in the Departmental report for 1964, and obtained from private sources.
In terms of regulations gazetted during 1957 and 1962, all classes catering for ten
or more pupils were required to apply annually for Departmental regis-
tration. Classes in the "homelands" or in municipal African townships were placed under
the control of African school boards. Organizers of classes in White group areas
were required to enclose, with their applications, permits from the Group Areas
Board.
These classes in White areas are generally organized by Whites, but the teachers
are Africans who act in a voluntary capacity. An exception is a class at the
University of the Witwatersrand, where students provide the tuition. For some
years the students of the University of Cape Town ran a class at Windermere, but
this was closed when the Africans were removed from that area, and officials
would not allow the students to continue running the class for Coloured adults.2)
It seems that in 1958 these schools in White areas were granted group areas
permits and official registration; but after that, although annual applications were
made, no replies were received. Numbers of these classes then continued to
operate on an unofficial basis. In August 1966, however, registration was granted; but the organizers were then told that in no circumstances would permits or registration be granted after the end of 1967. Because these schools in White areas were for a long period not officially recognized, it appears that they are not included in most official statistics. So far as the writer can ascertain, among those that are not included are, in the case of Johannesburg, the Isaacson Commercial school, five evening schools or continuation classes (Davies Street, Fairview, Mayibuye, Rosebank, and the class (25) Hansard 7 col. 2205. (26) Hansard 8 cols. 2754-5. (27) Sunday Express, 27 March. 244

BANTU SCHOOL EDUCATION

at the University), and three literacy classes conducted by the Y.M.C.A. They have 400 to 450 students. The Cape Non-European Night School Association continues to run classes in District Six and at Retreat(28): apparently the latter, but not the former, is included in statistics given by the Minister. Another school that will have to close is the Mopedi Tribal School in Johannesburg, which has 260 students. According to the Minister,(9) it is wrongly sited. The Departmental report for 1964 states that at the end of that year there were 22 classes in White areas, 54 in municipal African townships, and two in Bantu areas. But these differ from other official statistics. A full list of classes in Bantu areas and in municipal African townships (excluding the Transkei) was given by the Minister in his statement in the Assembly on 23 September. Omitting classes which the Minister said were not functioning, the totals would work out as follows: (a) there were 4 evening schools in Bantu areas and 44 in African townships, with a combined enrolment of 3,157; (b) there were 17 continuation classes in African townships, with a combined enrolment of 537. This result differs, however, from the information the Minister gave a week earlier. On this occasion he possibly included classes that were not functioning and, perhaps, some of those in White group areas. The figures he then gave were: Number of classes Enrolment

Evening schools:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Enrolment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>4,267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>4,426</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Continuation classes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Enrolment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>723</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In his later statement, the Minister said that no direct subsidies were being paid to any of these classes during the current financial year.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966
AFRICAN TEACHERS

It was stated in the May issue of the Bantu Education Journal that in 1965 there were 11,846 male and 16,846 women teachers employed in African schools. Of the combined total of 28,692, 507 were White and 78 Coloured.

There were still 5,485 African teachers (about 19 per cent of the total) whose salaries were not subsidized by the State—2,920 of them in community schools and 1,930 in private schools. In an address to the Southern Transvaal Regional Committee of the Institute of Race Relations given in August, the chairman of the Moroka school board said that in his area each pupil was being asked to pay 25 to 30 cents per term towards the salaries of teachers additional to those provided for on the Department's budget. Even then, the school board could afford to offer salaries of only about R10 a month to privately-paid teachers in lower primary schools, and R45 in post-primary schools. Hence, these posts were occupied, in the main by unqualified teachers.

According to the Departmental report for 1964,(3) the qualifications of African teachers employed that year were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualifications</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational and teachers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schools training schools</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25,153</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree and professional qualifications</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree only</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bantu Education Diploma</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional qualifications plus a special course</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Primary Teacher's Certificate</td>
<td>7,637</td>
<td>30.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Primary Teacher's Certificate</td>
<td>12,357</td>
<td>49.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical qualifications</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>0.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesser qualifications</td>
<td>4,777</td>
<td>18.47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In an address to the Cape African Teachers' Union,(2) Professor W. M. Kgware said that the proportion of university graduates amongst African teachers in secondary and high schools fell from 40 per cent in 1949 to 31 per cent in 1963. The Minister gave the following figures in the Assembly on 7 October, for the Republic (excluding the Transkei): (3)

(28) Cape Times, 31 October.
(29) Assembly, 11 October, Hansard 11 col. 3912.
BANTU SCHOOL EDUCATION
Secondary and High schools
Percentage of African teachers with university degrees
1961 .......... 36.3%
1962 .......... 36.1%
1963 .......... 31.1%
1964 .......... 22.7%
1965 .......... 25.5%

It was stated on page 8 of the 1964 Departmental report that, because difficulty had been experienced in recruiting sufficient students for more senior courses, six teacher training schools had temporarily been allowed to continue offering the Lower Primary Teachers' course, for women only. (This course involves three years' training after passing Standard VI.) It is still being offered in the Transkei, too: 149 students were taking it in 1965.

According to the Bantu Education Journal for March, at the end of 1965, 230 students passed the L.P.T.C. course, and 1,542 the H.P.T.C. course, in the Republic and the Transkei.

Combined figures (i.e. including the Transkei) showing the enrolment in 1966 are:(34)
L.P.T.C. .................423
H.P.T.C. .................4,276
Secondary Teachers' diploma .......... 269
Non-graduate university education diploma .......... 1
Post-graduate university education diploma .......... 17
4,986

The African Teachers' Association of South Africa, with the assistance of several commercial firms, is offering bursaries to enable matriculants or serving teachers to take four-year teacher training courses at the university colleges.

Questioned in the Assembly on February 1, the Minister of Bantu Education revealed that only 47.3 per cent of qualified African teachers, and 3.8 per cent of unqualified teachers, receive salaries in excess of R2 per working day. (Privately-paid teachers are excluded from these figures.) The writer calculated that the ratios between the salaries of qualified male teachers with degrees employed in high schools were 2.4 for Whites; and 1.6 for Coloured; as against 1.0 for Africans.

(34) Minister of Bantu Education, Assembly 30 August, Hansard 5 col. 1654; and letter from Transkeian Secretary for Education. See 1965 Survey, page 255, for a description of these courses.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966
The Minister announced on 13 October, however, that there was to be a very considerable improvement in teachers' salaries in the 1967-8 financial year.
Africans who were previously termed "supervisors" and "sub-inspectors" are now called inspectors and assistant inspectors, are graded as public servants, and have already been placed on improved salary scales. (3)

The Government Non-White Employees' Pensions Act, which makes provision for pensions for African teachers, is described on page 224. A few teachers still qualify for pensions under the Cape Provincial Administration's scheme, or for gratuities from the Natal Non-European Teachers' Provident Fund.

The difficulties that teachers are experiencing in terms of the machinery for influx control are mentioned on page 164

(37) Assembly Hansard 11 col. 4219.
(38) Sunday Express, 6 February.

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SCHOOLS FOR WHITES, COLOURED AND INDIANS
SCHOOL EDUCATION FOR MEMBERS OF OTHER RACIAL GROUPS
CONTROL

The proposed Bill to end the divided control of secondary education for White pupils, and for the development of a national education policy (mentioned on page 256 of last year's Survey) has not yet been published.

Practically all aspects of education for Coloured students are controlled by the Department of Coloured Affairs. As from 1 April 1966, the provisions of the Indians Education Act, described on page 263 of the 1965 Survey, came into effect throughout Natal, and were applied, too, to the Transvaal College of Education for Asiatics. There are separate schools for Indian children in some of the larger towns of the Transvaal; but in smaller centres in this province most of the Indian pupils at present attend mixed Coloured and Indian schools. In cases where Coloured pupils are in the majority, such schools fall under the Department of Coloured Affairs. Otherwise, for the time being they remain under provincial control (as do the all-Indian schools).

FINANCING OF EDUCATION

According to the Department of Education, Arts, and Science, 4.45 per cent of the national income was spent on education in 1963. No later figure is available.

So far as Whites are concerned, the central government grants financial assistance to universities (amounting to R18,775,020 in 1966-71), controls technical, vocational, commercial and special institutions, and makes grants-in-aid to private schools providing such courses. The primary and secondary education of White students is controlled by the provinces.

As the education of Coloured and Asian children (unlike that for Africans) is financed from the country's general revenue—and, in the case of Indians, partly by the Transvaal and Cape Provincial Administrations—no separate financial accounts are published. In the Assembly on 26 August, however, the Minister of Coloured Affairs said(2) that the total expenditure on Coloured primary, secondary, and high schools and the training of teachers during the 1965-6 financial year was:

(1) Estimates of Expenditure from Revenue Account, R.P. 1/6, pages 58 and 62.
(2) Hansard 4 col. 1479
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966

Revenue Account R23,717,220 Loan Account 4,623,674 R28,340,894

Some items, extracted from the Official Estimates for 1966-7, 3) are as given below. They do not present a complete picture, for provincial expenditure is excluded in the case of Indians; various non-recurring amounts are being paid to Provincial Administrations for buildings and equipment taken over; completely new buildings are planned for the University College for Indians; and the salaries of certain senior administrative personnel are included in the general Departmental budgets. Expenditure from Revenue and Loan Accounts is combined.

Salaries, wages, and allowances ........ School buildings and additions to schools ........ Running of Departmental schools of industries, reform schools, etc ........................

Supplies, services, maintenance, examination costs, school feeding, etc ........................

Financial assistance to technical colleges, vocational and special schools, continuation classes, etc.

Bursaries and loans to students ........ Handling charges or compensation due to Provincial Administrations ...........

University colleges ........................

Coloured

R
20,709,800 6,192,550
406,000
3,183,800
573,900 590,300 175,000 552,000 R32,383,350

SCHOOL BUILDINGS

The Minister of Coloured Affairs said on 6 August4) that, at the end of 1964, there were 60 high schools, 26 secondary schools, and 1,661 primary schools for Coloured pupils. He added, in the Assembly on 23 September(5) that, since the beginning of 1964, 47 new schools had been built, and additions made to nine others. There were 19 further schools, and additions to another 13, then under construction.

Mr. G. S. Eden, M.P., pointed(') to the need for secondary and high schools in the Northern Cape.

Information about Indian schools in the Transvaal and Cape Province is lacking. In an article contributed to The Graphic on 1 April, Mr. P. R. Pather said that in 1965 there were 55 Govern(3) R.P. 1/66 pages 218-20, 296-302; R.P. 8/66 pages 10, 19, 83.

(4) Press release 8/66 K.
(5) Hansard 8 col. 2743.
SCHOOLS FOR WHITES, COLOURED AND INDIANS

ment and 218 aided schools in Natal. At a conservative estimate the Indian community had contributed R2,000,000 to the cost of school buildings in Natal-excluding the cost of the sites.

According to the Minister of Indian Affairs,(6) the Department's building programme for 1966-7 envisaged the completion of about 350 further classrooms, including five new high schools and extensive additions to a sixth. Besides this, the Orient Islamic Educational Trust and the M. L. Sultan Charitable and Educational Trust are planning themselves to build another high school and a primary school in Durban, which will become State-aided institutions.0)

ENROLMENT OF WHITE PUPILS

The latest available figures showing the enrolment of White pupils, as compiled by the Department of Education, Arts, and Science, are for 1963:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Standard I</th>
<th>Standard II</th>
<th>Standard III</th>
<th>Standard IV</th>
<th>Standard V</th>
<th>Total primary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>71,333</td>
<td>68,104</td>
<td>67,771</td>
<td>65,297</td>
<td>63,666</td>
<td>451,787</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>59,696</td>
<td>56,137</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>58,472</td>
<td>56,137</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combined totals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ENROLMENT OF COLOURED AND INDIAN PUPILS

The information that follows was given by the Minister of Coloured Affairs in the Assembly on 23 September, and the Minister of Indian Affairs on 30 September. The statistics presumably refer to 1966. Pupils in vocational schools are excluded.

In the light of figures given by the Minister of Indian

(7) Natal Mercury, 7 July.
(8) Ibid, 22 March.
(9) Hansard 8 col. 2745, Hansard 9 col. 3270. Totals and percentages calculated by the writer.

Totals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub A</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>102,757</td>
<td>9.93</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18,136</td>
<td>9.88</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69,319</td>
<td>9.49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67,635</td>
<td>9.26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub B</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>71,133</td>
<td>8.73</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24,475</td>
<td>8.24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sub A</th>
<th>Sub B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>102,757</td>
<td>71,133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>18,136</td>
<td>24,475</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966

Affairs on an earlier occasion, it would appear the information he supplied refers only to pupils in Natal.

Coloured Indians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sub A</td>
<td>102,757</td>
<td>23.59</td>
<td>18,136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub B</td>
<td>71,133</td>
<td>16.33</td>
<td>17,118</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SOME NOTES ON THE SCHOOL COURSE

Because of a persistent shortage of school accommodation, a "platoon" system has operated for some 15 years in certain Indian schools in Natal, in terms of which one group of pupils uses a classroom during the morning, and a second group in the afternoon. Each group has its own teacher, however. The Minister said in the Assembly on 16 September (1) that this system was still used at 93 schools, involving 28,513 pupils and 817 teachers. The Department's school-building programme is aimed at eliminating it as fast as possible.

Regulations relating to compulsory school attendance by Indian children of specified age-groups, within areas designated by the Minister, were published as Government Notice R 581 of 15 April. So far, they have not been applied in any area. It has not yet proved possible to introduce compulsory education for Coloured children in any areas additional to those described on page 285 of the 1964 Survey.

Government Notice R 1284 of 26 August set out the conditions under which indigent Indian secondary school children may, from 1967, be granted boarding allowances of up to R18 per quarter, or travelling allowances of up to R20 a year, if they live more than three miles from the nearest school. According to the Secretary for Coloured Affairs, the same arrangements apply in the case of indigent Coloured children, except that, in Natal, the maximum boarding allowance is R21 a quarter."

The authorities in charge of both Indian and Coloured education are gradually building up school libraries: a sum of R150,000 was allowed for books for Coloured schools in the budget for 1964-5 (a later figure has not been published); and R47,000 was set aside for libraries for Indian schools in Natal in the 1966-7 budget.

EXAMINATION RESULTS

Junior Certificate
No recent statistics in regard to White Junior Certificate candidates are available. According to the Ministers of Coloured Affairs and of Indian Affairs, the examination results were as follows at the end of 1965:

**Number Percentage**

Coloured pupils: Number of entrants: 5,067
- Passed in 1st class: 174 (3.43)
- Passed in 2nd class: 2,589 (51.10)
- Failed: 2,304 (45.47)

Indians: Number of entrants: 3,856
- Passed advanced grade: 220 (5.70)
- Passed ordinary grade: 610 (15.82)
- Failed: 1,882 (48.81)

Senior Certificate or Matriculation

White pupils may write examinations conducted by each of the four provincial education departments, or by the Department of Education, Arts, and Science, or by the Joint Matriculation Board. According to the Department, the combined results for 1964 were:

**Matriculation exemption School leaving**

White Pupils: No. Percentage No. Percentage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of entrants</th>
<th>21,182</th>
<th>24,577</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Passed in 1st class</td>
<td>4,069</td>
<td>19.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passed in 2nd and 3rd classes</td>
<td>8,055</td>
<td>38.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failed</td>
<td>9,058</td>
<td>42.76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(12) Assembly, 4 February, Hansard 2 col. 727.
(13) Assembly, 23 September, Hansard 8 col. 2747; and 30 September, Hansard 9 cols.

3270-1. Percentages calculated by the writer.

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A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966

According to the Ministerial statements quoted above, the results for all Coloured pupils and for Indian pupils in Natal at the end of 1965 were as given below. No break-down as between matriculation and school leaving certificates was given.

**Number Percentage**

Coloured pupils: Number of entrants: 1,771
- Passed in 1st class: 43 (2.43)
- Passed in 2nd class: 820 (46.30)
- Failed: 908 (51.27)

Indians: Number of entrants: 1,328
- Passed advanced grade 1st class: 13 (0.98)
- Passed advanced grade 2nd class: 549 (41.34)
- Passed ordinary grade: 163 (12.27)
The teaching of history in schools for White pupils
A booklet entitled Prejudice in the Classroom, by Miss Eleanor Hawarden, was published by the Institute of Race Relations in 1966. Miss Hawarden described the roots of colour prejudice in the English-speaking world, and the effect on the teaching of history.
At about the same time Mr. F. E. Auerbach's book The Power of Prejudice in South African Education (published by A. A. Balkema) became available. It gives the results of a detailed enquiry into history syllabuses and text-books in White high schools.

White teachers
According to the Department of Education, Arts, and Science, the numbers of White student-teachers who were enrolled in 1963 in training colleges under provincial control were:
1st year of study .... .. 3,830 2nd .. .. ...... 3,296
3rd .. .. .. .. .. 2,039
4th .. . ...... 275
5th .. .. .. .. 6
9,446

Coloured teachers
Questioned in the Assembly on 23 September(14) the Minister of Coloured Affairs gave the following information about the numbers and qualifications of Coloured teachers:

(14) Hansard 8 cols. 2748-50.

SCHOOLS FOR WHITES, COLOURED AND INDIANS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Post</th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Pr-mary and Other</th>
<th>Percentages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>schools teacher schools</td>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>training</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree and professional qualifications</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>381</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree only</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional qualifications but no degree</td>
<td>11,684</td>
<td>1,107</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other qualifications</td>
<td>..........</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matriculation or equivalent without professional qualifications</td>
<td>..........</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No matriculation or equivalent and no professional qualifications</td>
<td>..........</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12,224</td>
<td>1,576</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>14,037</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Asked how many Coloured persons were serving in senior positions in the education section of his Department, the Minister replied(15) that there were two Coloured inspectors of education, two subject inspectors, 1,793 principals, 391 vice-principals, 795 special-grade assistants, and 111 administrative personnel dealing with educational matters.
The morale of Coloured teachers is reported,(6) in general, still to be low. Salary scales are considered to be inadequate (on an average, a Coloured teacher earns about 0.65 of what is paid to a White teacher with the same qualifications and experience, employed in a comparable post). And delays still occur in the payment of salaries, although the position is improving. The Minister said in the Assembly on 4 February(17) that, excluding those who retired on pension or left to get married, 83 primary and 13 secondary school teachers resigned in 1964, and 323 primary and 36 secondary school teachers in 1965. It was stated on the Minister's behalf in the Assembly on 5 August(8) that 164 resigned during the first six months of 1966.

The Minister announced on 20 September(9) that the question of an improvement in salary scales was being investigated by a departmental committee. According to statements by the Minister on 20 and 23 September(18) the courses provided for Coloured student teachers are as set out below.

1. Lower Primary Teachers' Certificate, involving two years post-Junior Certificate training, and open to women only;
2. Primary Teachers' Certificate: two years post-matriculation, available in the Cape and Natal;
3. Specialist one-year courses in eight different subjects, for students who have passed the L.P.T.C. or P.T.C.;

(15) Assembly 20 September, Hansard 8 col. 2423.
(16) Special article in the Cape Times, 22 October.
(17) Hansard 2 col. 731.
(18) Hansard 1 cols. 233-4.
(19) Assembly Hansard 8 col. 2423.
(20) Assembly Hansard 8, cols. 2433-4, 2762.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966
5. At the University College of the Western Cape:
(a) Lower Secondary Teachers' Diploma, or University Education Diploma (non-graduate): both three-years postmatriculation;
(b) University Education Diploma: one year post-B.A., B.Sc., etc.;
(c) Courses leading to the B.Ed., M.Ed., or D.Ed.

Besides the University College and the Rand College of Education, the institutions at which students may train are the Bechet State College in Durban (L.P.T.C. and P.T.C. courses), the Dr. Blok State school in Bloemfontein (L.P.T.C. only), and ten colleges or schools in the Cape, all training primary school teachers, three of them run by the State and the rest by Churches with state aid.

In 1966, there were 1,919 Coloured teachers in training, 280 of them at the Rand College, and 124 at the University College. At the end of 1965, 255 men and 498 women completed their training.
It was stated in the Report of the Education Council for Coloured Persons for 1965(1) that the Council had pressed for the L.P.T.C. course to be abolished, but had come to realize that this could not yet be done because the annual number of matriculants was low, and only a small proportion of them wished to become teachers. In his Press statement on 6 August, the Minister said that the training of teachers was not keeping up with the annual increase in the number of posts.

Interest-free loans of up to R200 a year are available to student-teachers at the University College, of up to R160 a year to those at the Rand College of Education, and of up to R100 a year to those at training schools, the Minister continued. Alternatively, in deserving cases grants of up to a maximum of R80 a year may be made.

Indian teachers

Information is available, in the main, only about Indian teachers in Natal. According to the Minister of Indian Affairs(2) the numbers employed in that province in May 1966, and their qualifications were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualification</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Degree plus professional qualifications</td>
<td>386</td>
<td>8.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree without professional qualifications</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional qualifications without degree</td>
<td>1,404</td>
<td>32.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other qualifications (not stated)</td>
<td>1,853</td>
<td>42.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matriculation but no professional training</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>5.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than matriculation and no professional training</td>
<td>454</td>
<td>10.41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4,359 | 100.00 |

(21) R.P. 73/65.
(22) Assembly, 30 September, Hansard 9 col. 3271.

SCHOOLS FOR WHITES, COLOURED AND INDIANS

The Minister said on 20 September(23) that when his Department took over control in Natal on 1 April, it was found that about 40 per cent of the Indian teachers were not fully qualified. Special courses had immediately been instituted at the University College. The salary scales had been raised to the same level as those for Coloured teachers.

Later,(24) the Minister added that seven Indians were serving as inspectors of schools in Natal (out of a total of 20 inspectors), one as an educational planner, one as a psychometrist, one as a subject inspector, 276 as principals of schools, 299 as vice-principals, 57 as special grade assistants, 22 as lecturers, and there were 36 on the administrative staff of the Department’s education section.

There are three institutions at which Indians may train as primary or as secondary school teachers-the University College and the Springfield Training College in Durban, and the Transvaal College of Education in Johannesburg. In addition, the M. L. Sultan Technical College trains teachers for work in secondary schools. The combined enrolment in 1966 was 630.

Government Notice 1284 of 26 August provided for loan bursaries to be granted to Indian students at training colleges, technical colleges, universities, or university colleges. These loans bear interest at 6 per cent per annum. Students
granted them must undertake to serve in the Department for at least the number of years during which they receive financial assistance.

In a Press statement(2") the Director of Indian Education, Mr. P. R. T. Nel, said that these bursaries would be available to matriculated students. The amounts would be up to R 110 for the first and second years of training and R130 for the third year for non-degree courses, and R140 a year for degree courses. In addition, "necessitous" students living some distance from the training institutions might be granted boarding bursaries of R150 a year, or transport bursaries of R20 a year.

PART-TIME CLASSES FOR COLOURED ADULTS
In the Assembly on 14 October(2") the Minister of Coloured Affairs gave full details regarding part-time classes for adults that had been established by his Department. A summary is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of class</th>
<th>No. of classes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Academic-Sub A</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic-Primary classes</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic-Sub A to matriculation</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic-Std. V or VI to matriculation</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary higher for teachers</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial-secondary classes (to matriculation)</td>
<td>7............ 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apprentices</td>
<td>7............</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressmaking</td>
<td>2............ 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enrolment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,098</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6,154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION
TECHNOLOGICAL, TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING
WHITES
ADVANCED TECHNICAL EDUCATION
An account was given in the South African Digest of 23 September of the progress being made with the establishment of the Vaal Triangle College for advanced technical education, on a site between Vereeniging and Vanderbijlpark. The aim is to qualify trained artisans and matriculants for supervisory and management positions. The college will cater for some 4,000 students at a time, and will provide three types of courses: advanced technicians' courses; block release apprenticeship training; and part-time courses for Government certificates of competency, production engineering diplomas, and national engineering diplomas.

TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING
In a statement released to the Press following a meeting of the Economic Advisory Council on 20 and 21 June, the then Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd, said that there were at the time 97 schools and colleges for vocational education for Whites, which could accommodate 31,000 full-time pupils up to the Senior Certificate level, 20,000 apprentices up to Senior Certificate standards, and 3,000 post-matriculants.

Sixty-one new institutions or additions to existing ones were being built or had been approved, which would be able to accommodate an additional 38,000 students and 4,850 apprentices. During 1965, about 3,500 candidates completed some course at a technical college, it was stated.

According to the Statistical Year Book for 1965 (Tables E 5-10) during the previous year 7,105 full-time and 38,593 part-time White students were enrolled at the 16 technical colleges. There were 22,302 pupils at vocational high schools, and 213 at State-aided vocational schools.

THE TRAINING OF ADULTS
In the statement quoted above Dr. Verwoerd went on to say that the scheme for enabling White adults to improve their skills had, thus far, cost the state R3,700,000. By 1965, 1,385 persons had completed their training, and 3,250 were enrolled for various courses. The allowances paid to persons undergoing training had been increased.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966
AFRICANS
GOVERNMENT POLICY
Dr. Verwoerd said, in the statement mentioned earlier, that "in accordance with instructions issued to them, the educational authorities for the non-whites are at present shifting the emphasis to technical education in order to relieve the pressure on skilled manpower so that non-whites will be able to make a larger contribution to skilled work within the framework of the Government's policy". One of the tasks being undertaken by the Advisory Committee on Manpower Research and Planning, he added, was "to determine avenues of employment for Bantu with vocational training or scholastic qualifications of Standard VIII and higher in the Bantu and border areas".
The Minister of Bantu Education said in the Assembly on 13 October(') that Bantu technicians must be trained from the "bottom up". Trade schools and technical secondary and high schools already existed. Before the students who passed courses at these schools could take trade tests they required practical experience which was being provided in certain Departmental workshops in the "homelands". Courses would eventually be provided at which those who qualified as artisans could train as technicians. In time, some of these technicians could progress to become engineers.

In 1965, however, the Straszacher Commission, appointed to enquire into the supply and demand for engineering manpower in South Africa, recommended that promising science graduates from the non-white university colleges be allowed to proceed to one of the "open" universities (in practice, Cape Town or the Witwatersrand) to complete the study of engineering. According to a report in the Rand Daily Mail of 21 June, the Department of Bantu Education supports this suggestion, but an official stated that Cabinet approval would be necessary. The Government's decision that future high schools and trade schools should be sited in the "homelands" rather than in urban townships is mentioned on page 239.

DUBE VOCATIONAL TRAINING CENTRE
The Vocational Training Centre at Dube Township, run by the Johannesburg municipality, is mentioned first, since it is the only institution at which Africans can gain the practical as well as the theoretical training necessary before entering for the National Technical Certificate (N.T.C.) examinations. Four courses are available-in building construction; carpentry and joinery; plumbing, sheet-metal work and drainlaying; and electrical wiring. In 1966, 180 students were enrolled. The entrance qualification is

(1) Hansard 11 col. 4218.

TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION
Standard VI except for the course in electrical wiring, for which it is J.C.
At the end of 1965, 64 boys graduated from the centre. Every student who entered for an external examination succeeded in passing. Some qualified for the National Building Workers' Diploma issued by the Department of Labour. Others passed one or more subjects for the N.T.C. I; these boys are able to continue their studies by correspondence and qualify for the full certificate. Electricians are being trained up to N.T.C. II standards.

SPECIALIST COURSES FOR MEN PROVIDED BY THE GOVERNMENT
Boys who have passed the Junior Certificate examination and have technical qualifications may apply for admission to a course of training for trade instructors, which is conducted at the Batswana Training and Trade School at Mafeking. It is a two-year course, similar to that for the Higher Primary Teachers' Certificate except that students continue practical and theoretical work in their selected trade, choosing between concreting, bricklaying and plastering; or carpentry, joinery and cabinet-making; or general mechanics; or leatherwork,
upholstery, or tailoring. They also learn trade school organization, accident prevention, and first aid. Bursaries are available.

A course for^a surveying assistants exists, during which students receive salaries because most of the work consists of practical in-service training with the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. Two periods, each of five months, are devoted to theoretical work at Lovedale. The course takes three years. The entrance qualification is J.C. with mathematics, but preference is given to applicants who have matriculated with mathematics as a subject. A start has been made with a four-year B.Sc. course in land surveying at the University College of Fort Hare. After graduating, students will have to gain a year's practical experience before entering for a further examination which entitles those who pass to register with the Central Council of Land Surveyors, and to enter practice.(3)

There is a two-year course for health inspectors at the Edendale Technical Secondary School, the entrance qualification being matriculation, and a pass in mathematics at at least the J.C. level. Bursaries are available. Successful students are awarded the National Diploma of Health issued by the Department of Education, Arts, and Science.(4)

As a temporary measure, a two-year course for medical orderlies is being provided at the Hwiti Secondary School near Pietersburg, for students who have passed J.C. It is planned that

(2) Bantu Education Journal, December 1965.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966
this course, and the one for health inspectors, will be transferred to a new institution at Moletse.(5)

The training of African building workers is referred to on page 219; and the textile school at Mdantsane was described on page 272 of last year's Survey. The Transkeian Government is planning the establishment of a technical college, to be sited at Umtata.

TECHNICAL SCHOOLS
The Department of Bantu Education conducts three-year courses leading to a technical Junior Certificate at five schools: Amanzimtoti (south of Durban), Bloemfontein, Edendale (near Pietermaritzburg), Port Elizabeth, and Vlakfontein (Pretoria). Two more are planned at Soweto (Johannesburg) and Umlazi (Durban). There is another school in the Transkei: St. John's, at Umtata. The entrance qualification is a Standard VI continuation pass. The syllabus was described on page 270 of last year's Survey.

According to the Minister,(4) 53 boys passed the J.C. (technical) examination at the end of 1965. Courses are available at several of the schools in building construction, carpentry and joinery, general mechanics, motor mechanics, and electrotechnics. In addition, Vlakfontein provides courses in radiotechnics, and in drawing and drafting; and at this institution students may continue to take a technical senior certificate examination.
After passing these examinations, students require practical experience before they can take the trade tests of the Department of Education, Arts, and Science. On-the-job training is provided in housing schemes and certain workshops of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development in the "homelands"; but, except in building trades, there are few opportunities for lads to obtain this practical training in urban areas.

The Natal Chambers of Industry and Commerce have suggested that besides training builders, plumbers, and electrical wiremen for work in the "homelands" the technical school being built at Umlazi should cater for urban youths who have left school but are too young to start work, by providing post-J.C. courses for general clerical workers and salesmen, and post-Standard VI courses for factory operatives and operators of mechanical transport and equipment!

TRADE SCHOOLS
In the speech quoted above, the Minister gave details relating to the eleven trade schools that have been established in the Republic for boys, which give two-year (or, in some cases, three-year) post-Standard VI courses in a variety of trades.

(5) Ibid.
(6) Assembly, 8 February, Hansard 3 cols. 1023-7.
(7) The Manufacturer, January.

TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

There are another three schools in the Transkei, at which 433 pupils were enrolled in 1966.0)

These courses, and the opportunities available to those who pass, were described on page 271 of last year's Survey.

From information given on page 12 of the Report of the Department of Bantu Education for 1964,09) it would appear that at the end of that year the following numbers passed Departmental courses at the trade schools (including those in the Transkei):

Concrete work, bricklaying, and plastering 148
Carpentry, cabinet making, and joinery 133
Building construction 19
Leatherwork and upholstery 11
Tailoring 19
General or motor mechanics 45
Plumbing, sheet-metal work, and drainlaying 7
Woodwork 18
Electrotechnics 8
Drawing and drafting 8

416

COMMERCIAL TRAINING

Courses leading to a commercial J.C. have been commenced at the Edendale and Batswana institutions, and, at the former, students may continue to take a commercial matriculation examination.10)
At the original suggestion of the National African Chamber of Commerce, the (White) Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce approached the Minister of Bantu Education, suggesting that it should establish a commercial college for Africans, near the proposed Government technical school to be built at the Jabulani Civic Centre at Soweto, Johannesburg, on a site to be made available by the municipality. The Minister's approval in principle was granted. Then the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce succeeded in obtaining promises of grants to cover the capital costs, had building plans prepared, and drew up a constitution for the college. The Johannesburg Rotary Club agreed to set up a fund to send Africans to the university colleges to train as teachers for the institution. It was planned that the college would cater, initially, for about 250 students, but that the enrolment might later be increased to 1,000.(11)

But the Minister then changed his mind, intimating that permission to establish the college at Soweto would not be forth. Information from Transkeian Secretary for Education.

(9) R.P. 32/66.
(10) Bantu Education Journal, October.
(11) Rand Daily Mail, 14 September.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966

coming. He said in the Assembly on 20 September(12) that it had transpired that the proposed institution was to be a big day school, and that White teachers would temporarily be employed there.

It was mentioned in an earlier chapter that the Mopedi Tribal School in Johannesburg, which provides commercial and other training, is to be closed by Government order because it is "wrongly sited".

VOCATIONAL TRAINING FOR AFRICAN GIRLS

Courses in homecraft, needlework, hygiene, and dressmaking are included in the syllabus at numbers of schools, with the object of training girls to run their future homes efficiently. Lately, however, the Department has started new specialized courses at schools where accommodation is available and there is sufficient demand, to equip women for careers. The minimum entrance qualification is Standard VI.

Two-year dressmaking classes are provided at six schools—Ndaleni, Kama, Mariannhill, Mokopane, Vendaland, and Clarkbury (which is in the Transkei). Besides this, three-month courses in dressmaking can be taken at the Loretto and Bafokeng schools. Three schools—Botshabelo, Pholela, and Healdtown-run specialist courses in homecraft, and the Caritas private school has a home management course.

The Department is planning courses in confectionery, machine operating for clothing industries, the making of soft coverings for furniture, millinery, hairdressing and beauty culture, and child care!(13)

COLOURED SCHOOLS

VOCATIONAL CLASSES

According to the Minister of Coloured Affairs,040 there are five State vocational schools for Coloured students—at Cape Town, Kimberley, Johannesburg, Pretoria,
and Durban—and a few State-aided schools. The combined enrolment in 1966 was 2,799. Some 1,100 students are taking part-time courses in commerce, bookkeeping, and typing.

COMPREHENSIVE HIGH SCHOOLS
The Department of Coloured Affairs is establishing multilateral high schools, at which pupils may take academic, commercial, or technical Junior Certificate and Senior Certificate examinations. This system has been introduced in the Spes Bona High School.

(12) Hansard 8 col. 2419.
(13) Bantu Education Journal, June, and statement by the Minister, Assembly 20 September, Hansard 8 cols. 2427-8.
(14) Assembly, 23 September, Hansard 8 col. 2746, 12 October, Hansard 11 col. 4050, and 2 September, Hansard 5 col. 2002.

TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION
High School (previously called the Cape Vocational High School), and is to be introduced in 1967 at four others—in Worcester, Oudtshoorn, Port Elizabeth, and Kimberley. A further such school will be established later in Johannesburg. All of them will have hostel accommodation.

Girls will be able to take, as examination subjects, typing, shorthand, commerce, book-keeping, domestic science, or needlework. For boys there will be courses in cookery, steam laundry, or pre-vocational courses in sheet-metal work and plumbing, metal-work and welding, fitting and turning, bricklaying and plastering, painting and decorating, woodwork, or for electricians or motor mechanics.

After matriculating, a boy can be apprenticed in a trade for which his course was an introduction. A lad who takes the plumbing and sheet-metal work course, for example, can become an apprentice plumber, or panel-beater, or welder. The period of his apprenticeship will be reduced.

In 1966, 353 pupils of the Spes Bona High School were taking a Junior Secondary course which included technical or commercial subjects.

One-year courses to train trade instructors are being conducted at the Hewat Training College in Cape Town, bursaries of R160 or loans of R80 being available. Applicants must be qualified teachers holding at least the Senior Certificate.

APPRENTICES
The Minister told Members of the Assembly on 14 October that theoretical training facilities are available for Coloured apprentices in the Cape Peninsula and its vicinity and in Port Elizabeth, Durban, Kimberley, Johannesburg, Pietermaritzburg, and Grahamstown. The total numbers attending classes were 2,098.

TECHNICAL COLLEGES
It was stated in the issue of Alpha for December 1965 that the Peninsula Technical College and its five branches had 1,600 students in 1964, doing secondary courses including technical or commercial subjects; or studying shorthand and typing, bookkeeping, dressmaking, motor car maintenance; or training as health visitors or school nurses. There will be a course for health inspectors in 1967. Numbers of the students were apprentices in the building, furniture, motor, electrical, or printing trades.

According to The Star of 16 September, ten students from this college who entered for N.T.C. examinations in 1965 obtained higher marks than any White candidate achieved.

(16) Minister of Coloured Affairs, Assembly 23 September, Hansard 8 col. 2747.
(17) Alpha, October.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966
Mr. Kobus Louw, the Director of Coloured Education, stated in March(19) that another technical college for Coloured students was to be established in Natal.

TECHNOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
A technological institute, which will be opened in 1967, is being built on a site near the University College of the Western Cape, in Bellville, at which post-matriculation training will be given for examinations leading to National Diplomas in commerce, draughtsmanship, building, printing, and electrical and mechanical engineering. The college will have a section where teachers will be trained to give instruction in various trades, or in cookery, needlework, and hairdressing.

INDIANS
VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS
The Minister of Indian Affairs said in the Assembly on 30 September(21) that the following numbers of Indians in Natal were attending vocational, technical, or trade schools:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>626</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matric</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1,658

Statistics for the other provinces are not available.

M. L. SULTAN TECHNICAL COLLEGE
The Registrar of the M. L. Sultan Technical College in Durban has kindly informed the writer that in 1966 there were 1,668 full-time and 4,614 part-time students at this college. It has branches at Pietermaritzburg and Stanger, and also conducts part-time classes at Chatsworth, Verulam, Mount Edgecombe, Clairwood, Port Shepstone, and Tongaat.

There are divisions of technology, commerce, housecrafts, and physical education. The school of commerce provides Junior and Senior Certificate
courses, post-matriculation training for teachers, and courses leading to the National Secretarial Certificate, the
(19) Natal Mercury, 10 March.
(20) Alpha, December 1965, and statement by the Minister of Coloured Affairs in the Cape Times, 27 July.
(21) Hansard 9 col. 3270.

TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

National Diploma in Commerce, examinations of the Chartered Institute of Secretaries, and other qualifications. The Division of Technology trains apprentices and others in a large variety of trades, and conducts courses for medical technicians, health inspectors, tailors, laboratory assistants, draughtsmen, and other specialists. In the Division of Homecrafts, hairdressing, housewifery, dressmaking, cookery and allied subjects are taught, teachers are trained to give instruction in these subjects, and there is a course for nursery school assistants.

A very large variety of part-time classes is provided—for bakers, waiters and other hotel personnel, and in academic subjects, public speaking, art, music, drama, and many other subjects.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

ENROLMENT

The Registrars of the institutions concerned have kindly supplied the following enrolment figures, for mid-1966:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University of:</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cape Town</td>
<td>5,991</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6,392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>4,653</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>5,242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the Orange Free State</td>
<td>2,914</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2,914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Elizabeth</td>
<td>574</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>574</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potchefstroom</td>
<td>2,648</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2,648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>10,800</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10,800</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhodes</td>
<td>1,650</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1,678</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stellenbosch</td>
<td>6,636</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6,636</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the Witwatersrand</td>
<td>7,455</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7,650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa (1)</td>
<td>14,263</td>
<td>498</td>
<td>1,024</td>
<td>1,616(2)</td>
<td>17,401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University College:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of the Western Cape</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for Indians</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Fort Hare</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of the North</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>460</td>
<td>460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Zululand</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>299</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57,584</td>
<td>1,286</td>
<td>3,161</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,926</td>
<td>64,957</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DEGREES AND DIPLOMAS AWARDED

In reply to questions in the Assembly, the Ministers of
Coloured Affairs and Indian Affairs gave the following information about the
degrees and diplomas awarded at the end of 1965 and at supplementary
examinations held early in 1966:0)
Non
Post-graduate Bachelors' degree
Post-graduate graduate degrees degrees diplomas
Coloured students:
University College of the
Western Cape 1 24 8 21
University of South Africa - 12 1 1
Other universities ....... - 26 4 4
1 62 13 26
Indian students:
University College for
Indians .... .... .... .... 8 63 12 21
University of South Africa 12 13 12 2
Other universities ....... 46 375 9 14
66 451 33 37
(1) Correspondence classes only.
(2) Including 250 from outside South Africa.
(3) 23 September, Hansard 8 cols. 2747-8; 4 October, Hansard 10 col. 3467.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION
At the end of 1964, the University of South Africa awarded, to Africans, 6 post-graduate
degrees, 70 bachelors' degrees, 4 post-graduate diplomas, and 3 non-
graduate diplomas.4)
At graduation ceremonies held in 1966, the following degrees and diplomas were
awarded to students of the African university colleges:(5)
Post-graduate Bachelors' degree
Non-graduate degrees degrees diplomas diplomas
University College of
Fort Hare ....... 6 34 20
University College of
the North .... 3 14 2 23
University College of
Zululand ...... 3 20 1 21
Among the graduates at the University College of the North was Dr. N. 0. H.
Setidisho, on whom a Doctorate of Education was conferred. He had, earlier,
qualified for an M.A. in Education at the University of the Witwatersrand; and is
at present an inspector of schools in Zambia.

RAND AFRIKAANS UNIVERSITY
The Randse Afrikaanse Universiteit is to be established at Auckland Park,
Johannesburg, on land expropriated from the Country Club and a few private
householders. For a start, it will provide faculties of literature and philosophy;
commerce and administration; natural science; and education.
Enabling legislation has been passed, contained in the Rand Afrikaans University Act, No. 51 of 1966. The "conscience clause", contained in the constitutions of all other South African universities except that of Potchefstroom, was omitted. The University of the Witwatersrand (Private) Act, for example, contains a section reading, "No test whatever of religious belief shall be imposed on any person as a condition of his becoming or continuing to be a student, graduate or member of the academic staff of the University, or of his holding any office or emolument, or exercising any privilege therein, nor shall any preference be given to, or advantage be withheld from any person on the ground of his religious belief." Instead, the Rand Afrikaans University Act states that "a student, research worker, lecturer, or member of the administrative or library staff shall be admitted to the University on the grounds of his academic and administrative qualifications and abilities and on the ground that he subscribes to the principles set out in the preamble to the Constitution of the Republic".

(5) Bantu, July; South African Outlook, June; Rand Daily Mail, 24 May; and information from the Registrar of the University College of Zululand.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966
AFRICA STUDIES PROGRAMMES
During 1964, a post-graduate Africa Studies Programme was introduced at the University of the Witwatersrand. A similar Programme is to be established at the University of Rhodes in 1967. A Department of Africa Studies was founded in 1965 at the University of Stellenbosch.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGES FOR AFRICANS
In the Assembly on 4 October,(') the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development gave the following figures relating to expenditure by the State up to the end of March 1966 on the University College of Fort Hare since the Government took over this institution in 1959, and on the other two colleges since their establishment during that same year:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Revenue Account</th>
<th>Loan Account</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fort Hare</td>
<td>R 3,205,713</td>
<td>972,984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4,178,697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College of the North College of Zululand</td>
<td>R 2,147,810</td>
<td>1,495,138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2,002,571</td>
<td>1,839,874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4,150,381</td>
<td>3,335,012</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was stated in the Report of the Controller and Auditor General for 1964-5(') that the costs to the State per student during 1964 were R483 at White universities,
R2,145 at Fort Hare, R1,221 at the College of the North, and R1,667 at the College of Zululand.

The following statistics for 1966 were given by the Minister of Bantu Education in the Assembly on 9 August(8) and in the issue of the Bantu Education Journal for October:

Entrance qualifications
of students
Matriculation exemption School leaving certificate
(after Standard X)
The figure for Fort Hare is studying theology.

Fort Hare
Courses being taken by students
Degree courses .... 286
Diploma courses .... 116

Fort Hare
247 155
402

The North
351 109 460
includes one Coloured student, who

The North
275 185
(6) Hansard 10 col. 3468.
(7) R.P. 56/65, Pages 214 and 326.
(8) Hansard 2 col. 395.

Zululand
149 150 299

Zululand
173 126

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION
Faculties in which enrolled
Literature and philosophy 156 235 147
Science ........ 102 83 30
Education ........ 83 118 96
Commerce and administration 33 21 24
Law .... 13 - 2
Theology ........ 3
Agriculture ......... 7

Ratio of students to staff
Teaching staff ...... 4:1 6:1 5:1
Administrative staff ... 24:1 31:1 27:1

Dr. E. G. Malherbe has pointed out(9) that there were 189 African students at the University of Natal alone in 1959, and the numbers would have grown—especially if the money spent on the new colleges had been used, instead, for increased
subsidies to the universities. He emphasized that the establishment of these colleges had deprived many non-whites of the opportunity of university education, for example people in cities who could previously attend part-time classes, and Coloured and Indians who live long distances from Cape Town and Durban, respectively, and cannot afford boarding fees. Moreover, Coloured students from Natal (generally English-speaking) experience difficulty at the University College of the Western Cape, where the medium of instruction is mainly Afrikaans.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF THE WESTERN CAPE
The Minister of Coloured Affairs said in the Assembly on 9 August(1”) that, of the 477 students registered at the University College of the Western Cape in 1966, 298 were taking degree courses, and 179 diploma courses. The ratio of students to teaching staff was 6:1, and of students to administrative staff 22:1.

The information that follows has been condensed from articles in Alpha for June, and in the Cape Times on 12 March. So far, only one of the lecturers is a Coloured man. The college now has faculties of Arts, Science, and Education, and Departments of Law and Commerce. The diploma courses provided for teachers are mentioned on page 256; there is, in addition, a special course for teachers of retarded children. Other diploma courses are offered in theology, social work, commerce, civil administration, pharmacy, and librarianship, and sister tutors are trained. Extra-mural evening classes are available.

Loan bursaries are provided for student-teachers and those taking a degree or diploma in social work. The Cape Provincial Administration offers such bursaries to students studying librarianship.

The library, housed in a block of its own, contains some 38,700 books, and subscribes to or is given 590 periodicals regularly.

A men's residence, to house 100 students, had been completed by the beginning of 1966, and has 12 single rooms for senior students and double rooms for the rest. Building operations were then in progress on a block for the Faculty of Education, and a gymnasium and swimming bath.

In a statement made on his behalf in the Assembly on 4 October,(“) the Minister of Coloured Affairs said that in most subjects lectures are given in the official medium spoken by the majority of students in the class, but a resumé of each lecture is given, where necessary, in the language of a minority group. (According to the article in Alpha, as Afrikaans is the mother-tongue of 80 per cent of the students, it is the principal medium of instruction. But explanations, where needed, are given in English. Most of the text-books are in English.) The Minister added, however, that the English-medium is used for lectures in nursing education, pharmacy, and the theory of accountancy.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE FOR INDIANS
The Registrar of the University College for Indians informed the writer that there were 1,384 students in 1966. However, the Minister of Indian Affairs said in the Assembly on 9 August(“) that there were 1,163; 883 of them taking degree courses and 280 diploma courses. The ratio of students to teaching staff was 12:1, he added, and of students to administrative staff 40:1. A large proportion of the students is taking extra-mural classes.

Questioned about the staff of the college, the Minister gave the following information in the Assembly on 11 October(“):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Posts Occupied by:</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Indians</th>
<th>Vacant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professors</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior lecturers</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lecturers</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The college is still housed in temporary premises on Salisbury Island in Durban harbour; but work is to start shortly on the erection of permanent buildings on a 400-acre site at Chiltern Hills.

The courses available have been described in previous issues of this Survey. Training in various branches of engineering has now become available.

(12) Hansard 2 col. 397.
(13) Hansard 11 col. 3911.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION 273
DIFFICULTIES EXPERIENCED BY NON-WHITE STUDENTS IN GAINING PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE

Although the position is easing gradually in some fields, it is still very difficult for many non-white students to gain the practical experience they require. This is particularly the case for students of accountancy or law, for few established firms accept them as articled clerks.

It was reported in The Star of 27 August that an Indian who is shortly to graduate in civil engineering at the University of the Witwatersrand will not be able to find employment in the building projects in progress at the Actonville Indian township in Benoni, since the Town Council deemed that it "would not be advisable" for an Indian to supervise Whites engaged in junior positions in this building scheme.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966
Bursary Funds
National Study Loan and Bursary Fund

The creation of a National Study Loan and Bursary Fund was described on page 300 of the 1964 Survey. So far, the State has contributed R500,000 (which, during 1966, was converted from a loan to a grant), and private companies have donated R1,825. P) No awards have, apparently, yet been made.

Other State Study Loans

As mentioned in previous chapters, each year the State makes a few bursaries available to students for higher education; but most of its assistance is given in the
form of loans to student-teachers, non-white students at the Natal Medical School, and other nonwhites undergoing training which can later be put to use in the service of their own people (mainly in the "homelands", so far as Africans are concerned).

ISAACSON FOUNDATION BURSARY FUND
This fund, administered under the auspices of the Institute of Race Relations, draws its main revenue from the Isaacson Foundation, but has, during the past year, been assisted by donations from the Bantu Welfare Trust, the Oppenheimer Memorial Trust, and private companies and individuals.

Two main types of bursaries are granted.
(a) Africans from the Witwatersrand may be given grants to enable them to complete high school courses, renewal from year to year depending upon the progress made by students.

During the year ended 30 June 1966 the Trust was administering 57 such grants made in previous years, and made 83 new ones, to a total value of R8,893 (during the current year).

(b) Africans throughout the Republic may qualify for loans to enable them to take university or other post-matriculation courses. During the year mentioned above the Trust continued to administer 12 such bursaries granted previously, and granted 27 new bursaries, to a total value of R6,307. It also administered seven bursaries, worth R1,530, especially sponsored by donors.

Applicants for school bursaries are required to take ability tests, which are used for purposes of selection in conjunction with school records and essays written by the pupils, describing their personal histories and hopes for the future. The Secretary of the Fund is compiling material showing the correlation between ability test scores and the matriculation results achieved later.

RACE RELATIONS BURSARY FUND, NATAL
The committee set up by the Natal Region of the Institute of Race Relations renewed 20 previously-granted bursaries at the beginning of 1966, and granted 30 new ones. These are available to Africans, mainly students doing high school or teacher-training courses. Funds are derived from private donations and contributions from the Greenacre Memorial Trust, the Natal Native Welfare Society, and other organizations.

BANTU WELFARE TRUST
The Bantu Welfare Trust was founded by Col. James Donaldson in 1936 with the main objects of assisting in advancing the status, improving the conditions, and removing disabilities of Africans in South Africa. During the year ended 31 July 1966 it made grants totalling R28,058 to various organizations and individuals working for such ends, and advanced R800 in repatriation guarantees to enable four deserving Africans to obtain passports for advanced studies overseas. The secretarial work for this Trust is carried out by the Institute of Race Relations.
ROBERT SHAPIRO TRUST
Founded by the late Mr. Robert Shapiro in 1945 "for Bantu health training", this Trust gives loan-bursaries for medicine, nursing, health inspector's courses, and pharmacy to the value of approximately R3,000 a year. The widow of the founder is the present chairman, taking a personal interest in the recipients of bursaries. Africans from any part of South Africa are eligible, and all forms of health training are considered. The Trust is administered by the Institute of Race Relations.

OTHER FUNDS
There are other privately-sponsored bursary funds, for example those administered by the Oppenheimer Trust, NUSAS, the Transvaal United African Teachers' Association, the University Students' Bursary Committee, the South African Coloured Advancement Trust, the Indian Centenary Scholarship Trust Fund, the Indian Football Association Trust, and others.

(2) Race Relations News, March.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966

HEALTH

NOTES ON SOME PREVALENT DISEASES AND DISABILITIES

The Minister of Health said in the Assembly on 19 August(4) that the incidence of tuberculosis had increased between 1964 and 1965 so far as the Asian, Coloured, and White groups were concerned, but had shown a slight decrease among Africans. There was no shortage of beds, he added: 25,407 were available. It was stated in the Report of the Department of Health for the five years ended 31 December 1964(2) that during 1964, 543,396 doses of B.C.G. were made available to local authorities for immunisation schemes. The rates per 100,000 of population during that year were 34.9 for Whites, 458.1 for Coloured, 208.2 for Asians, and 475.5 for Africans.

The incidence of kwashiorkor in 1965, per 100,000 of population, was negligible amongst Whites, 410 among Coloured, 40 among Indians, and 980 among Africans.(4) In 1964, 13,358 African cases were notified.

The National Council for the Blind has continued its campaign (described on page 310 of the 1964 Survey) to combat trachoma, particularly in African areas where it is most prevalent, and enlists the voluntary services of ophthalmologists to carry out cataract operations.

In an address given at the Entokozweni Welfare Centre at Alexandra Township on 21 May the local Bantu Affairs Commissioner, Mr. D. A. Collen, said that the workshops for blind Africans in Roodepoort and Hammanskraal (which are subsidized by the Government) were to be transferred to new premises at Ga Rankuwa, near Pretoria. The Department of Bantu Administration and Development was conducting a sheltered employment scheme for crippled male Africans at Elandsdoorn in the Groblersdal district, and was to establish another at Malutsi in the Pietersburg district, which would take the form of a family settlement.
After making reference to the special schools for Africans (described on page 243), Mr. Collen said that the Department was employing male deaf and dumb Africans, who had received some schooling, in development projects in Bantu areas. He added that indigent Africans could apply through Bantu Affairs Commissioners for medical aids such as dentures, spectacles, crutches, wheel-chairs, and artificial limbs.

(1) Hansard 3 cols. 1051-2.
(2) R.P. 11/66 page 12.
(3) Statistical Year Book for 1965, Table D 13.
(4) From statement on behalf of Minister of Health, Assembly 16 September, Hansard 7 col. 2195.

According to the report of the Department of Health, mentioned above, among diseases that are notifiable (other than those already referred to in this chapter), the following numbers of cases were reported in 1964:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disease</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diphtheria</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1,634</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leprosy</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poliomyelitis</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typhoid</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3,027</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The high incidence of bilharzia is still causing much concern.

MENTAL HEALTH

There is still a very considerable shortage of beds for nonwhites in mental hospitals. In an article contributed to the Rand Daily Mail on 17 May a Johannesburg social worker, Miss Olive Gibson, drew attention to the fact that patients needing hospitalization were frequently detained in police cells until they could be admitted to an institution. The less serious cases, for example depressives, were often kept there longer than psychotics who needed restraint, which tended to cause a deterioration in their condition, and led to acute anxiety amongst relatives. Miss Gibson mentioned the excellent work being done by the few social workers whom the (voluntary) South African National Council for Mental Health could afford to employ, and pleaded for improved State services. Her remarks were borne out by a Durban nurse, Miss E. Barnett, in a speech published in the Natal Mercury on 21 October. She made the point that patients were being discharged before they were fully cured to make room for more acute cases.

In a Press statement published on 10 June(6) and in a further statement in the Assembly on 19 August,7) the Minister of Health said that 241 white and 4,398 non-white patients had been detained in police cells during 1965, for average periods of seven to eight days. The reasons were partly a shortage of hospital accommodation and the fact that some time must inevitably elapse between the certification of a patient and his admission to an often distant hospital. But a further reason was that many patients with transient mental disturbances caused,
for example, by dagga, recovered within a short period and were then released from custody.

There were then 5,787 beds for whites and 8,557 for nonwhites in mental hospitals, the Minister continued. During 1964, about 12,000 patients had been admitted, of whom 11,000 had been able to return to community life. Further accommodation was being provided, for example a new hospital for Africans, at Mafeking, which was to be opened in September.

(6) No. 255/66(P).
(7) Hansard 3 cols. 1048-9.
HEALTH
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A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966
GENERAL HOSPITALS
There is reported still to be an acute shortage of beds for non-whites in general hospitals; but several new provincial hospitals are in the course of construction in Coloured and Indian group areas and urban African townships. The R. K. Khan Hospital and Dispensary Trust is contributing R400,000 to the cost of a hospital being built in the Chatsworth Indian suburb of Durban.
The new responsibilities undertaken by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development for the provision of hospitals in the Reserves were described on page 285 of last year's Survey. The Minister said in the Assembly on 19 August(8) that the Department was financing the building of new hospitals in the districts of Mafeking, Kentani, Newcastle, Pietermaritzburg, and Tzaneen, which would have a combined total of 4,370 beds; and was building extensions to several mission hospitals.

DOCTORS
In a speech made in Durban during October(‘) the Administrator of Natal, Mr. T. J. A. Gerdener, said that there were about 8,000 white doctors in South Africa, but only 120 non-whites. Possibly half of the combined working time of the white medical practitioners was spent in attending non-white patients.
The Minister of Health said in the Assembly on 20 September(‘0) that his Department employed 492 White and four African district surgeons, all of the latter being stationed in the Transkei. According to Dr. S. M. Naude, chairman of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, only 20 African doctors are practising in African areas.(")
The then Minister of Bantu Administration and Development announced in February that the Government planned to establish a second medical school for Africans, to be sited at Ga Rankuwa near Pretoria.
Early in 1966 the salary scales for White doctors employed in provincial hospitals were raised. Coloured and Asian medical practitioners now receive three-fifths, and Africans two-fifths, of the amounts paid to their White colleagues.
It was reported in January(") that a Coloured man, Dr. Ralph Kester, had become a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons.
A further report, in The Star of 27 September, stated that Mr. C. V. Mutwa (the author of Indaba my Children) was writing a book disclosing the secrets and superstitions of African witch(8) Hansard 3 cols. 1067-8.
(9) Natal Mercury, 18 October.
(10) Hansard 3 col. 4216.
(12) Race Relations News, June.
(13) Rand Daily Mail, 8 January.
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doctors, and the chemical compositions of some of the medicines they use.

SALARIES OF NURSES
The writer estimated in May("(9) that the ratios between the salaries paid to nurses making comparable progress in their profession, over a period of twenty years, were 2.4 for Whites, to 1.3 for Coloured and Indians, to 1.0 for Africans.
(14) RR. 57/66.

HEALTH
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A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966
NUTRITION
RELIEF WORK BY THE GOVERNMENT
The Government is continuing its relief work in droughtstricken African areas, and its scheme for supplying powdered skimmed milk to local authorities, at a subsidized price, for sale to parents of needy pre-school children of all races. These projects were described on pages 289 and 291 of last year's Survey. According to the recent report of the Department of Health,(') 102 local authorities were participating in this scheme during 1964.

VOLUNTARY SCHEMES
Kupugani has continued to widen its network of depots at which nutritious foodstuffs are available at low prices, and its supply of cooked midday meals to industrial canteens.

It was stated in the 1966 report of the African Children's Feeding Scheme (which is based in Johannesburg) that about 45,000 Africans living in Southern Transvaal townships and farming areas are now, through this scheme, receiving a daily supplementary meal of a pint of skimmed milk and two slices of brown bread and butter. The parents contribute about one-third of the costs. Feeding depots have been established, vans tour urban townships, and the Scheme acts as buyer and guide for schools which run their own feeding schemes. A milk scheme has been initiated for pre-school children, and mothers are being taught how to feed their children properly.

The Pretoria African Children's Feeding Scheme is providing about 3,000 African children with a third of a pint of skimmed milk and a slice of whole-wheat bread daily. It, too, operates feeding centres, run by Africans, in the townships.(2) An appeal for funds to enable the scheme to be extended was made in February.
A group of business-men in Johannesburg organized by Mr. Len Apfel raises money to send milk powder, fortified soup powder, high protein biscuits, and medical supplies to voluntary relief committees operating in areas that have been drought-stricken. Such organizations include the Red Cross, the Christian Council of South Africa and individual churches and mission societies, and the Save the Children Fund.

The work of further organizations, which include the Durban Non-European Children’s Fund, the Cape Flats Distress Association, the Cape Peninsula School Feeding Association, the Service

(2) Star, 14 February.

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NUTRITION

Dining Rooms in Cape Town, the Mayors’ Committees in Port Elizabeth and East London, the Bloemfontein Joint Council, a voluntary organization in Springs, and others, has been described in previous issues of this Survey (e.g. 1964, page 322).

In Johannesburg the Congregational Church operates mobile vans which sell nutritious foodstuffs at subsidized prices in low-income group areas, and takes meals to elderly people.

THE NEED AMONG AFRICANS FOR NUTRITIONAL EDUCATION

It was pointed out in a supplement to the South African Medical Journal in October that the food-habits of urban Africans were changing for the worse. Breast-feeding of babies was giving way to the use of processed foods, which were often prepared in too dilute a form. White bread was being eaten instead of coarsely ground or lightly milled maize, and the consumption of marewu (fermented porridge) had decreased, resulting in a reduced intake of B complex vitamins. About half of Johannesburg’s urban African children were infested with parasites.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966

WELFARE

PENSION LAWS AMENDMENT ACT, No. 26 OF 1966

The Pension Laws Amendment Act contained two clauses relating to social pensions. Firstly, it increased the bonuses payable to war veterans (i.e. the sums paid additional to those received by other pensioners) from R96 to R120 a year for Whites, and from R48 to R54 a year for Coloured and Asians. Africans have never received these bonuses; but ex-gratia grants may be made to needy ex-servicemen.

Secondly, the Act provided that all Whites receiving old age or blind pensions or disability grants would, from 1 April, receive bonuses of R24 a year. No bonuses were granted to people of other racial groups.

MAXIMUM RATES OF SOCIAL PENSIONS

The maximum rates, per annum, for old age and blind pensions and disability grants are now:
### Maximum permitted pension

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Basic</th>
<th>Extra</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>192.00</td>
<td>336.00</td>
<td>24.00</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>552.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured &amp; Asians:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City</td>
<td>96.00</td>
<td>72.00</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>96.00</td>
<td>264.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-city</td>
<td>96.00</td>
<td>42.00</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>96.00</td>
<td>234.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans:</td>
<td>21.00</td>
<td>21.00</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>23.40</td>
<td>65.40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Previous city rate for Africans()</td>
<td>24.00</td>
<td>24.00</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>23.40</td>
<td>71.40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the free income rises above the figures given, the pension payable is progressively reduced. In the case of Whites, for example, no pension is payable to a person who has a private income of R552 a year or more. An exception is made in the case of a blind person: only one-half of his personal income is taken into account.

During 1966 the Institute of Race Relations published a factpaper entitled Revised Social Pensions in South Africa, by Mrs. Sheila Suttner. She dealt with the types of pensions mentioned above, and also maintenance grants, foster parents' grants, family allowances, and other forms of social relief, explaining the qualifications necessary for these to be payable.

In a concluding section Mrs. Suttner pointed out that the maximum pension payable to Africans is insufficient even to cover the cost of the minimum food budget drawn up by the Dietetics and Home Economics Section of the Government Department of Agricultural Technical Services, without allowing anything at all for rent, clothing, fuel and light, washing and cleaning materials, or any of the recognized amenities of life.

African pensioners are paid only every two months.

### NUMBERS IN THE REPUBLIC RECEIVING SOCIAL PENSIONS, AND FINANCIAL PROVISION FOR THESE

According to information given in the Assembly by the four responsible Ministers, the numbers of people in the Republic (excluding the Transkei) who were receiving social pensions in mid-1966 were:

- Old age pensions
- Blind pensions
- Disability grants
- War veterans' pensions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pensions</th>
<th>Number of needy</th>
<th>African ex-servicemen who received ex-gratia grants</th>
<th>Whites</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>92,115</td>
<td>941</td>
<td>17,362</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
19,692
Coloured
55,627 1,647 17,221
2,458
Asians
8,521 161 4,109
Africans
228,181
12,005 58,254
(It appears possible that the figures for in South-West Africa.)
In the official Estimates of Expen Account for the year ending 31 March amounts were allocated for social pensions:
Old age Blind
Disability War Veterans Needy African ex-servicemen
Whites
R
33,880,000
350,000 6,620,000 9,135,000
R49,985,000
Coloured
R
8,800,000
260,000 2,578,000
475,000
12,113,000
Africans include people
diture from 1967,<3) the
Indians
R
1,420,000
29,600 865,000 20,200
2,334,800
Revenue following
Africans
R
9,111,000
472,800 2,502,000
15,000
12,100,800
(2) 30 August and 2 September, Hansard 5 cols. 1664-5, 1920.
(3) R.P. 1/66 pages 115, 221, 299, 312.
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The amount voted for Africans included R353,000 for Africans in South-West Africa.

SOCIAL PENSIONS IN THE TRANSKEI

The information that follows, relating to the 1964-5 financial year, was given in the Report of the Controller and Auditor General on the Transkeian Accounts.(4)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of beneficiaries</th>
<th>Total sum spent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old age pensions</td>
<td>34,138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blind pensions</td>
<td>1,801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disability grants</td>
<td>15,633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leprosy allowances</td>
<td>472,991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Needy ex-servicemen</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R1,686,782

PRIVATE PENSIONS SCHEMES

During 1966 several further private organizations have introduced retirement pension schemes for their non-white employees, including the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation and Dunlop South Africa Ltd.

ELDERLY AND/OR INFIRM AFRICANS

Urban areas

In an address given at Alexandra Township on 21 May the Local Bantu Affairs Commissioner, Mr. D. A. Collen, said that in special circumstances only (each case being treated on its merits) were elderly Africans who were no longer able to fend for themselves allowed to remain in urban African townships. This might be permitted if they had children there who were willing to accommodate and support them. In general, however, the Government's policy was that old people should return to the homelands, to live with relations, or to accommodation in one of the new townships, or to special settlements provided by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development.

There are still a few old age homes in urban townships, for example one in East London which is financed by the municipality. It will eventually be moved to the "homeland" township of Mdantsane. The Adcock Homes in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, and the Emuseni Home in Pietermaritzburg, both of which were built by private initiative, were still being subsidized by the State.

(4) T.G. 1966, page 16.

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in mid-1966.0) Residents of a home established at Atteridgeville, Pretoria, by the Rotary Club will have to move to Ga Rankuwa. The Orlando Home in Johannesburg, and the Bantu Refuge in Germiston, have both been closed. The organization which ran the Bantu Refuge is to continue in being, however, with the object of providing whatever assistance is possible for elderly Africans throughout the country.

Settlements established or subsidized by the Department in Bantu areas

In recent years a special sum has been voted annually by Parliament for the establishment of settlements for aged, indigent, and unfit Africans who have no
relatives in the Reserves with whom they can stay. An amount of R200,000 was set aside for this purpose for the 1966-7 financial year."

One or two "transit camps" were established as a temporary measure: the one at Mount Coke was described on page 296 of last year's Survey. Its residents are to be moved to a permanent settlement. Another existed at Sada near Queenstown.

As at Mount Coke, the amenities provided were rudimentary. The Minister said in the Assembly on 9 August that 560 families were living there (all voluntarily) in prefabricated wooden or asbestos huts, or structures of wood and iron. Rents were remitted for those who were indigent, but families who could afford to do so paid R1.45 a month. Able-bodied men were employed on Departmental projects in the vicinity. A district surgeon visited the camp weekly. This camp, the Minister added, was being converted into a township for the resettlement of displaced persons and pensioners.

In the address mentioned earlier, Mr. Collen mentioned the following refuges for destitute aged and chronic sick Africans:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Already established</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Number of beds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khatuthselo</td>
<td>Sibasa</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matlala</td>
<td>Nebo</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montebello</td>
<td>Ndwedwe</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gelukspan</td>
<td>Lichtenburg</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nompumelela</td>
<td>Peddie</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metz</td>
<td>Tzaneen</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nkandla</td>
<td>Nkandla</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groothoek</td>
<td>Zebediela</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onbekend</td>
<td>Pietersburg</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(5) Letter P 11514 dated 6 May from the Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development.
(6) R.P. 1/66 page 313.
(7) Hansard 2 cols. 414-5.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966

According to a letter received from the Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development, these refuges are run by missionary societies and subsidized by the Department to the extent of 30 cents per inmate per day. No rents as such are charged, but those in receipt of pensions are expected to make some contribution towards their maintenance. In needy cases the Department supplies rations and blankets.

Mr. Collen said three of these institutions—Matlala, Gelukspan, and Nompumelela—also can accommodate (between them) 700 aged Africans who are not chronically ill. In addition, there is a small old age settlement called Boiketlong at Thaba 'Nchu, which can house 30 people.
Swazi people in Pretoria have raised money to build another old age settlement at Klipplaatdrift, near Groblersdal, on land made available by the Department of Welfare services by Bantu Authorities in Bantu areas.

In 1959 the Government decided that, instead of raising the rates of African pensions (as was done for members of other racial groups) it would create a trust fund for welfare services to be provided by Bantu Authorities in Bantu areas. Since then, Parliament has voted amounts to be paid into this fund annually (R545,000 was allocated in 1966-70e).

It transpires, from information given by the Minister in the Assembly on 16 September,(1) that the expenditure has so far been on the provision of food and better living conditions for aged and disabled persons in the "homelands" who cannot be catered for adequately by relatives, and are not living in one of the settlements listed above. Very little money from this trust fund was used during the first few years, but expenditure is mounting: R870,744 was spent in 1964-5, and R1,935,469 in 1965-6. The estimated balance in the fund at 31 March 1966 was R1,827,182.

In some cases, elderly people are given rent-free dwellings in the residential areas of planned rural locations.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

Under the Workmen's Compensation Act (which applies in South-West Africa as well as South Africa) a workman—including a farm labourer—who is injured in the course of his duties is entitled to monetary compensation, as are his relatives should he die. Medical expenses are paid for up to two years, or for longer if further medical or surgical treatment could lessen the degree of disability. The onus is on the employer to notify the Workmen's Compensation Commissioner of an accident. It sometimes happens that, by the time a decision is reached in regard to a claim, the workman cannot be traced. In such cases, after twelve months, the unclaimed sums are placed in a special account, and the names of the persons concerned, and the sums due to each, are published in the Government Gazette. Four such lists have been gazetted during the year under review, on 17 December 1965, and 11 March, 17 June, and 30 September 1966.

Most of the names contained in these lists are those of Africans. An analysis by the writer of the March and June lists, for example, showed the names of 2,916 Africans, as against 482 White, Coloured, and Asian workmen. In many cases the sums owing to the Africans were small ones (although doubtless would have been welcomed by the persons concerned); but amounts in excess of R50 were owing to 182 Africans, the maximum amount being R1,486.97.

It appears that there are two main reasons for this state of affairs. The first is that many employers do not keep proper records of their employees, and, when submitting claims on behalf of African workmen, are sometimes unable to give
anything more than the man's first name. (The relevant forms make provision for the full name, sex, age, and national identity number to be stated.) The second reason arises from the migrant labour system. A casual labourer, hired perhaps by the day, may become frightened after an accident occurs and return to relatives in a rural area, leaving no forwarding address. When the Workmen's Compensation Commissioner is unable, through the employer, to trace an African to whom money is owing, the amount is sent to the Bantu Affairs Commissioner or magistrate with jurisdiction in the area where the man was employed at the date of the accident. This official then tries to trace him at his last-known address or through the labour bureau; but, as is evident, such efforts are frequently unsuccessful.

Organizations such as the Institute of Race Relations, the National Council for the Care of Cripples, the Black Sash, and others have become increasingly concerned about this matter, and, at their request, the Press has co-operated by publishing extracts from the official lists in newspapers likely to circulate in areas where the Africans concerned live. The official publication Bantu gave prominence to the matter in its May issue. In reply to a letter from the Institute of Race Relations the Workmen's Compensation Commissioner replied, on 18 January, that he shared the feeling of concern.

Various suggestions have been made (for example, by the Institute) that it should be rendered compulsory for employers to keep records of next-of-kin; and, by Tucsa, that medical officers be made responsible for notifying the Commissioner of industrial accidents.

During a debate in the Assembly on 30 August and 2 September(11) the Minister of Labour gave the following figures:

(11) Hansard 5 cols. 1669, 1917.

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A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966
1964 1965
Amounts falling due during the year R7,722,093 R8,770,378
Total paid out in compensation and
medical expenses ........ R7,665,740 R8,687,595
Total unclaimed at end of year . R56,353 R82,783
Number of persons who had not claimed sums due:
Africans ............ 4,607 4,505
Others .............. 1,367 1,511

The Minister added that a pilot scheme had been tried out with certain employers of more than 100 workmen, in terms of which if a man was temporarily or permanently totally disabled the employer made him immediate payments, which were subsequently refunded by the Commissioner. This scheme would probably be extended, and speedier methods for the payment of awards in cases of fatal accidents were also under consideration.
Later, on 11 October, the Minister said that he hoped to introduce legislation during 1967 to improve the machinery for dealing with workmen's compensation.

THE DIVISION OF WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS ALONG RACIAL LINES

It was reported in April that, through the various regional welfare boards, the Department of Social Welfare had suggested to the approximately 2,100 registered welfare organizations that they should constitute themselves along separate racial lines.

Later, in August, the Department sent a circular to each organization setting out the Government's policy.

(a) The Government is opposed to multi-racial organizations.

(b) Non-white welfare societies should be established for the various racial groups, and be given the opportunity of developing side by side with the corresponding white societies. They should be encouraged (initially under the guidance and with the advice of white societies) to unite, by affiliation, into fully independent national welfare organizations for each racial group.

(c) National councils and executive committees, as well as local committees, of existing mixed bodies should consist of whites only; and only whites should attend annual meetings.

(d) As interim measures, one or two members of the white executive committee could, if so requested, attend meetings of a non-white executive committee to effect liaison and to be able to acquaint the whites with the views of the non-whites. The white executive could invite a representative of a non-white organization to attend a committee meeting when a matter specifically affecting the non-whites was being dealt with.

(12) Hansard 11 col. 3998.

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(e) Should it be necessary or essential for the non-white organization to be represented at an annual meeting, its representative must be a white person.

Welfare organizations were warned that if they did not comply with Government policy, Government officials would no longer attend their meetings or give assistance. The organizations were asked to furnish the Department with details relating to their racial composition! 3)

A senior departmental official is reported to have said that the process of division would be a gradual one. The final separation would not be enforced until the various non-white branches of any organization were able to administer them efficiently. It was made clear by the Southern Transvaal Regional Welfare Board, however, that no new "mixed" organizations would be registered.1) (It is illegal for a welfare organization to accept money from the public unless it is registered.) The National Council for the Blind—which previously had a "mixed" executive committee—decided to amend its constitution so as to conform with the Government's policy; but to make arrangements for continued consultation between affiliated white and non-white societies.
The National Council for Child Welfare already had a Standing Committee for Non-European Work, which held its meetings separately from those of the White societies. This Standing Committee is now to divide into three groups—to represent Coloured, Indian and African societies respectively. A process had already commenced in the South African National Tuberculosis Association of forming tuberculosis-care groups among non-white communities, which maintained close liaison with the local branch of the association. The S.A. National Council for the Welfare of the Aged has amended its constitution in accordance with the directive, but has decided to encourage the establishment of non-white organizations to serve people of their own group, and to assist such organizations in every possible way. At the time of writing, the full effects of the Government's decision are not known.

TRANSVAAL CO-ORDINATING COUNCIL OF INDIAN SOCIAL WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS
Especially in Johannesburg, there has for long been a large number of Indian welfare organizations, some of them of an exclusive nature, working along uncoordinated lines. One of the largest of them in JISWA (the Johannesburg Indian Social Welfare
(13) Sunday Express, 23 October.
(14) Race Relations News, June.
(15) Sunday Express, 24 July.
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Association), whose chairman is Mr. Quintin Whyte (Director of the Institute of Race Relations). During November 1965, JISWA arranged a conference of Indian organizations at which it was decided to establish a Co-ordinating Council. A draft constitution was thereafter drawn up, which was approved at a subsequent meeting in July, at which Mr. I. F. H. Mayet presided. The objects, inter alia, are to encourage a progressive policy in Indian welfare in the Transvaal, to initiate additional services required by the community, and, generally, to promote the co-ordination of Indian social welfare activities. The Institute of Race Relations is the honorary secretariat of the council.

COURSE FOR WORKERS IN VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS
During March, the Institute of Race Relations arranged a course for voluntary workers, which was attended by some 40 persons of all races, although mainly non-white. Lectures were given, followed by discussions on practical problems encountered. The papers (obtainable in bound form or separately from the Institute) were:
Mrs. Beryl Unterhalter: "The Non-European Voluntary Organization To-day: Its Particular Needs, Problems, and Opportunities"
Mr. Ian Bernhardt: "Fund Raising" Miss J. Pike: "Additional Notes on Fund Raising" Mr. K. E. Ducat: "How to Handle Money" Dr. T. R. Seawright: "Case
Work" Mrs. D. Stewart: "The Role of the Volunteer" Mr. E. J. Jammine: "Programmes of Activity for Non-European Welfare Organizations"
Mrs. N. Welch: "Contact and Co-Ordination" Mrs. M. Britten: "The Committee"
Mrs. H. Loots: "Public Speaking" Mrs. G. Le Roy: "Publicity and Press Appeals"
Mr. H. Ferreira: "Forms of Government Help and the Rules Applying to Voluntary Organizations"
The Rev. J. D. Smith: "The Psychology of Working Together".

RECREATION

PAINTING, DRAWING, AND SCULPTURE
Several non-white artists have figured prominently in the news during 1966, particularly Louis Maqhubela of Johannesburg, who won the first prize in South Africa's annual "Artists of Fame and Promise" competition, which was held at the Adler-Fielding Galleries during July. His crayon drawing of "Peter's Denial" was adjudged the best of some 900 entries. Mr. Maqhubela had, shortly before this, completed a large mosaic for a bank. Among the persons (mainly White) who won other awards at this competition were Andrew Motjuoadi of Pretoria and Amos Langdown, a Coloured artist from Paarl.
Sidney Kumalo of Johannesburg had three of his sculptures accepted for the Biennale exhibition in Venice. Of four drawings by "Dumile" (Mr. M. Zweli-Dumile Mxgaji), accepted at the Transvaal Academy in 1965, two have been bought by the South African National Gallery in Cape Town.

WRITING
During August, two plays by Dr. Ansuyah Singh were published-Cobwebs in the Garden, and A Tomb for Thy Kingdom. Dr. Singh (in private life Mrs. Ashwin Choudree) is a medical practitioner in Durban.
Another novel by Peter Abrahams, entitled This Island Now, has been published by Faber. One of his earlier works, Tell Freedom, is banned in South Africa.
In an article contributed to the Rand Daily Mail on 13 August, Miss Nadine Gordimer (the distinguished South African novelist) pointed out that most South African non-white writers of any note are now overseas, and the names of most of them are on the lists of persons whose works are banned in this country. The banned persons include Lewis Nkosi, Alex la Guma, Dennis Brutus, Todd Matshikiza, "Bloke" Modisane, Ezekiel Mphahlele, and Can Themba. An individual book by Alfred Hutchinson, Road to Ghana, may not be distributed in the Republic.
With the exception of Mr. la Guma, Mr. Brutus, and Mr. Hutchinson, Miss Gordimer said, none of these men has ever been accused of involvement in practical politics. The banning of their writings deprives those in the Republic of reading "the major part of the only record, set down by talented and self-analytical people, of what Black South Africans ... think and feel about their lives and those of their fellow White South Africans".
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1966

APARTHEID IN LIBRARIES
In most areas there have been separate library facilities for whites and non-whites; but, until recent years, this was not the case in certain towns of the Cape Province, in particular the central part of Cape Town.
A Provincial Ordinance of 1955, however, provided that separate facilities must be provided in any free library service in an urban area. The Cape Town City Council was reluctant to introduce apartheid in certain libraries that were extensively used by non-whites as well as whites, for example in the central-city, Woodstock, and Wynberg areas; but has now been forced to do so under threat of the withdrawal of provincial subsidies1)

ENTERTAINMENT
Achievements by non-whites
At the end of June, Sikalo, the first musical to be created and directed entirely by Africans, was presented before a white audience in Johannesburg. Gibson Kente wrote the book, lyrics, and music, and was co-producer with Meshack Mosia.
Among other events of note was a performance of Judas Maccabaeus by the (African) Ionian choir and orchestra, conducted by Khabi Mngoma, in the Johannesburg Anglican Cathedral during July.
Ken Gampu from Germiston, who has played in several films, gained an international reputation through his performance in Dingaka, and was offered a leading role in an American film The Scalp Hunters, to be made in Mexico.
The activities of the (Coloured) Eoan Group, the (African) Dorkay House complex, the (Indian) Shah Theatre Academy, and other groups, outlined on page 300 of last year's Survey, have been continued.

Apartheid in entertainment
The provisions of Proclamation R 26 of 1965, and the confusion that resulted in the fields of entertainment and sport, were described on page 303 of last year's Survey. In terms of this proclamation, mixed audiences or mixed casts are prohibited at places of public entertainment except under the authority of a permit; and, unless a permit is obtained, a public hall in a group area proclaimed for members of one racial group cannot be hired by members of any other group.
In a letter to the National Council of Women, the Secretary for Community Development said that the proclamation had been issued in accordance with the Government's policy of separate and
(1) Cape Times, 4 May and 16 November.
(2) Quoted in N.C.W. News, July.

RECREATION
parallel development of the different racial groups. The aim was that every community should be served by its own members in its own areas in all spheres, including that of entertainment.
A permit for an inter-racial function would not be granted unless refusal would result in undue hardship, or unless its issue was in the interests of the racial group.
for which a group area had been proclaimed. Every application would, therefore, be considered on its merits, and conditions might be stipulated.

Mrs. Helen Suzman, M.P., questioned the Minister of Community Development about the refusal of a permit for Indian entertainers to perform before an audience of Whites and Indians, or of Whites only, in Johannesburg; and was informed that his policy was that only in exceptional cases of well-established nonwhite entertainment groups would permission be granted for them to appear before whites0")

In two "borderline" cases during the past year officials of the Department refused permits, but these were subsequently granted as "provisional measures" after fresh representations had been made (in the first case, in an appeal to the Minister). The conditions stipulated that no social mixing should take place, and that separate toilet and other facilities should be available. In the first of these cases, the S.A.B.C.'s Director of Programmes had requested permission for the Coloured baritone, Victor Swartz, to sing with the S.A.B.C. orchestra in a concert in a Coloured township. In the second, the Coloured pianist, Jan Volkwyn, was eventually allowed to play in one item in a concert given by the Johannesburg Symphony Orchestra, also in a Coloured group area.(4)

Some traditional "mixed" entertainments have had to be abandoned. As one example, the Cape Town branch of the Union of Jewish Women has, for twenty years, organized an annual concert to which physically handicapped and underprivileged children and orphans of all races have been invited. Well-known entertainers gave their services, there was community singing, and refreshments were provided. The Mayor and other dignitaries were usually present. In 1965, this concert was permitted subject to numerous provisos—that there should be separate entrances to the City Hall for the white and the non-white children and separate seating, and that the non-whites should not receive refreshments. In 1966, a permit was refused. The Union of Jewish Women then decided to arrange separate parties at the various homes for nonwhite children.(5)

Decisions by the British Equity
As mentioned on page 276 of the 1963 Survey, the Council of the British Actors' Equity Association decided in May of that year, as a provisional measure, that members should refuse engagements in South Africa unless their contracts provided for performances before mixed audiences or, if local laws or regulations made this impossible, before both white and non-white audiences separately, but, wherever this could be arranged, in the same theatre.

At a subsequent meeting, held in January, Equity modified this policy, although reiterating its opposition to apartheid. Actors would no longer be penalized if they accepted engagements during which the conditions mentioned above were not
fulfilled; but Equity would not negotiate contracts for such tours, and the actors would go on their own responsibility, without the support and protection of their union. More than 2,000 of the approximately 11,500 members are, however, reported to have signed a declaration that they will not visit South Africa unless they can appear before multi-racial audiences.()

"Piracy" clause of the Copyright Act

Section 50(3) of the Copyright Act of 1965 is designed to prevent playwrights and musicians from prohibiting the performance of their works in South Africa on ideological grounds (as many have done). It enables the Minister of Economic Affairs to authorize the performance of such works, subject to the payment to the author of reasonable remuneration.

The P.E.N. Club of South Africa, together with the South African Association of Theatre Managers and the South African Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers of Music urged the Minister not to exercise these powers unless after consultation with them. (7)

THE USE OF CIVIC HALLS AND OTHER PREMISES BY RACIALLY DISQUALIFIED PERSONS

Early in 1966 the Secretary for Community Development reminded local authorities that permits from his Department were required before municipal halls situated in group areas allocated to any particular racial group could be hired by persons of any other group.

The Department requires at least fourteen days' notice before reaching a decision on an application for a permit. Confusion has frequently resulted when people who are not aware of the implications of the regulations make late applications. During October, for example, a lecture for medical practitioners was to have been held in a Cape Town hotel. Four days beforehand, it occurred to the organizers that, as two Coloured doctors were to be present, they might need a permit. Departmental officials refused the application. On appeal, the Minister reversed this decision; but by then

(6) Rand Daily Mail, 27 January.

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some of the doctors had been told about the initial refusal, and the sponsors decided to cancel the lecture.08)

In the past, Coloured people of Cape Town have been able to hire municipal halls for wedding receptions, dances, and other large social gatherings, but permits for the use of halls in white group areas are now often refused; and much red tape is involved. The Coloured management committees have been urging that suitable halls be erected in Coloured group areas, and that, meanwhile, permits be granted without hindrance for Coloured people to use town halls in areas such as Wynberg, Maitland, and Woodstock.09)

As the Department has emphasized, each case is decided on its merits; but, according to the opinion of various counsel, it is unnecessary to apply for a permit to hold a private inter-racial entertainment (whether this is held on premises ordinarily or sometimes open to the public or not) provided that only especially
invited guests are admitted. Nor is a permit necessary for a fete or bazaar that is open to members of various racial groups provided that there are no side-shows or other forms of entertainment. Refreshments may be consumed at an inter-racial function to which the public is admitted unless their provision amounts to entertainment, or unless the function is held in a club, or unless the refreshments are consumed by people as customers in circumstances ordinarily involving the use of seating accommodation. If a hall in, for example, a White group area is to be hired for a bazaar, the person or organization hiring it must be of the White group.

The United States of America and the British diplomatic and consular representatives have continued to hold inter-racial receptions at their homes to mark days of national importance, serving only soft drinks if Africans are present. In recent years, South African Government representatives have not accepted invitations to these parties.

**SPORT**

Government Department of Sport and Recreation

In terms of Proclamation 191 of 1 July, a Government Department of Sport and Recreation was created. Mr. F. W. Waring was appointed as Minister of this Department.

According to statements by Mr. Waring and by the Secretary of the Department, it will not participate in negotiations over South Africa's position in international sport. The Department's objects are to co-operate with sporting and recreation organizations in regard to the improvement of administration, arranging tours, and extending training and coaching facilities. It aims to encourage more people to participate in sport, and to promote hiking, mountain climbing, informal cycling, and adventure trips.

International Games

Three delegates from the South African Olympic and National Games Association (SAONGA), including its president, Mr. Frank Braun, attended a meeting of the International Olympics Committee (I.O.C.) which was held in Rome during April. According to various Press reports, they assured the committee that SAONGA upheld the Olympic principle that all citizens should have an equal opportunity for selection in international events.

Mr. Braun and his colleagues reported on remarks made by the Minister of the Interior to the effect that, while the Government would not change its decision that racially mixed teams would not be allowed to represent South Africa overseas, there would be no objection to the selection of non-white teams to represent the nonwhites of the Republic, and of white teams to represent the whites. The Minister suggested that a small body consisting of whites and non-whites in equal numbers, presided over by the president of SAONGA, be formed.
to bring to the notice of the SAONGA selection committee the names of non-whites who might qualify for inclusion in a team. Mr. Braun said that it would be necessary for non-white sports associations to unite into one organization for each Olympic sport. (There is still dissension, notably among non-white soccer and boxing bodies, one of the main causes being the question as to whether or not non-white clubs should accept the Government's policy of apartheid in sport.([2]))

A representative of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC) who is now living in Cairo went to Rome to represent the views of his committee; but was, apparently, not invited to give evidence.(!)

The I.O.C. decided to send a delegation to South Africa early in 1967 to investigate the position of non-whites in sport, the delegation to be composed of the president, Mr. Avery Brundage, or his representative, and two African members. He will report its findings to the next I.O.C. executive committee meeting, to be held in Teheran, at which it will be decided whether or not South Africa should be invited to participate in the Olympic Games to be held in Mexico City during 1968, and, possibly, whether South Africa should be allowed to continue to be a member of the I.O.C.(14)

Earlier, in February, the British Athletes' Club decided by (11) Star, 27 and 30 April; Cape Times, 28 April.
(13) Star, 27 April.
(14) South African Digest, 4 November.

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majority vote not to compete in South Africa unless complete freedom from racial discrimination is guaranteed.1)

Rugby

Dr. Verwoerd's decision in regard to the inclusion of Maoris in future All-Black rugby teams touring the Republic was described on page 311 of the 1965 Survey. It was reported in December 1965(1) that the Government had rejected a request by Dr. Danie Craven, president of the South African Rugby Board, that his Board be permitted to invite a "representative" All-Black team to visit South Africa in 1967. The New Zealand Rugby Union was, thus, invited to send a team "on the same basis as in the past" (implying the exclusion of Maoris); but such an invitation was refused.([7])

During February the National Council of the New Zealand Federation of Labour decided to recommend to a national trade union conference that all sporting teams in New Zealand chosen on a racial basis should be refused service (e.g. in hotels, aircraft, buses, on railways, etc.). The national conference, held in May, endorsed this recommendation(!)

In August, the Minister of the Interior refused permission for a combined rugby team from the Universities of Cape Town and Stellenbosch to visit Japan, stating that his Government did not wish to do anything that "may later disturb the
existing friendly relations" between the two countries. The Japanese Rugby Union had offered to pay all expenses!9)

Boxing
For some years the S.A. Non-European Amateur Boxing Association has been affiliated to the S.A. (White) Amateur Boxing Association (SAABA), with a joint liaison committee. (There is a smaller, mainly non-white, S.A. Boxing Union which stands for non-racialism.) In 1966, SAABA decided to send a team of white boxers to tour Britain, and a team of non-whites to tour Italy. It offered to assist the non-white tour on a R for R basis to a maximum of R3,000 provided that the two rival non-white groups reached agreement in regard to trials, so that all amateur boxers would have the opportunity of gaining selection."10"
The Government approved this plan, and after trials held during October a team of twelve non-white boxers and three officials was chosen. They were to have left on 23 November, but the tour was postponed because of the disaster caused by floods in Italy.

(15) Natal Mercury, 18 February.
(17) Rand Daily Mail, 26 February.
(18) Star, 23 February and Natal Mercury, 6 May.
(19) Star, 30 August.
(20) Star, 4 August, 5 October, and 14 November.

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Golf
It has been mentioned in previous years that, because of his international reputation, the Government granted permits for the Indian golfer, Mr. "Papwa" Sewgolum, to play in Open tournaments in South Africa provided that he was not allowed to enter the club-house at the course concerned.
This policy was altered in 1966, and on several occasions permits were refused. Finally, in response to an approach by the S.A. Golf Union, the Government agreed that for the time being "Papwa" could play in any tournament in which he had competed up to the end of 1965, but not in others. The Minister of Planning is reported(21) to have said that Mr. Sewgolum's future participation in any White tournament "will receive my attention at a suitable time". In consequence, Mr. Sewgolum played in the Professional Golfers' Association Tournament, and in the Natal and South African Open tournaments, but was debarred from the Transvaal, Western Province, and other championships. Selected top-ranking golfers qualify automatically to play in the Carling World Championships, but others who wish to participate must earn adequate points in qualifying tournaments. In South Africa, five mandatory events are chosen by the Professional Golfers' Association. Mr. Sewgolum was prevented from playing in two of these. Nevertheless, at the special request of the Association, he was invited to take part in the world championships. It was stated that White golfers
feared that they might eventually be excluded from this event for, under the Carling system, no-one can be debarred on ground of race, colour, or creed.2) When "Papwa" played in the Professional Golfers' tournament, officials of the Department of Community Development were present to keep white and non-white spectators apart,(23) but the Department refused a permit to enable non-whites to watch the South African Open competition.

Soccer
The Government's policy that non-whites should be debarred from watching National Football League and other important soccer matches has been increasingly strictly applied.
The various bodies controlling soccer in South Africa were described on page 338 of the 1964 Survey. The (White) Football Association of South Africa remains suspended from the International body, FIFA; consequently South Africans cannot play in international competitions.
(21) Rand Daily Mail, 8 January.
(22) Ibid, 31 January and 17 May.
(23) Ibid, 7 January.

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Tennis
A Soviet proposal for the exclusion of South Africa from the International Lawn Tennis Association was defeated by a substantial margin at a meeting of this association held in Basle during July and, in terms of the constitution, the question cannot again be raised until 1968. Meanwhile, the S.A. Lawn Tennis Union renewed a suggestion that the two non-white bodies (for Coloured and Indians, and for Africans) should become affiliated to it, and has offered coaching facilities and other assistance.24)

Cricket
Some years ago the well-known cricketer, Basil D'Oliveira, left South Africa because, as a Coloured man, he could not hope to gain selection for important matches. During 1966 he played with distinction for Britain in a Test series against the West Indies. Later, he visited the Republic to coach non-white cricketers.

APARTHEID ON BEACHES
Legal position
The Minister of Planning said in the Assembly on 8 February(2") that local authorities were the only statutory bodies who, in terms of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953, could in their discretion, reserve beaches for the different racial groups.

As mentioned on page 57, an Amendment Bill was published during 1966 which would have enabled the Government, inter alia, to compel local authorities to zone the beaches in their areas, but consideration of this Bill was postponed.
In January 1965 the Minister of Planning appointed a committee headed by Mr. P. H. Torlage, M.P., to make recommendations in regard to the allocation of beaches in the Cape Province. This committee consists of nominees of the Minister and
the Administrator, together with one person appointed by the local authority in whose area it is sitting. In the Cape, such local authorities consist of municipalities or village management boards, and elsewhere, Divisional Councils. At the time of writing, the committee has not completed its work, but has made suggestions to the Minister in regard to large stretches of the coast-line of the Cape Province. After considering these reports, the Minister has made recommendations to the local authorities concerned. Most of them have accepted the recommendations, but a few have made objections or have delayed decisions.

(24) Star, 8 July.

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The Atlantic coast and False Bay area
On 6 December 1965 the Minister published his recommendations for the zoning of parts of the Atlantic coast and False Bay areas. These did not cover the northern part of the Atlantic coast, around Saldanha Bay and in the Malmesbury and Piketberg districts. A few controversial beaches, adjoining land as yet unzoned under the Group Areas Act, or traditionally used by Coloured people, were not included. The municipalities or divisional councils concerned were asked to accept the recommendations and to erect appropriate notice-boards. The main beaches allocated to Coloured people were a stretch well to the north of Robben Island (north of Ou Skip); a beach to the north of Hout Bay, part of the Strandfontein beach (to the north of False Bay), and Macassar (further east). Elsewhere along the Peninsula Coast, small stretches of the coast have been set aside for Coloured, sometimes on a temporary basis for three years, after which the matter will be reviewed, and sometimes for the use only of bona fide servants employed in the locality. There are similar small beaches for African servants and a longer stretch for Africans near the Coloured one at Strandfontein. Here, too, are segments demarcated for Indians and Chinese. Neutral ground is left between racially zoned beaches.

Nearly all of the most attractive beaches have, however, been allocated to Whites. It was reported(26) that some of the Coloured beaches are dangerous and that others are at present difficult of access.

The Cape Town City Council, which controls much of the Atlantic coast-line of the Peninsula, considered that the beaches recommended for Coloured people in its area were totally inadequate, and has been averse to the erection of notice-boards or to enforced segregation, preferring to try to attract people to various beaches by providing facilities for them there. It asked the Minister of Planning to receive a deputation; but he refused to do so until the Council had indicated clearly whether or not it accepted the principle of separation.(27)

Coastline from The Strand eastward to the George area
Further recommendations, covering parts of the southern portion of the Western Cape coastline, were made public during October. They follow much the same pattern as that described above. Again there are but short stretches of beach for Coloured, and in a few places for Africans, sometimes for bona fide domestic
servants only; and in many cases (e.g. at Palmiet River, a small area between Cape Hangklip and Hermanus) the non-whites will have to travel some distance to reach them. According to Dr. Oscar Wollheim, M.P.C. for the area, it is only within the past
(26) e.g. Rand Daily Mail, 8 December 1965.
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ten years or so that Whites have been going to Palmiet River, while it has been frequented by Coloured visitors for some sixty years.008)

Port Elizabeth

The Minister's recommendations in regard to Port Elizabeth were made in December 1965. These were accepted by the Divisional Council, subject to a few minor amendments; but the City Council asked for time during which to consider the suggestions for the area under its control. During the months that followed it raised various objections and suggested alterations to the plan, which were not acceptable to the Government. Eventually, during October, the City Council's Parks Department came to the conclusion that further objections would be profitless. Once more, the main, developed beaches are to be set aside for Whites, but there will be stretches of the seashore for Coloured, Malays, Chinese, Africans, and Indians, separated by buffer strips.(29

East London

Thus far, the Minister has made no recommendations in regard to the zoning of beaches in East London.

Natal

In the Assembly on 8 February, the Minister stated3") that the stretch of about five miles of beach from Durban harbour north to the Umgeni River had been reserved for Whites, except for two areas, each about 500 yards long, allocated to Indians and Coloured, respectively. The Indians would have Isipingo Beach to the south of the city; and the coastline bordering on Indian and Coloured group areas at Merebank could be developed for these people.

Mr. G. F. van L. Froneman, M.P., of the Bantu Affairs Commission, added on 11 October31) that on the entire South Coast of Natal there were only two places where Africans could enjoy beach facilities-at a small area at Umgababa, where bathing is dangerous and at a resort to be developed at Turton, adjoining the Umzinto Reserve near Port Shepstone, which has been declared a released area under the Trust and Land Act. The Department will purchase the properties of some ten to twelve permanent White residents.

A holiday resort is to be developed by African professional men who have been granted the lease of three acres belonging to the Umnini Trust, near Umgababa.

Two African holiday camps
(29) Eastern Province Herald, 15 October.
(30) Hansard 3 cols. 992-3.
(3t) Assembly Hansard 11 col. 3922.
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are already established on the Ngagane River, which enters the sea at this point. The business-men plan to establish a luxury hotel here.

LESEDING YOUTH HOSTELS ASSOCIATION
During 1965, Africans established the Leseding Youth Hostels Association, which has already organized tours, and hopes to establish a network of routes enabling young Africans to tour the country, staying in village huts, missions, and private houses.

PUBLICATIONS BY THE INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS
The Institute of Race Relations is shortly to publish two booklets, both by Mrs. Sheila Suttner, its Research Assistant. The first, entitled: Egoli: A Guide to Johannesburg for Africans, illustrated by Mrs. Barbara Findlay, contains comprehensive information about recreational and local travel facilities, medical and legal aid facilities, recreational amenities, bursary funds, workmen's compensation, the pass laws, and numerous other matters. Assistance was given by two African students, Mr. M. J. Chochoe and Mr. Lucas Siwele. The second booklet, to be entitled A South African Holiday Guide for Non-Whites, will describe holiday resorts, travel facilities, and related matters. (32) Bantu, April.

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SOUTH WEST AFRICA
DECISIONS BY THE INTERNATIONAL COURT AND THE UNITED NATIONS
These matters are dealt with on page 108 et seq.

ODENDAAL COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATIONS
Recommendations by the Odendaal Commission for the future of South-West Africa and for a first five-year development plan were described on page 362 of the 1964 Survey. It was suggested, inter alia, that over this first period the South African Government should make R 114,450,000 available in loan funds and, in addition, should meet the deficit on the territory's ordinary budget, estimated at R41,000,000.

In 1965 the then Prime Minister appointed a special committee of experts on the affairs of the territory, under the chairmanship of Mr. J. G. H. van der Wath, M.P., Deputy Minister for SouthWest African Affairs. The latter is reported(1) to have said during September, that, with the exception of the Kunene scheme, the first five-year plan was well up to date.

KUNENE SCHEME
One of the recommendations of the Odendaal Commission was that a hydro-electric scheme, to cost some R49,000,000, be constructed at the Ruacana Falls on the Kunene River (which forms part of the border between South-West Africa and Angola), and that a link-up be made between an Angolan power station at Matala and the South-West African electric grid. The Deputy Minister said in the Assembly on 21 September(2) that a South-West African Water and Electricity
Corporation had been set up to conduct negotiations with the Portuguese authorities and to carry out technical surveys.

SOCIAL SERVICES
Mr. van der Wath went on to say(3) the Commission had recommended that, by 1970, educational facilities should be available for 8,000 Coloured children and 73,000 Africans (this figure, for Africans, would represent 60 per cent of the children of schoolgoing age). By 1965, there were 8,578 Coloured pupils attending school, and 58,000 Africans: greater progress had been made than

(1) Star, 22 September.
(2) Hansard 8 col. 2623.
(3) Col. 2637.

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the Commission envisaged. Between 1962 and 1965 the numbers of children in high schools had increased from 181 to 471 in the case of Coloured, and from 147 to 701 for Africans. Later,(4) the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development and of Bantu Education stated that during the first five-year period, 530 new classrooms, and hostels buildings costing about R750,000 would be provided.
A hospital had been completed at Oshakati in Ovamboland, the Minister continued, costing more than R2,000,000. New townships for Africans were being built at various places in the northern sector.

OTHER DEVELOPMENT PLANS
The Minister said, too, that large sums were being spent on building dams, sinking boreholes, and constructing flood-water canals. Two agricultural training centres for Africans were being established.
According to a Press report,(5) a contract worth R6,000,000 has been awarded for the construction of a road network in Ovamboland. Work is progressing on building airfields that are needed for easier communication.

FUTURE "HOMELANDS"
The Odendaal Commission recommended that ten "homelands" be created, for each of the non-white groups except the Coloured. Five of these groups already have Reserves56 Land would have to be acquired from Whites to make this plan possible: a sum of R17,000,000 should be spent over five years, it was suggested, in compensation to White farmers.

Dr. Verwoerd indicated in the Assembly on 28 January(7) that, during 1964 and 1965, 340 farms or portions thereof, 2,553,768 hectares (approximately 2,321,607 morgen) in extent, had been purchased for inclusion in tribal reserves, at a cost of R18,882,723.
In the speech quoted earlier, the Deputy Minister said(6) on 21 September that, pending negotiations for additional land, it was impossible to state where the borders of the future homelands would be. Many Africans would eventually have to move, but this move would not be enforced: the authorities would try to attract the people to land offering better water and grazing facilities than they now
possess. "The population group with whom we will experience difficulty, of course, is the Hereros," the Deputy Minister commented.

(4) Star, 27 October.
(5) Sunday Express, 20 November.
(7) Hansard 1 col. 269.
(8) Hansard 8 cols. 2624-7.

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More than R20,000,000 would be paid for White farms and improvements, he continued. Most of the farms already purchased had been leased to the farmers who previously owned them or to other Whites, on a monthly basis: they paid 2 per cent of the purchase price in rentals. It would be unreasonable to expect White owners of stock to move immediately during a period of drought when grazing was not available elsewhere. But the Department could take over these farms on a month's notice. Some of the land was being leased to Africans who needed emergency grazing. A stud farm for the Damara homeland, where bulls and rams were being bred, had been developed on one of the farms that had been bought. Most of these farms had been planned for resettlement schemes. The non-whites were not yet ready to take over homelands and to govern themselves, the Deputy Minister stated. "We commence with the lower levels and develop them into tribal authorities . . . I think the group who will first be capable (of self-government) . . . will be the Ovambos." The process would take a long time.

AFRICAN POLITICS
Little has been heard locally of the S.W.A. National Union (S.W.A.N.U.) during recent months. Most of its prominent leaders, and those of the S.W. African People's Organization (S.W.A.P.O.), are living in exile. As mentioned on page 54, the police have alleged that S.W.A.P.O. is "part of the communistic conspiracy" which planned the infiltration of terrorists into Ovamboland. S.W.A.P.O. and S.W.A.N.U. formed a loose alliance in 1964. Opposed to them was the National Unity Democratic Organization (N.U.D.O.), led by Mr. Clemence Kapuuo, which draws its main strength from the Herero people under Chief Hosea Kutako, and is represented in United Nations' lobbies by Dr. Mburumba Kerina. N.U.D.O. claims to have 20,000 members. It supports the decision recently taken by the United Nations' Geneval Assembl. P) Three leaders of S.W.A.P.O. were detained under the Suppression of Communism Act at the end of November.

(9) Sunday Times report, 4 August.

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