A survey of race relations in South Africa: 1969

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author/Creator</th>
<th>Horrell, Muriel</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Publisher</td>
<td>South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1970-01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resource type</td>
<td>Reports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coverage (spatial)</td>
<td>South Africa, South Africa, South Africa, South Africa, South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coverage (temporal)</td>
<td>1969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source</td>
<td>EG Malherbe Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>A survey of race relations in South Africa in 1969 and includes chapters on: Political party developments; Organizations concerned with race relations; The population of South Africa; Security measures; Control of publications; Control of persons; The administration of justice; Detention and trials in South Africa under the security laws; Guerilla activities; Foreign Affairs; Employment; The African Reserves; The administration of African affairs in urban areas; Sundry matters affecting non-white people; Group areas and housing; School education for African pupils; School education for Coloured pupils; School education for Indian pupils; School education for White pupils; Technical and vocational education; University education; Student attitudes and organizations; Bursary funds; Health; Welfare; Recreation; South-West Africa; Legislation of 1969.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Format extent (length/size)</td>
<td>292 pages</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

http://www.aluka.org/action/showMetadata?doi=10.5555/AL.SFF.DOCUMENT.BOO19700000.042.000
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS
The writer's very appreciative thanks are expressed to all those who helped in the preparation of this Survey, in particular, again, to Dr. Ellen Hellmann, who went through the manuscript with her characteristic meticulous attention, offering most useful suggestions for its improvement, and to Mrs. A. Honeywill, who gave similar painstaking care to the checking of the proofs. One could not have had more pleasant and co-operative people with whom to work.

Sincere gratitude is extended, too, to all those who helped by contributing material, supplying information, or replying to questions. Among them were Members of Parliament of various parties; officials of the Departments of Bantu Administration and Development and of Bantu Education, the Transkeian Education Department, and other government departments; the Human Sciences Research Council; officials of a number of municipalities; the Registrars of the universities and university colleges; the South African Council of Churches; the Christian Institute of Southern Africa; the Black Sash; the South African Indian Teachers' Association; many trade unionists; members of the Executive Committee and regional representatives and members of the South African Institute of Race Relations; Mrs. M. Britten, Mr. John D'Oliveira, and Mrs. B. Israel.

Any publication of the Institute of Race Relations represents a team effort. Particular thanks are due to the Institute's administrative, library, and typing staff.
The writer is very appreciative, too, of the co-operation given by the printers, the Natal Witness (Pty.) Ltd.

NOTE
This Survey is stated to be for the year 1969. As it was wished to have it published early in the new year, however, it was impossible to include mention of certain events that took place during the closing weeks of December. This will be done in the next issue.
All dates mentioned refer to the year 1969 unless otherwise stated.

Printed by
THE NATAL WITNESS (PTY) LTD.
244 Longmarket Street
Pietermaritzburg
Natal

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sequent chapter. Asked to comment, the Minister of Police and of the Interior, Mr. S. L. Muller, is reported to have said that the spirit of "underground communist subversion" was still present in South Africa. Subsequent to this, during November, African National Congress leaflets were anonymously and widely distributed in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, and East London. Tape recordings of A.N.C. slogans were played outside the non-white entrance to the Cape Town railway station: the instrument was found in a paper bag attached to a pole.

It was reported last year that there had been much dissension within the ranks of the Pan-African Congress-in-exile, that for this reason the Organization for African Unity had suspended financial assistance, and that the Zambian Government had banned the P.A.C.

There has been dissension, too, in the African National Congress-in-exile. The head of South Africa's security police, Brigadier P. J. Venter, told a Sunday Times reporter that the A.N.C. leadership was divided. On the one hand were the African nationalists, led by Oliver Tambo, and on the other the communist sympathisers, prominent among whom were Moses Kotane, Duma Nokwe, Joe Matthews, J. B. Marks, Robert Resha, and Temba Mqotha. The leaders received about R2,000,000 a year from Russia alone, he added, and other sums from organizations in various countries, but very little of this was ever seen by the freedom fighters.

Brigadier Venter confirmed the substance of a report that the Sunday Times had received from a Lesotho citizen, Mr. S. G. Hoohla, who had escaped from an A.N.C. transit camp in Tanzania, after spending two years in exile. He and many others, he said, had originally left their homes on being offered educational scholarships abroad. These never materialized. Pressure was put on the men to train as guerrilla fighters instead. Those who refused, or who opposed the leaders, were terrorised, or beaten, or thrown into Tanzanian gaols. While the leaders lived
in luxury, the men in the camps existed in the poorest of conditions: in
resentment, one of them had attempted to assassinate Mr. Duma Nokwe. Many
had escaped to Nairobi. They would like to return to South Africa but dared not
because they had left without travel documents.
Brigadier Venter added that 72 trained freedom fighters, who had recently been
 flown in a Russian aircraft from Algeria to Dar-es-Salaam, escaped on arrival. To
prevent a recurrence of this many men were being kept in cells until they were
sent out to fight. Mr. Joe Modise, in charge of military operations, had suffered a
mental breakdown.
24 Sunday Express, 18 May.
25 Issue of 2 February.
26 Issue of 26 February.

POLITICAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS
NATIONAL PARTY
Policy statements: Coloured people and Africans
During the no confidence debate in the Assembly in February, the Prime Minister,
Mr. B. J. Vorster, said' that the policy of separate development was not intended,
and must not be seen, as a denial of anybody's human dignity. It was aimed at
protecting the whites. Brown and black people, however, had an equal right to
preserve their own identities.
Mr. Vorster went on to admit that the Government had evolved no ultimate policy
for the Coloured people.2 These people were still finding their souls in the
process of becoming a nation, he said, but a Coloured nation would eventually
develop. It was not practicable for them to have a homeland: they and the whites
would live in one country. That was the dilemma and the problem for the future.
It would be presumption on his part to say that he could see the end of the road,
the Prime Minister continued. "Our children after us will have to find a solution ...,
but what I can in fact do is to lay the foundations as I think that road will unfold."
"The future does not lie in granting representation to whites and Coloured in the
same Parliament", Mr. Vorster said. "If one wants peace, 'then the development
must not be towards each other, but must be away from each other. We have
placed the Coloured on that political road .... One will have to find a link between
the Coloured Persons' Representative Council and this Parliament. It is not going
to be easy... but it will be found."
Earlier in the debate the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr.
M. C. Botha, re-emphasized3 that Africans were present in the white areas only
for the labour they provided. The reduction of their numbers was an extremely
important criterion, but it was not the most important criterion: the latter was "the
political say which is being ensured for the whites in white South Africa and the
compensatory political say which is being made possible for the Bantu in their
own country".
During the year there has been increasing emphasis by National Party spokesmen
on the "multi-national" (as opposed to the "multi-racial") nature of the population
of South Africa. There are considered to be a white, a Coloured, an Asian, and
eight distinctive Bantu nations. It is claimed that the policy is not based on discrimination, but on differentiation.

1 Hansard 1 col. 358.
' Cols. 368-9.
3 Cols. 43, 46.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969
Views on inter-racial contact
In an address to students of the Rand Afrikaans University the Minister of Planning, Dr. Carel de Wet, said4 that contact across the colour line, for example between students, nurses, teachers, or municipal officials of different racial groups, was desirable only if the aim was the advancement of separate development and if there were mutual problems, or if one organization could help the other. There should be no social mixing or integration.
The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education, Dr. P. G. J. Koornhof, added that no integrated overall authority should exist. Discussions should be kept to the minimum, and should be handled on a high level.
The views of the Afrikaans students on this matter are given in a subsequent chapter.
Recruits to the National Party
During February, Mr. Harry Lewis, M.P., crossed the floor from the United Party to the Nationalists, giving the latter a majority of 127 to 38 in the Assembly. The Principal of the University of Natal, Professor 0. P. F. Horwood, resigned from his post as from the end of 1969. The Prime Minister announced that he was to be appointed as a National Party senator in 1970.
Dissension within the party
Through their independent publication Woord en Daad, certain members of the Gereformeerde (Dopper) Church have continued to maintain that it is immoral to apply so-called petty apartheid indefinitely if there is no prospect of achieving full separate development in the near future.
The main criticism from within the National Party, however, has come from the verkrampte or ultra right-wing members, whose views are expressed in the newspapers Veg and the South African Observer. They have disparaged Mr. Vorster's leadership, accusing him of deviating from the path of Mr. Strydom and Dr. Verwoerd. They oppose the Party's policies in regard to the acceptance of black diplomats from other African states, the admission of large numbers of Roman Catholics among the immigrants, and the attempts to win support from English-speaking people (which it is considered might affect the character of the Afrikaner nationalist movement); and they fear the implications of the possible admission of mixed sporting teams in certain circumstances (this matter is dealt with in a subsequent chapter).
Dr. Albert Hertzog, M.P., whose name became attached to the verkramptes, stated during April5 that he would not leave the
4 Star, 15 August.
5 Rand Daily Mail, 30 April.
POLITICAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS

National Party unless he were driven out. The strategy of most of the verkramptes was to avoid a public break with the party, instead trying to take it over from within. (As mentioned later, however, some of them in Pretoria considered that a new political party should be formed.)

Until the Transvaal congress in September, the party did not succeed in flushing the principal dissenters into the open, but during the first quarter of the year there was considerable criticism of the verkramptes in certain newspapers, particularly the Sunday journal Die Beeld, whose right to do so was championed by Die Burger, the mouthpiece of the Cape Nationalists. Both papers belong to the Nasionale Pers group. They exposed what they considered to be a verkrampte move against Mr. Vorster's leadership.

The frankness of the reports was resented by the editors of papers in the rival Afrikaanse Pers group, more especially of Die Vaderland, who expressed the view that Die Beeld was harming the party by exploiting tensions within it.

Towards the end of March, the leaders of the two Press groups were summoned to meet Mr. Vorster, and it was apparently agreed that differences inside the party would not be raised in public.

The verkrampte attacks were, however, continued in Veg and the South African Observer. These papers were repudiated by the National Party caucus: it was reported that six Members of Parliament, including Dr. Hertzog, Mr. Jaap Marais, and Mr. Louis Stofberg, at first demurred but finally accepted the caucus decision.

On 18 April the Hendrik Verwoerd Korps (a group which had been expelled from the Junior Rapportryers - i.e. junior members of the National Party - because it would not disown members who had sent "smear" letters to M.P.'s) called a public meeting in Pretoria which was attended by some 500 people (not including the M.P.'s mentioned earlier). Among those present were Professor A. Pont9 and Mr. Gert Beetge (a right-wing trade unionist who is also secretary of the Congress to Combat Communism). At the meeting there were attacks on Mr. Vorster (more particularly for allegedly using the Security Police to investigate the activities of leading verkramptes) and on certain newspapers and prominent Afrikaners in various walks of life who were accused of being "enemies of Afrikanerdom". A standing ovation was given to Mr. S. E. D. Brown, editor of the South African Observer.

During the proceedings Mr. Barry Botha, the editor of Veg, announced that at some stage a new political party would be formed in opposition to the Nationalists. Mr. S. Fanie van

6 Sunday Times, 6 April.

7 Ibid, 30 March.


In the course of a speech made in the Assembly on 14 April, Dr. Hertzog labelled English-speaking South Africans as liberals, and maintained that only Calvinist Afrikaners could be trusted to rule South Africa. The Minister of Transport, Mr. B. J. Schoeman, repudiated the implied insults to English-speaking people, as did the Prime Minister, who said "I believe". Mr. Vorster continued, "that if South Africa should ever find herself threatened, Afrikaans- and English-speaking people will stand shoulder to shoulder." In its publication Kairos, the S.A. Council of Churches commented that "John Calvin would be rather amazed to discover what has happened to his theology if he were able to visit the Republic at present".

Subsequently, at a meeting of his constituents in Ermelo, Dr. Hertzog disassociated himself from the views of Messrs. S. E. D. Brown and Barry Botha.

At the Cape congress of the National Party Mr. Vorster emphasized that the party would not allow itself to be white-anted from within.

During the Transvaal congress, Mr. B. J. Schoeman unexpectedly asked congress to vote on four resolutions, each covering a point on which the dissidents had criticised the Government. Delegates were asked to express full confidence in the Government's policies in regard to immigration, relations with other African states, co-operation with English-speaking people, and tours by sporting teams. There was at least ostensible unanimity on the first three of these resolutions, but not on the fourth: at the congress this matter revolved about the acceptability of Maoris in visiting All Black teams. Of the more than a thousand delegates, eleven (including Dr. Hertzog) voted against Mr. Schoeman's resolution, and seven (including Mr. Jaap Marais) abstained from voting. The names of all these people were noted.

On 15 September the Prime Minister announced that there would be a general election in early 1970, a year ahead of the normal time. This decision had been taken, he said, because of the recent actions of Dr. Hertzog, which had given the impression overseas that the Government and the National Party were unstable. During the next few days it became clear that the party was determined to weed out the "rebels" well in advance of the election, not allowing them to capture official nominations.

COLOURED PERSONS' REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL

determined to weed out the "rebels" well in advance of the election, not allowing them to capture official nominations.

The Party membership of Dr. Hertzog, Mr. Jaap Marais, and Mr. Louis Stofberg was cancelled, and a fourth Member of Parliament, Mr. Willie T. Marais, faced with possible similar action, decided to resign.

It was announced at a mass rally held in Pretoria on 24 October that a new political party, to be called the Herstigte Nasionale Party (Reconstituted National
Party) was to be formed. The Party was launched next day at a meeting said to have been attended by 1,023 delegates from more than 120 constituencies. Dr. Hertzog was elected leader, and Mr. Jaap Marais deputy leader. The S.A. Republican Party, led by Professor C. F. van der Merwe, decided that it would disband and advise its members to join the new party.

THE UNITED AND PROGRESSIVE PARTIES
The policies of the United and Progressive Parties have remained unaltered during the year under review. Their attitudes on specific issues are mentioned in relevant chapters of this Survey.

One of the main points of attack during the no confidence debate was the slow pace at which the African Reserves were being developed and the Government's reluctance to tell the country what the total cost would be if the policy of separate development were to become a reality. In a subsequent speech the leader of the United Party, Sir de Villiers Graaff, M.P., said he estimated that this cost would be some R600,000,000 a year over at least ten years: about six times more than was being spent.15

COLOURED PERSONS' REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL
The terms of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council Act were set out on page 10 of last year's Survey. Provision was made for 40 elected and 20 nominated members. The Council will deal with local government, education, community development, Coloured rural settlements, and the financing of these matters.

In accordance with the terms of this Act, the Department of Coloured Affairs was abolished as from 1 July. A Department of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs was created as from the same date,16 to handle matters that were not to be transferred to the Council. An Administration of Coloured Affairs was established to administer matters assigned to the Council, headed by Mr. F. Gaum, who was given the designation of Commissioner for

15 Star, 1 March.
16 Proclamation R233 of 5 September.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969
Coloured Affairs. The services of Coloured teachers and of many officials formerly employed by the Department of Coloured Affairs, as well as of a large number of white officials, were made available to the Administration.

In the Assembly on 4 February,17 the Minister of the Interior gave figures indicating the number of Coloured persons who were eligible for registration as voters in the elections for the Coloured Persons' Representative Council, as follows:

<table>
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<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Totals</th>
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<tr>
<td>Cape</td>
<td>342,000</td>
<td>359,000</td>
<td>701,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>11,000</td>
<td>13,000</td>
<td>24,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal</td>
<td>31,000</td>
<td>32,000</td>
<td>63,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Free State</td>
<td>7,400</td>
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<td>391,400</td>
<td>411,100</td>
<td>802,500</td>
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By 17 December 1968, the Minister said, 546,036 persons, or 68 per cent of those eligible, had registered as voters. The final number of registrations was not stated.
Five parties entered candidates for election: of these, only the Labour Party completely rejected the Government's policy of separate development. A brief summary of their policies follows.

The Labour Party, led by Mr. M. D. Arendse, stands for one-man-one-vote, with direct Parliamentary representation for all South Africans, whatever their racial group. The party accepted the Representative Council as a stepping-stone to full democratic rights because it offered the only means of political expression that was available in the interim to the Coloured people.

The Federal Coloured People's Party is led by Mr. Tom Swartz, the appointed chairman of the previously-existing Council for Coloured Affairs. It stands for parallel development, believing that the Coloured people are a nation with an identity of their own. Members are prepared to co-operate with the Government in matters promoting the advancement of the Coloured people, but want eventual equality with white people.

The Conservative Party, led by Mr. C. J. R. Fortein, also advocates parallel development, aiming at unifying the Coloured people, making them politically conscious, and gaining political experience through the machinery of the Representative Council. It aims at eventual equal opportunities with those of whites, and equal pay.

The Republican Party, led by Mr. Tom le Fleur and Mr. William Collins, describes itself as a moderate group working for Coloured unity, which can best be sought, it considers, apart from 17 Hansard 1 col. 92.

COLOURED PERSONS' REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL

the white people. It advocates an Immorality Act to prohibit intermarriage between Coloured people and other non-whites.

The National Coloured People's Party, headed by Dr. Clifford Smith, is a right-wing group, based in Johannesburg. Dr. Smith supports Government policy: he sees the Coloured people as a separate race with its own identity. He, too, is in favour of an Immorality Act such as that described.

The elections were held on 24 September. Three seats were unopposed, going to the Federal Party. Excluding these seats, the results were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Seats contested</th>
<th>Seats won</th>
<th>Total Votes</th>
<th>Votes per seat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>135,202</td>
<td>3,863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>90,025</td>
<td>2,433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>30,238</td>
<td>1,779</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23,260</td>
<td>1,454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3,216</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11,407</td>
<td>1,426</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Including the uncontested seats, the Federal Party gained 11 seats.

Of the party leaders, only Mr. Arendse was successful. Mr. Swartz, Mr. le Fleur, and Dr. Smith were all defeated, while the other leaders apparently did not stand for election.
The total percentage poll was 48.7 per cent. The percentage ranged between 66.6 and 81 per cent in the three northern provinces, but was below 30 per cent in seven urban constituencies of the Cape, the lowest figure, for a Cape Town seat, being 16.4 per cent. The percentage was higher in rural areas of the Cape. It would appear that large numbers of the urbanized Coloured people in that province boycotted the elections.

In a statement made on 27 September Mr. Arendse said that in view of the fact that his Labour Party had won a clear majority of the elected seats in the council, he felt that it should be consulted in regard to the nominated membership. If the Government did not treat his party honourably in this matter, he could not guarantee that the Coloured people would stand by the Government in a time of trial or trouble.

On 7 October the Government announced the names of the 20 persons it had nominated to the Council. Of these, no fewer than 13 were members of the Federal Party who had been defeated in the elections. One of them was Mr. Tom Swartz, who was appointed Chairman of the Executive of the Council: he gained only 1,667 votes in the Kasselsvlei constituency as against 1,753 votes cast for a Republican candidate and 5,632 for a representative of the Labour Party.

In a Press interview Mr. Arendse said, "Surely this must be the only country in the world where a party which has won an election ends up as the opposition?" The Government's action had been "an insult to democracy". On 8 October the Star asked whether the packing of the Council with men whom the Coloured people had rejected was not a direct violation of the Government's own Improper Interference Act. Numerous protests were voiced.

It was announced on 4 October that the Chairman of the Executive would receive a salary of R6,000 a year, and other members of the executive R5,000. All would be provided with motor cars for official use, and entertainment allowances, and the Government would build houses which they could rent for nominal sums. Ordinary members of the Council would be paid R1,500 a year.

In terms of Government Notice R 3669 of 31 October, the Minister of Coloured Affairs announced a lengthy list of powers that were to be delegated to the Council.

A first short session was held during November. Mr. Arendse moved a vote of no confidence in the Council. A motion by a member of the Opposition that was carried unanimously was to the effect that Coloured professional persons should be paid at the same rates as whites receive for equal qualifications and responsibilities.

ATTITUDES OF COLOURED PEOPLE

The results of a survey of the attitudes of Coloured people in Port Elizabeth to issues affecting their lives, undertaken by members of various churches there, were published in September. This survey involved just under 200 people from all strata of Coloured society. The findings revealed that the feelings of Coloured towards whites were becoming increasingly bitter. As regards Africans, those questioned were either more friendly than in the past, or were unconcerned.
About 89 per cent thought that it was impossible for a true Christian to support apartheid as it is experienced by Coloured people. Some 45 per cent felt that job reservation most affected their lives, while 34 per cent said that the Group Areas Act, and 21 per cent the Immorality Act, was most hurtful. Only 12 per cent felt that Coloured people who had been resettled were happier than they had been before they were moved under the Group Areas Act.

On the question of party politics, 85 per cent said that Coloured people felt greatest sympathy for the views of the Labour Party, although numbers of these stated that they intended boycotting the elections because they did not consider that the council, as constituted, could improve their prospects. Of those with an education higher than Standard VIII, 97 per cent preferred 18 Star, 27 September.

SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN COUNCIL
the Labour Party. The lowest poll for Labour, 77 per cent, came from the group with an education lower than Standard VI.

A general conclusion was that the Coloured people in Port Elizabeth had a sense of hopelessness about their prospects in South Africa under apartheid. According to the Press,19 some members of the pro-apartheid parties, particularly in the Transvaal, exploited racial prejudice during the elections for the Representative Council, their particular targets being people considered to be "passing" as Coloured but who were really Indian or African. Observers stated that the seed of racialism was sown by Coloured leaders when their parties came into existence, after the establishment of Coloured group areas. In her presidential address to the Garment Workers' Union in the Transvaal (which has large numbers of Coloured members) Miss Anna Scheepers mentioned that certain members were spreading racialism and "unhealthy nationalism" within the ranks. Disciplinary action would be taken against persons who caused racial tension, she said."

SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN COUNCIL
As described in last year's Survey,2 a new Indian Council was created in 1968, again with nominated members only. Little publicity has been given to its activities. As was the case with the previous council, it has concerned itself very largely with the effects on Indians of the Group Areas Act.

AFRICAN ATTITUDES
Once more, except in the Transkei (described later) there has been little overt political activity during the year under review among Africans in South Africa. A few political organizations do exist, for example the Bantu Federation of South Africa,2 but little is heard of them. A new group, formed in December 1968, is the Bantu Nationalist Conservative Party in the Eastern Cape, which is said21 to aim at uniting all African tribes into one nation on a federal basis. It recognizes the hereditary heads of tribes as symbols of tribal unity, but not as autocrats. It is clear that there is much frustration and bitterness among Africans, particularly those in urban areas, but through fear of informers and of police action few of these people are willing to give open public expression to their feelings.
A wave of arrests made in mid-1969 is described in a sub19 Star, 29 September.
20 Star, 31 July.
21 Page 15.
23 Daily Dispatch, 16 December, 1968.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969
sequent chapter. Asked to comment, the Minister of Police and of the Interior, Mr. S. L. Muller, is reported24 to have said that the spirit of "underground communist subversion" was still present in South Africa. Subsequent to this, during November, African National Congress leaflets were anonymously and widely distributed in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, and East London. Tape recordings of A.N.C. slogans were played outside the non-white entrance to the Cape Town railway station: the instrument was found in a paper bag attached to a pole.
It was reported last year that there had been much dissension within the ranks of the Pan-African Congress-in-exile, that for this reason the Organization for African Unity had suspended financial assistance, and that the Zambian Government had banned the P.A.C.
There has been dissension, too, in the African National Congress-in-exile. The head of South Africa's security police, Brigadier P. J. Venter, told a Sunday Times reporter25 that the A.N.C. leadership was divided. On the one hand were the African nationalists, led by Oliver Tambo, and on the other the communist sympathisers, prominent among whom were Moses Kotane, Duma Nokwe, Joe Matthews, J. B. Marks, Robert Resha, and Temba Mqotha. The leaders received about R2,000,000 a year from Russia alone, he added, and other sums from organizations in various countries, but very little of this was ever seen by the freedom fighters.
Brigadier Venter confirmed the substance of a report that the Sunday Times2" had received from a Lesotho citizen, Mr. S. G. Hoohla, who had escaped from an A.N.C. transit camp in Tanzania, after spending two years in exile. He and many others, he said, had originally left their homes on being offered educational scholarships abroad. These never materialized. Pressure was put on the men to train as guerrilla fighters instead. Those who refused, or who opposed the leaders, were terrorised, or beaten, or thrown into Tanzanian gaols. While the leaders lived in luxury, the men in the camps existed in the poorest of conditions: in resentment, one of them had attempted to assassinate Mr. Duma Nokwe. Many had escaped to Nairobi. They would like to return to South Africa but dared not because they had left without travel documents.
Brigadier Venter added that 72 trained freedom fighters, who had recently been flown in a Russian aircraft from Algeria to Dar-es-Salaam, escaped on arrival. To prevent a recurrence of this many men were being kept in cells until they were sent out to fight. Mr. Joe Modise, in charge of military operations, had suffered a mental breakdown.
24 Sunday Express, 18 May.
25 Issue of 2 February.
AFRICAN ATTITUDES

Reports on the numbers who have escaped to Kenya range from about 70 to more than 300: the majority are South Africans, it has been stated but others were originally from SouthWest Africa, Rhodesia, or Portuguese territories. Some, who have scholarships or have found employment, have permission to remain in Kenya; but many are probably there without official approval.

According to the Sunday Times of 6 July, four of those stranded in Nairobi sent documents to organizations in Western countries which had supported the A.N.C., urging that no further financial aid be sent to the leaders, since they used it mainly for their own benefit and lived in luxury while the men in the camps were underfed and had poor medical and other facilities. It was alleged that the leaders had opened a shop in Dar-es-Salaam where they sold clothing and other items that had been contributed for the freedom fighters.

On at least two occasions, it was stated, men who had opposed the leadership were sent on ill-planned invasions, of Rhodesia and Mozambique respectively, after the security forces of these countries had been alerted to the men's arrival. Morale in the camps was said to be very low. A.N.C. members there had split on tribal lines and fighting had occurred.

As mentioned later, there has been little guerrilla activity during 1969.

27 Star, 7 May.

ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED WITH RACE RELATIONS
THE CHURCHES

A summary was given in last year's Survey of the text of the "Message to the People of South Africa", which was drawn up by an interdenominational Theological Commission set up by the South African Council of Churches, and was published in the name of the Council, although it was not binding on member churches and organizations. In this document, the principle of racial separation was rejected. Some of the reactions to the "Message" were described last year.

During August the Conference of (Roman) Catholic Bishops of Southern Africa endorsed the substance and aims of the "Message", accepting it as a basis for further ecumenical study and action. Earlier, the Church of the Province of South Africa (Anglican) had endorsed the principles underlying the "Message", the Evangelical Lutheran Church (South Eastern Region) had expressed support for it, and the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) had endorsed the spirit in which the pamphlet had been drawn up. Further Churches, including the Presbyterian Church of South Africa, the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa, and the Methodist Church, drew the attention of all their ministers to the "Message". The Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches accepted it as an approach to further discussions.

The executive committees of the S.A. Council of Churches and of the Christian Institute of Southern Africa have jointly set up six specialist commissions to study the practical implications of the "Message", in the spheres of the Church, law,
politics, economics, education, and social relations. Each is searching for practical and morally acceptable alternatives to racial separation. More than 130 leading South Africans of various racial groups and interests have agreed to serve on these bodies. The project has been entitled "Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society", "Spro-cas" for short.

During February the Council of Churches convened a Conference on the Generation Gap, member-churches and organizations being invited to send equal numbers of senior and youth delegates. The theme of the discussions was "Freedom and Authority". According to the Council's publication Kairos, it was I Page 21.

2 Star, 30 August.

THE CHURCHES

found that the basic gap was not between generations, but was one of attitude. The Christian Institute has continued the work described in previous years, including the arranging of inter-racial Bible study groups and the provision of assistance to the ministers of the African Independent Churches. It arranged theological refresher courses for them in Pietermaritzburg in February/March, and in Durban during August.

At its general assembly held during September, the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa (which has mainly white members) gave further consideration to a proposal that it should unite with the Bantu Presbyterian Church of South Africa and the Tsonga Presbyterian Church. Were such a union brought about, there would be twice as many African as white members. The proposal was, by majority vote, accepted in principle: practical implications have to be worked out. No decision was reached on the assembly's attitude to the "Message".

During October, the Rev. Benjamin Ngidi became the Chairman-elect of the Congregational Church in South Africa. He is the first African to hold this position. In November, a third African was ordained as a Bishop in the Anglican Church in South Africa. He is the Rt. Rev. Ernest Sobukwe, who became the Bishop Suffragen of the Diocese of St. John's, Umtata.

A meeting was held in January of the Federal Council of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Churches in the four provinces, South-West Africa, Rhodesia, Malawi, and other parts of Southern Africa. The migratory labour system was one of the main matters discussed. The Council stated that migratory labour could not be abolished without serious economic and social results. Nevertheless, it expressed its deep concern at the disintegration of African family life, the moral decay and the religious disruption: this situation was worsened, it said, by the system of migratory labour. The Government was urged to proceed with a diligent study of the system in order that its disadvantages might as far as possible be removed. Members were urged to help to preserve family ties by encouraging visits and correspondence.

In February the clerk of the Reformed Church of America wrote on its behalf to the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Church, expressing regret that South Africa, in its race policies, tended to follow a course "that goes in the opposite direction from the movement of policy in most civilized lands". This made it difficult, it was
stated, "to maintain the Christian fellowship that we desire". The general synodical commission of the N.G.K.'s "daughter" (non-white) Church challenged some of the statements in the letter from America as being distorted, for example the Rand Daily Mail and Star, 24 September.
4 Star, 25 January.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969
analogy that was drawn between the situation in South Africa and that of the Jews under the Pharoahs.' A consultation on racism, sponsored by the World Council of Churches, was held in London during May. It recommended to the World Council that if all other methods failed, the churches should support resistance movements, including revolutions, that were aimed at the elimination of "political or economic tyranny which makes racism possible". However, the World Council's executive committee did not agree that force should be accepted as a legitimate Christian means of changing social situations.

The 39th annual council meeting of the Institute of Race Relations, held in Johannesburg, opened with Mr. Leo Marquard's Presidential Address, entitled "Our Foreign Policy." After a business session council members joined members of the public in attending a National Conference on Bantu Education, which was convened by the Institute of Race Relations and is described in a subsequent chapter.

Among many other activities, described in appropriate chapters of this Survey, regional and local committees of the Institute organized discussion groups on race prejudice and race attitudes. The Southern Transvaal Region published a fact sheet on race prejudice (RR. 55/69), including a guide for topics for discussion.

Sabre has again pressed for a more speedy and radical programme of separate development than the Government envisages. Work is being continued on an investigation into the factors affecting the advancement of Coloured people. A study has been commenced of practical proposals for closing the gap between the rates of growth of the white and non-white population groups.

During March, Sabre and the Government Department of Cultural Affairs jointly organized a conference in George for high school pupils on the task of young people in promoting harmonious race relations. Special trains were provided to bring pupils from the northern provinces. The opening address was given by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and of Bantu Education.

On behalf of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, Sabre convened a North Sotho youth congress at 5 Star, 25 February.
6 Ibid, 26 May and 21 August.
7 This was published by the Institute of Race Relations.

ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED WITH RACE RELATIONS 15
the University College of the North, the theme being "The Road of the North Sotho Youth".

THE BLACK SASH
In 1969 the Black Sash again organized a number of silent poster demonstrations in numerous centres against Government legislation or action considered to be unjust or discriminatory. The first of these marked the opening of Parliament in January, when a statement was issued reading, "People who cherish democratic ideals and condemn the present abuse of power would like to see Parliament spending its time and our money removing the injustices and racial discrimination which have characterized so much legislation during the past years, and restoring the rule of law with due respect for the rights and freedoms of all the people of South Africa".

Further demonstrations were held in April and June in support of demands by various universities for the restoration of academic freedom; in June to condemn the "Boss Bill" (described later); and in July to emphasize the cynicism of celebrating Family Day while the family life of many thousands of Africans was disrupted under the pass laws. Some of the posters displayed on this occasion bore the line from the marriage service, ". . . Let no man put asunder". Later in the year, demonstrations were held against the uprooting of Africans from long-established homes, and against conditions in the resettlement villages.

The Black Sash has continued to run Advice Offices in Johannesburg and Cape Town (the latter with the co-operation of the Institute of Race Relations) which assist Africans who are affected by the pass laws. Some of the work done by these offices, and other activities of the Black Sash, are described in subsequent chapters.

VOLUNTARY SERVICE
Every second weekend a group of twelve Johannesburg medical specialists together with a physiotherapist and an orthopaedic technician has flown to hospitals in Swaziland, in an aircraft made available by Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, to give their services free of charge. Dr. Anton Rupert has organized a similar scheme in Lesotho. Again in 1969, medical students did voluntary work during their winter vacation in hospitals in Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, and Malawi. The South African Voluntary Service (SAVS), which is composed of university students, has during the year under review built a school for Africans at Maun in the Okavanga Swamps of Botswana, another near Piggs Peak in Swaziland, and an African farm school at Kayser's Beach in the East

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969
London district. Together with members of the Witwatersrand Youth Voluntary Service and with the aid of funds raised by the Soroptimists it added three classrooms to a previously oneroomed African school near Bronkhorstspruit, from which about 340 children had been turned away at the beginning of the year because of the lack of accommodation. Members of SAVS plan during December to build four schools, three clinics, and a community centre, and a community development project at various centres in Swaziland, Lesotho, the Transkei,
outside East London, and near Durban. The secretarial and book-keeping work for SAVS is done by the Institute of Race Relations.

The Witwatersrand Youth Voluntary Service, established in mid-1968, has members drawn from high schools in Johannesburg. Besides helping with the Bronkhorstspruit school they have built classrooms for Africans at Skeerpoort near Hartebeespoort Dam and have constructed about a hundred desks for African primary schools, each seating three or four pupils. Members themselves raise the funds needed. Members of the Zenzele Y.W.C.A. helped with the latter project.

On a site leased from the Johannesburg Municipality at a nominal rental, students of the University of the Witwatersrand are building a creche for Coloured children at Riverlea, Johannesburg.

Volunteers from Toc H have formed themselves into a group that does odd jobs for people or organizations needing help. Among other activities they have replaced broken windows at an orphanage for Coloured children.

White farmers in the Kokstad area have helped to organize assistance to Transkeian peasant farmers with ploughing and planting.

THE POPULATION OF SOUTH AFRICA
SIZE OF THE POPULATION
According to the Bureau of Statistics,' the size of the South African population in mid-1968 was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>1,816,000</td>
<td>1,823,000</td>
<td>3,639,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>946,000</td>
<td>966,000</td>
<td>1,912,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>289,000</td>
<td>285,000</td>
<td>574,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>6,578,000</td>
<td>6,464,000</td>
<td>13,042,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9,629,000</td>
<td>9,538,000</td>
<td>19,167,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

POPULATION REGISTRATION AMENDMENT ACT, No. 106 OF 1969

Officials entitled to make race classifications, and past decisions by them

The "Secretary", who makes racial classifications, was previously defined as the Secretary for the Interior, including any officer to whom he has delegated his powers or who is acting under his control or direction. The Amendment Act deleted the word "officer" and substituted any "person employed by the State or the holder of a post in the public service".

It was stated in the Amendment Act that a classification purporting to have been made by the Secretary shall not be invalid merely on the ground that the person who is purported to have made it was not duly authorized to do so. (Some appeals against classifications have, apparently, been based on the fact that they had been made by unauthorized persons.) The indication of a person's race or group, as reflected in the population register, will be deemed to have been made by the Secretary in terms of the Act.

In effect, these amendments validated classifications that had been made by officials purely on the basis of information contained in 1951 census returns and documents such as birth and marriage certificates. It has frequently been pointed
out that, at the 1951 census, enumerators sometimes filled in forms for the persons concerned, making their own judgments (which may have been incorrect) as to race, and these people possibly signed the forms in ignorance of the information entered on them. Registry clerks may have made similar errors when completing birth certificates. An entry that a person's race was "mixed" may have implied merely a mixture, for example, of French and German parentage. In December 1968 Mr. Justice Beyers, the Judge President of the Cape, ordered the Cape race classification appeal board to hear an appeal that it had previously refused to hear. He found that members of the staff of the Department of the Interior had placed heavy reliance on the information contained on 1951 census cards in deciding the race of people. The term "classification" as used in the Act implied the use of discretion by the official concerned: he ought to bring an independent mind to bear on the matter, calling for further information and for direct evidence in cases of doubt. Race classifications based simply on census returns were invalid. The judge said he hoped that the Secretary for the Interior would put an end to "classification on what is virtually a mass scale". The new provisions contained in the Amendment Act in effect negated the judgment that classifications based merely on census returns and birth and marriage certificates were invalid.

Retrospective nature of the new measure

In terms of the new measure, the amendments effected to the principal Act were deemed to have come into operation on 7 July 1950. Immediately after the new Act was promulgated its provisions, and those of the 1967 Amendment Act, were applied when the Secretary classified anyone or considered the correctness or otherwise of a classification already made, and they applied, too, for the purposes of every decision by an appeal board, irrespective of the date on which the case concerned was referred to the board. (Cases are referred to a board if the Secretary wants its decision, or if the person concerned objects to his classification by the Secretary.)

The Secretary, and appeal boards, became bound, too, by the provisions of Proclamation 123 of 1967, dealing with subdivisions of the Coloured group. (Further mention of these subdivisions is made later.)

However, if an appeal is made to the Supreme Court or Appellate Division against a decision of a board that was made before the commencement of the new Act, it will be decided by the court in accordance with the provisions of the Act as they existed when the board reached its decision, "but without having regard to any retrospective effect of any provision" of the new Act. This is not the case, however, with appeals made by third parties. (Third party objections are dealt with later.) It is, apparently not to be the case, either, in regard to appeals against POPULATION REGISTRATION classifications into a Coloured sub-group that were made before Proclamation 123 of 1967 came into effect.
Prescriptions relating to the classification of persons
The new Act provided that when a person claims, for the purpose of
classification, that he, or a minor of whom he is the guardian, is a member of any
racial or ethnic group, the onus of proof is on him, and he must prove it beyond
reasonable doubt.
It was made clear in the 1967 Amendment Act that descent is to be the
determining factor in deciding upon the racial or ethnic group to which a person
belongs. The new Amendment Act stated that the provisions referring to a parent's
classification will still apply after the parent has died. Explaining this in the
Assembly,2 the Minister of the Interior said that a person could not be classified
as white unless both his parents were so classified. In a recent court case the judge
had expressed the opinion that if one parent had died, his classification no longer
existed. The Government could not accept this position.
The principal Act defined a Bantu as a person who in fact is, or is generally
accepted as, a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa. In terms of the
Amendment Act, the words "in fact" were deleted: it will be possible for a person
to be deemed Bantu, even if he has white or coloured blood, if he appears to be
African.
The principal Act provided that "it shall, in the absence of proof that any person is
generally accepted as a white person or a Bantu, be assumed that he is generally
accepted as a Coloured person, except where such person is in appearance
obviously a member of an aboriginal race or tribe of Africa".
The Amendment Act substituted for this, "it shall, in the absence of proof that any
person who is not a Bantu is generally accepted as a white person, be assumed
that he is generally accepted as a Coloured person."
A person who did not appear to be obviously an African could in the past claim to
be Coloured if he was generally accepted as such. The effect of the amendment is
that such a person will be classified as Bantu, despite his general acceptance, if he
is Bantu in terms of the Act.
Seizure of identity cards which reflect
incorrect particulars
The principal Act as amended in 1967 provided that whenever it comes to the
notice of a Bantu Affairs Commissioner that any person is in possession of an
identity card on which his race is reflected as Bantu, and also an identity card on
which his
2 Hansard 19 col. 8469.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969
race is otherwise reflected, the Bantu Affairs Commissioner shall seize the latter
card and transmit it to the Secretary, together with relevant particulars. The
Secretary will then determine what the person's classification should be.
In terms of the Amendment Act, the Secretary, as well as a Bantu Affairs
Commissioner, may seize the card which reflects the person's race to be other
than Bantu. He will cancel it if it was issued later than the card on which the race
is stated to be Bantu. If it was issued earlier than this other card, and if the
Secretary is satisfied that it reflects the person's race correctly, he will return it to
the person concerned. But if he is not so satisfied, he will determine what the classification should be, in accordance with the Act as amended.

Subdivisions of the Coloured group
In terms of proclamations made in 1959, 1961, and 1967, the Coloured group was divided into seven sub-groups. The Amendment Act of 1969 contained a provision that had been contained in the 1967 proclamation, but not previously in the Act itself, to the effect that a person whose natural father has been classified into one of the sub-groups shall be classified as a member of this same sub-group. If in a 1951 census return or other document such as a birth certificate, or in particulars furnished for the population register, or in an application for an identity card, there is a statement to the effect that a person is a member of a particular Coloured sub-group, it will be assumed that such person is accepted as such a member unless the contrary is proved by him. (This, presumably, covers cases in which the person's natural father has not been classified.)

Classifications made by the Secretary and referred by him to an appeal board
It was provided in the 1967 Amendment Act that if at any time it appears to the Secretary that the classification of a person (other than a classification in accordance with a decision of an appeal board) is incorrect, he may alter it, but must first give notice to the person concerned, and, if he is a minor, also to his guardian, specifying in what respect the classification is incorrect, and must afford the person or his guardian an opportunity of being heard. Alternatively, instead of altering the classification, the Secretary may refer the case to a board for decision.

The 1969 amendment provided that the Secretary will refer a case to a board only if he doubts whether the classification is correct.

It added that if the person concerned (and the guardian of a minor) concurs, the Secretary may in his discretion alter such a

POPULATION REGISTRATION
person's classification. The object apparently was to allow, for example, a white man to be reclassified voluntarily as Coloured should his wife be so classified.

Third party objections
The principal Act provided that persons must be notified of their classification by the Secretary. Appeals against classifications made may be lodged within 30 days of receiving such notification, or such longer period not exceeding one year as the Minister may allow. Many aggrieved persons who were ignorant of the provisions of the Act or of the procedure to be followed failed to appeal within the specified period. But, until 1967, third parties could in such cases appeal on behalf of an aggrieved person: it was difficult for the authorities to establish on what date the third party became aware of a classification.

The 1967 Amendment Act removed the right of third parties to lodge an objection to an appeal board or court of law (except that guardians could appeal on behalf of minors). It did not, however, prevent third parties from complaining to the Secretary that a classification made by him was incorrect.
During 1968 an appeal board ruled that it was no longer empowered to inquire into an objection by a third party: the objection concerned had been made in 1965. The Supreme Court upheld the board's decision, but the Appellate Division allowed with costs a further appeal. The right of objection remained, the judges considered, since the legislature had not clearly defined the nature and extent of the retrospectivity of the relevant provisions of the Act. Objections that had been lodged before the law was changed must be heard, and must be decided in terms of the law as it existed before 1967.

Early in 1969, however, Mr. Justice Hiemstra ruled that third party objections were open only to people who wanted to "down-grade" the person classified, and not to third parties acting on behalf of the classified person. An appeal against this judgment was noted.

Questioned in the Assembly3 the Minister of the Interior said that, altogether, 293 objections had been lodged by the third parties, of which 14 were withdrawn, 99 had been upheld, and 31 dismissed. As at 28 February 1969, the remaining 149 were awaiting hearing. The outstanding objections had been reduced to 140 by 6 May.

The Amendment Act provided that no outstanding third party objections (except those made by guardians on behalf of minors) would be considered by appeal boards or any division of the Supreme Court, or further considered, irrespective of the date on which such objections were lodged with the Secretary.

3 28 March and 6 May, Hansard 8 col. 3410 and Hansard 13 col. 5352.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969
Many of the persons concerned in the objections not yet heard had spent considerable sums of money in legal costs.

Hearsay evidence
The new measure provided that hearsay evidence of declarations as to descent would no longer be admissible in evidence in proceedings before a board. (Such evidence had often been used by persons who were trying to establish that they belonged to a particular racial group.)

Right of appeal
It was provided in the amending measure that an appeal shall lie against a decision of a board only if such decision results in the existing classification of the person in question being altered.

If a board disagrees with the Secretary, the latter continues to have the right to appeal. But if a person objects to his classification by the Secretary and a board upholds the Secretary's decision, the aggrieved person now has no further right of appeal.

It is no longer possible for a guardian to appeal to a board against the Secretary's classification of his minor ward if this classification was made in accordance with the classification of the ward's natural parents. In cases where the classification was not so made, the minor may himself object.

Period within which appeals to the Supreme Court may be lodged
The Act previously provided that an appeal to the Supreme Court against a decision by a board may be lodged by the person concerned (or the guardian of a minor) or by the Secretary within 30 days of the decision. The amending measure added "or within such further period, not exceeding two months, as the said court may for sufficient cause allow".

Sittings of the Supreme Court may be held in camera
The new measure provided that the sittings of a division of the Supreme Court which is hearing an appeal may be held in public or in camera, as elected by the person whose classification is in issue, or his guardian if he is a minor, or his legal representative.

COMMENT ON THE POPULATION REGISTRATION AMENDMENT BILL
After the Minister of the Interior had introduced the Bill at its second reading in the Assembly the Leader of the Opposition, Sir de Villiers Graaff, moved that it be read that day six months. The Act was being amended for an eighth time, he said: the Minister was getting deeper and deeper into a morass and was bringing about more and more injustices.

Sir de Villiers explained his objections to each of the main clauses. He emphasized that if a person was assigned to a racial group other than one in which he had previously been accepted, this affected his marriage, his children, his social contacts and friends, his job, his wages, the areas in which he might live, his municipal and political rights-his whole future. The small number of persons who had appealed against their classification were suffering most bitterly because of the uncertainty and fear of loss of rights. Could the whiteness or otherwise of the white group in South Africa possibly be affected if these people were allowed to remain in the racial group they claimed, Sir de Villiers asked.

Mrs. Catherine D. Taylor (United Party) elaborated upon many of the arguments by Sir de Villiers, and Mrs. Helen Suzman (Progressive Party) supported his motion that the Bill be read that day six months. During the committee stage the Opposition forced divisions on nearly every clause, but all their proposed amendments were rejected.

Among other organizations, the Institute of Race Relations issued a statement on the Bill,’ in which it said, "while the Population Registration Act of 1950 did not affect the circumstances of the vast majority of the South African population, it created the utmost confusion as to the destiny of the small minority of people whose appearance, associations, and descent do not happen to coincide. In the South African situation, the position of people like this is tragic. The South African Institute of Race Relations pleads with all the power at its command that this small number of persons should be allowed to remain in the racial category in which they feel most at ease."

OBJECTIONS MADE TO RACIAL CLASSIFICATIONS
Questioned in the Assembly on 7 February and 29 April, the Minister of the Interior said that, altogether, 1,157 objections had been made to racial classifications. Some of these had been withdrawn, or the persons concerned had apparently dropped the matter, failing to reply to correspondence. Other cases had been decided administratively. Classifications that were determined by appeal boards totalled 530, of which 39 went on further appeal to the Supreme Court. Of these 530 objections, 330 were upheld, and 200 dismissed. At the beginning of February, 249 cases other than third party appeals had still to be heard.

-5 RR. 44/69.
6 Hansard 1 col. 304, Hansard 12 col. 4890.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969

Asked about reclassifications made during 1968, the Minister gave the following information:7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appeal or Reclassified from:</th>
<th>White to Coloured</th>
<th>Coloured to Coloured</th>
<th>Bantu to Coloured</th>
<th>white to Bantu</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>objection lodged by:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person concerned ...</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third party on behalf of person concerned ..........</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third party not on behalf of person concerned ......</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since 1960, the Minister said, a total of 234 persons had been reclassified from Coloured to white after successful objections had been lodged.

During the Parliamentary debate on the Amendment Bill, Mrs. Catherine Taylor urged the Minister to speed up the hearing of the outstanding objections. "The Department has been stalling for years," she said. Of 38 cases that she had personally forwarded to the Race Classification Board, one had been held up for 3 years, eleven for more than 2 years, two for 21 years, and sixteen for 2 years.' She asked the Minister how many cases the two appeal boards had heard during 1968 and the early part of 1969, and he replied: 10

1968 1 Jan. to 25 Feb. 1969
Cape Town board ..... 72 12
Pretoria board .......... 55 6

POSSIBLE RECLASSIFICATION OF COLOURED PEOPLE LIVING IN AFRICAN RESIDENTIAL AREAS

In many of the smaller towns, particularly in the Transvaal, there are few Coloured people, and the authorities have provided no separate housing schemes for them. Many of them have lived all their lives in the African townships. In its report for the year ended 30 June 1968 the Department of Planning stated that an inter-departmental committee had completed an examination of the possibility of reclassifying such of these people as had

7 14 March, Hansard 6 col. 2525, and 29 April, Hansard 12 col. 4890.
8 Presumably initiated by officials.
POPULATION REGISTRATION
become Africanized. Questioned about this matter,2 the Minister of Planning said that "at this stage no action is contemplated".

SOME CASES OF HARDSHIP UNDER THE POPULATION REGISTRATION ACT
It was reported3 in December 1968 that Mr. Argent Curtin of Pretoria had been reclassified from white to Coloured following a complaint about some of his nine children that was made by his neighbours in Pretoria. He took the matter on appeal to the Supreme Court, but was unsuccessful, and the costs amounted to R934. For some months the Post Office, where he was employed, deducted money from his salary towards the legal costs; but when it was finally decided that he was Coloured he was dismissed. He planned to leave for Botswana, where race was not important.

A report published in January4 told of a family in Cape Town who had been classified as Coloured as the result of information on their 1951 census form. The father was illiterate, and had signed a form completed for him by an enumerator. On his birth certificate his race was described as "mixed", but his wife, born in 1899, had a white birth certificate. Their daughter was accepted as white, and was engaged to be married to a white man. She applied for her identity card to be changed to reflect her race as white, on the ground that her mother was white. Only then did it transpire that, after the 1951 census, the registrar had arbitrarily altered the record of the mother's birth to read "Coloured".

Miss Susara Kirk is a blonde with blue eyes, who lives in Brakpan. She and her parents and grandmother have always lived as whites, and have white identity cards. Miss Kirk mislaid her card, however, and applied for another. Meanwhile, she married a white man. But the new identity card stated that she was Coloured, and officials confirmed that she had been reclassified. Her husband then applied successfully for their marriage to be annulled in accordance with the Mixed Marriages Act. Miss Kirk lost her job."

A Cape Town woman, married to a white man, was informed in 1965 that she had been classified Coloured. She lodged objections for herself and four of her children, while two other children, who were of age, lodged separate objections. Two years elapsed before the board heard her case, and meanwhile, in 1967, the Act was amended, including a number of new tests for classification as white. On the basis of these new

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969
tests her objection was rejected by the appeal board and the Supreme Court. Then came the "Bell" judgment of 1968, in terms of which it was held that the retrospective clause of the 1967 amendment did not apply to pending appeals. In view of this, when the board heard the objections by the two eldest children it declared them to be white. The mother began saving for an appeal to the Appellate Division against the Supreme Court's decision that she and the younger children were Coloured; but at that stage the 1969 Amendment Act was passed, and lawyers told her that in consequence she had no chance of having the classification changed.1"

During February a 13-year-old schoolboy, Flippie Haasbroek, was expelled from a Ventersdorp school, ostensibly for stealing pumpkins. According to his mother, the real reason was that, although he was classified as white, his appearance had earned him the taunt of "Coloured" from some of his classmates. An official of the Transvaal Education Department said"7 that because Flippie would never be happy at a government school he was to be sent to a white private boarding school at the Department's expense.

Ten-year-old Johanna de Bruin of Bot River is white, but when she was a baby she contracted Addison's disease which caused her skin to turn brown. No white school would accept her when she reached school-going age. Her father told a reporter" that he intended applying to the Education Department for a tutor to teach her at home until she had passed Standard V, after which she would be able to take correspondence courses.

At the turn of the century white and Coloured men were engaged on an equal footing to work in the forests of the Knysna district. They lived with their families in remote camps, and over several generations of intermarriage communities have emerged that do not fit into any racial compartment. These people are more white than Coloured in appearance, some having fair hair, and regard themselves as white Afrikaners.

Mr. Harold Pegram comes from this background. He has six children of two marriages, the first wife having been white and the second of mixed descent. He and the children are all white in appearance, and all the children have white birth certificates. Mr. Pegram applied for a white identity card, but was told that this could not be issued because his father was of mixed blood. His classification as Coloured cost him his R40-a-week job in a Port Elizabeth factory: the only work he could then find was as a farm labourer, at R6 a week. There was reported to be much fear and bitterness among

16 Star, 5 July.
17 Sunday Times, 23 February.
18 Ibid, 8 March.

BANTU HOMELANDS CITIZENSHIP
the Knysna "bosbouers". Some had received white identity cards, but the majority had been classified as Coloured.19

Even if appeals succeed the people concerned have often suffered much anxiety and hardship before their cases are settled. In 1961 a family in Cape Town was classified Coloured. The eldest daughter had to postpone her marriage to a white
man, while the second daughter had to leave a white school. For eight years she studied by correspondence: her parents did not want to prejudice their case by sending her to a Coloured school. The son's job was threatened. They all agreed to commit suicide if they could not get the classification altered. On reading their story in a newspaper, someone in Johannesburg made them an anonymous loan of R500 to cover the expense of an appeal, and this proved successful.

BANTU HOMELANDS CITIZENSHIP BILL Terms of the Bill
The Bantu Homelands Citizenship Bill was introduced in Parliament late during the session, and through shortage of time had to be postponed until 1970. It provided that there shall be a citizenship in respect of every territorial authority area (these areas are described later). Every Bantu person in the Republic who is not a citizen of a self-governing Bantu territory in the Republic nor a prohibited immigrant will be a citizen of one or other territorial authority area. There he will exercise such franchise rights, enjoy such rights and privileges, and be subject to such duties and responsibilities, as are accorded to or imposed on him in terms of any law.

A citizen of a territorial authority area will not be regarded as an alien in the Republic, for his territory will continue to be part of the Republic. He will remain a citizen of the Republic and will be accorded full protection by the Republic according to international law. He will not be relieved of existing duties and responsibilities, nor will he forfeit existing rights and privileges.

Those who will be citizens of a particular territorial authority area are Bantu persons born in the area and/or domiciled there; Bantu persons in the Republic speaking any Bantu language or dialect thereof used by the Bantu population of the area; and Bantu persons in the Republic who are related to any member of the Bantu population of the area, or who have identified themselves with any part of such population by virtue of their cultural or racial background.

Every citizen of any self-governing Bantu territory or territorial authority area in the Republic shall be entitled to a certificate of citizenship. These documents may be issued by or on behalf of the Bantu governments or territorial authorities concerned. An objection may be made by any Bantu person to any officer or person designated by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development against the determination of the area of which the person concerned is stated to be a citizen. Likewise, the government of a self-governing Bantu territory or a territorial authority within the Republic may object to the determination of its area as the area of which a Bantu person is deemed to be a citizen.

Appeals against decisions by the designated officer or person may be made to the Minister, whose decision will be final. It will be an offence for a Bantu person to be in possession of a certificate to which he is not entitled, or for anyone to destroy or alter a certificate, or for anyone knowingly to make a false statement for the purposes of the Act. The maximum penalty on conviction will be a fine of R100 or imprisonment for six
months. (The Bill did not state that it will be an offence for an African to fail to apply for a certificate of citizenship to which, in terms of the measure, he is entitled.)

Comment
Among other organizations, the Institute of Race Relations issued a statement on the Bill, in which it took note of the documents that Africans were already required to possess, and said that it was difficult to see what purpose the Bill would fulfil other than to symbolise in a new document that the Government regarded all Africans as aliens in "white" areas.
It was self-evident that a large section of the 3,500,000 urban Africans, many of whom had contracted ethnically mixed marriages and many of whom were fluent in a number of Bantu languages, would qualify for multiple citizenship. They feared that the Bill was part of a wider plan to deprive them of urban residential rights.
The legislation would require a complex new administrative framework to provide for the issue of a new set of documents and for the hearing of appeals, it was stated. It was likely to add to the unwieldiness of an already unwieldy and extremely complex bureaucratic structure. It would not contribute to that interracial understanding which should be promoted for the future welfare of all the citizens of the Republic.

INMORALITY
Questioned in the Assembly about the numbers of charges and convictions under the Immorality Act during the period 1 July 1967 to 30 June 1968, the Minister of Justice gave the following figures:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Charged</th>
<th>Convicted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>.......</td>
<td>452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is evident that, as in previous years, a large number of persons experienced the extreme humiliation of being publicly charged under this Act when there was insufficient evidence for their conviction.
Publicity was given during May 22 to two further cases in which African women were convicted and gaol ed, while the white men, originally charged with them, were acquitted. Such cases may occur when the woman pleads guilty and the man pleads not guilty, and a separation of trials is accordingly ordered. The woman may have no option if, for example, she has a child who is Coloured in appearance. Because of her plea, she is tried first. The man may be acquitted later on the grounds of insufficient evidence. Asked to comment on these cases, a senior spokesman for the Department of Justice told a reporter that the woman was usually released from prison as soon as possible after the second trial: the court papers were forwarded via the Attorney-General and the Secretary to the
Minister of Justice, with whom the decision lay. But in one of the recent cases the woman involved had already served nearly two months of a six-month gaol sentence before the man's trial took place. A case reported during the year under review originated when a Chinese man befriended a distraught white teenager who had run away from a most unsatisfactory home. They fell in love and, unable to marry, lived as man-and-wife for five years, and had three children. Eventually they were charged and convicted under the Immorality Act, being given suspended sentences. The woman said she would apply for reclassification as Coloured (Chinese): unless this was granted the couple would have to separate and the children be left fatherless. Her application was approved.

A man born in South Africa but of Lebanese descent was educated in England, and there married an English girl. During 1969 the couple and their child visited Krugersdorp to help the man's father in business difficulties. While there, the man received an identity card for which he had applied earlier to the South African authorities. This stated his race to be Coloured. The couple were then charged with contravening the Immorality Act. However, they were acquitted, the judge finding that they were not domiciled in South Africa at the time of the alleged offence, and that they intended returning to England.

An eminent scholar who was invited to lecture at universities in South Africa declined the invitation because his non-white wife would have been unable to accompany him. An white man and an Indian woman were convicted under the Act during August, being given suspended sentences. The evidence leading to their conviction was given by members of the police who had spied on them through the windows of a private house. After their arrest the two had been submitted to physical examinations. Referring to such cases, the S.A. Broadcasting Corporation's Current Affairs commentator said that the Act was necessary for the preservation of the nation, but it should be called what it was, the "Anti-miscegenation Act"; means for gathering evidence against suspected offenders should be devised which were "less distasteful"; and there should be an "appropriate limitation" of permitted publicity.

During May, four white men and a youth were charged under the Act as a result of evidence given by an African woman, who had "volunteered" to the police to allow herself to be used to tempt men. The men were given suspended sentences, while sentence on the youth was postponed for three years. When this matter was raised in Parliament, the Minister of Police said that the incidents should never have occurred: the police had no right to trap people in the manner that had been done without first obtaining the permission of the Commissioner of Police.
Commenting on the Immorality Act, the independent journal Pro Veritate (which is associated with the Christian Institute) said in April that the State had no right, according to the Scriptures, to regard extra-marital intercourse across the colour line as more immoral than within the limits of one race. It transgressed against divine justice if it summarily prohibited marriages across the colour bar; and it openly revolted against God if it declared such existing marriages to be an evil worthy of its judgment and punishment.
24 Sunday Times, 8 March; Star, 12 May.
25 Star, 26 April.
26 Rand Daily Mail, 19 August.
27 Star, 17 April.
28 Rand Daily Mail, 18 June.

SECURITY MEASURES
EXPENDITURE ON DEFENCE
In the official budget for 1969-70, a sum totalling R271,600,000 was allocated for defence, R17,469,000 more than in the previous year. The largest increase was in the amount voted for the procurement of armaments. The total defence vote has risen steadily and rapidly since 1959, when it was R40,000,000. The Minister of Defence said2 that the expenditure in 1969-70 would represent 2.5 per cent of the total national product.

STRENGTH OF THE DEFENCE FORCE
According to The Military Balance, an annual calculation by the independent Institute for Strategic Studies,3 the strength of South Africa’s Defence Force, including members of the citizen force who are under training at any one time, is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Regular</th>
<th>Citizen Force</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Army</td>
<td>5,700</td>
<td>22,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navy</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air Force</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13,200</td>
<td>26,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If men who have completed their citizen force training are included, South Africa's total armed forces when fully mobilized would total 85,500, it was stated. Then there were 58,000 commandos, described as part-time rural militia.

DEFENCE EQUIPMENT
In the same publication, the armour possessed by the army is recorded as 100 Centurion tanks and about 100 medium tanks, several hundred armoured cars, and unstated numbers of scout cars, armoured personnel carriers, and light reconnaissance aircraft.

The Navy was stated to have two destroyers carrying antisubmarine warfare helicopters, six frigates, twelve minesweepers, and ten seaward-defence boats. Three deep-diving submarines were on order.

The Air Force had 24 light jet bombers, 20 fighter bombers
1 Estimates of Expenditure from Revenue Account, R.P. 2169, page 104.
2 Assembly, 5 May, Hansard 13 col. 5289.
3 Report in the Star, 12 September.
equipped with air-to-surface missiles, 16 Mirage interceptors, 34 Mirages of other types, at least 40 Vampires, 7 maritime reconnaissance aircraft, and about 49 other aircraft (excluding those used for training). There were more than 80 helicopters. Surfaceto-air missiles were on order from France. The Citizen Force was said to operate eight squadrons, with aircraft apparently not included in the figures given above.

It was stated in a Defence White Paper tabled in Parliament on 24 April4 that the decision had been taken in principle to buy fast coastal patrol craft for the Navy. The possibility of having coastal patrol craft manufactured locally was being investigated. Attention was being given to equipping naval ships with guided missiles. A start had been made with constructing a synchro-lift for a submarine base being built at Simonstown. Further ground-support aircraft and heavy transports were on order. South African factories were supplying the Army with all the vehicles it needed, as well as arms and ammunition. Some of the most modern electronic equipment was being manufactured locally.

Speaking during the Defence Vote,' the Minister of Defence said that the Atlas Aircraft Company at Kempton Park was making great strides towards the almost complete manufacture of strategic aircraft.

In co-operation with France, he added, South Africa had developed a unique ground-to-air missile for defence against fast low-flying air attacks. It was tested towards the end of 1968 at the missile-range at St. Lucia Estuary in Zululand. The first diving and torpedo-recovery vessel to be built by a South African firm was launched in May.6

Work is continuing on installing the Decca navigational aid system, which will provide complete cover for South Africa's coastal waters and a large part of the interior, and will also aid the fishing industry, help in the search for oil on the continental shelf, and be made available to international shipping off the coast in times of peace.7

A R12,000,000 underground radio communications centre is being built at Westlake, Cape Town, under the code name Advokaat. It will maintain a world-wide communications network. Information on world shipping, obtained from radar and other sources, will be fed into a computer which, instantaneously on demand, will produce a map of the shipping in any selected portion of the ocean.8

An underground air defence radar station has been constructed at Devon in the Eastern Transvaal as the nerve centre of the Northern Air Defence Sector's early-warning system. Information is fed into computers from radar heads above ground and from satellite stations at Mariepskop, Ellisras, and Mafeking. Memory banks are supplied with information.
about every conceivable type of enemy aircraft that could be used in an air attack, together with information on the best type of defence against these aircraft. Within seconds, the computers can work out the best action to take in any given situation, and the controllers can then transmit orders to jet aircraft stations at Waterkloof, near Pretoria, Pietersburg, and elsewhere, and to antiaircraft installations.

TRAINING IN UNCONVENTIONAL WARFARE

The Minister of Defence told Parliament that South Africa had embarked on a two-stream policy of being prepared for conventional warfare, but also of training men for unconventional warfare. Five special "anti-terrorist" training camps had been established, strategically sited, at which training was being given in camouflage and disguise, the establishment of bases, tracking, field shooting, convoy and ambush drill. The men were kept informed of counter-measures to the latest tactics being used in terrorist attacks throughout the world. The Air Force had been reorganized for greater mobility and was being integrated with the anti-guerrilla combat forces. Members of the South African Police continue to operate with Rhodesian security forces near the Zambian border. In addition, the Minister of Police has said, "3,000 miles of South Africa's northern borders are being patrolled night and day by 800 white and 300 non-white policemen at any one time. They have been specially trained for the work. On patrol the men sometimes cover as much as 25 miles a day through difficult terrain and often in intense heat, carrying packs weighing anything between 40 lb. and 70 lb. for up to five days. South Africa has produced a 10-lb. manpack radio transmitter-receiver with a range of more than 750 miles for use in such operations.

PETROLEUM GAS

No oil has yet been found in the Republic; but petroleum gas, consisting largely of methane, was struck during March in drilling operations on the continental shelf, 40 miles offshore from Plettenberg Bay. The yield is about 35,000,000 cubic feet a day, about one-third of the total needed, over a guaranteed period of about 25 years, before it would become an economic proposition to lay an undersea pipeline to the coast. The well also produced "condensate", consisting of light petroleum liquid products, the presence of which established that substantial quantities of hydro-carbons exist under the continental shelf. Further wells are to be drilled, the Minister said."

BUREAU FOR STATE SECURITY

In the Prime Minister's vote in the estimates for 1969-70, an amount of R4,063,000 was allocated for secret services.
In terms of provisions of the Public Service Amendment Act, No. 86 of 1969, a Bureau for State Security was set up. (The title BOSS was coined for it.) It is headed by a former head of the Security Branch, Lieutenant-General H. J. van den Bergh, who is directly responsible to the Prime Minister. According to the Deputy Minister of Justice, the Bureau will co-ordinate and complement the security activities of the Security Branch of the Police and the military intelligence division of the Defence Force, but these organizations will retain their identities. It will not be subject to the authority of the Public Service Commission, and, except during the Annual Budget debate, Parliament will be unable to question its activities. According to the Prime Minister, the officials of the Bureau have no power of arrest or detention.

The Security Services Special Account Act, No. 81 of 1969, set up an account to finance the activities of the Bureau. Money in this account may be used for such services of a confidential nature and such services connected with the Bureau as the Prime Minister may, from time to time, approve as being in the national interest. The account will be subject to audit by the Controller and Auditor-General only to the extent determined by the Minister of Finance in consultation with the Prime Minister.

The United Party supported the creation of the Bureau (this was before the General Law Amendment Bill, described below, had been published); but Sir de Villiers Graaff warned of dangers to democracy unless the Government handled the legislation with great responsibility.

GENERAL LAW AMENDMENT ACT, NO. 101 OF 1969 ("BOSS BILL")


The relevant Section (No. 3) of the principal Act read, "Any person who has in his possession or under his control any sketch, plan, model, article, note, document or information which relates to munitions of war or any military or police matter and who publishes it or directly or indirectly communicates it to any person in any manner or for any purpose prejudicial to the safety or interests of the Republic, shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding R1,500 or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding seven years, or to both such fine and such imprisonment."

In terms of Section 10 of the 1969 Act, these provisions became applicable to security matters as well as to military and police matters. A "security matter" was defined as any matter relating to the security of the Republic, including any matter dealt with or relating to the Bureau for State Security, or relating to the relationship subsisting between any person and the said Bureau.
Section 29 of the new Act provided that, notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in any law or the common law, no-one shall be compelled to give evidence or furnish any information in any court of law, or before any body established under any law, if a certificate purporting to have been signed by the Prime Minister, or any person authorized thereto by him, or by any other Minister, is produced to the effect that the matter concerned affects the interests of the State or public security, and that disclosure of it will be prejudicial to the interests of the State or public security.

The General Law Amendment Bill was introduced during the closing days of the Parliamentary session. The United Party voted against the Bill at its second reading because of Clauses 10 and 29. Mrs. Helen Suzman (Progressive Party) moved that it be read that day six months. She accused the Government of misleading Parliament by not disclosing its terms until after the Public Service Amendment Bill (which established the Bureau for State Security) had been passed. The new measure, she stressed, changed the nature of the earlier one. During the committee stage of the Bill numerous amendments were proposed by the Opposition, but none was accepted. At the third reading the United Party moved that the Bill be read that day six months.

The measure was severely criticised outside Parliament, too. Dealing, first, with Section 10, a deputation from the Newspaper Press Union saw the Deputy Minister of Justice, according to reports, to discuss the possibility that the Press might unwittingly report on matters that were deemed by the Bureau to be security matters. The Deputy Minister gave the assurance that innocent disclosure of such matters would not be a punishable offence: an offence would be committed only if disclosure were made with the object of prejudicing the safety or interests of the State. If members of the Press were in any difficulty or doubt they could always consult officials of the Department of Justice. Prosecutions would take place only at the instance of an attorney-general, the Deputy Minister stated.7

The editors of various newspapers expressed their serious concern, in spite of these assurances. The S.A. Society of Journalists issued a statement in which it said that it regarded Section 10 as the most serious curtailment yet made of the freedom of the Press in South Africa. The public would have no means of knowing how much information was being suppressed.' There was very wide concern, too, about the implications of Section 29 which, as was pointed out, might prevent an accused person from giving evidence in his own defence, and encroached on the already circumscribed power of courts of law to test State privilege.

Statements condemning Section 29, or expressing very serious concern at its scope or implications, were issued by the Bar Councils of Johannesburg, the Cape, Natal, and Pretoria, the General Council of the Bar, the Natal Law Society, and the Johannesburg Side Bar Association. At a public meeting in Randburg, Mr. Justice Marais said he was worried about the dignity, independence, and esteem of the judiciary in the existing South African scheme of things. He reminded his
audience that the independence of the judiciary was the cornerstone of the administration of justice. The Government, he said, had neglected to consult the judiciary before publishing Clause 29, nor had it informed them of its intentions. Serious misgivings were expressed, too, by Mr. Justice Ludorf, Mr. Justice Quartus de Wet, Mr. Justice Caney, and leading professors of law at the Universities of South Africa, Pretoria, and Potchefstroom, and the Rand Afrikaans University."

The president of the Black Sash, Mrs. Jean Sinclair, contributed an article to the Press in which she pointed out how, in the search for national security, the personal freedoms and security of all in South Africa had been eroded over the years.

On 5 September the Prime Minister announced that Mr. Justice Potgieter of the Appellate Division had been appointed a one-man commission of enquiry into matters relating to the security of the State. His terms of reference, published in Government Notice 3296 of 17 September, were to investigate and report on the potential threat of conventional and unconventional warfare against South Africa; the threat of terrorism and potential guerrilla warfare and the possibility of internal subversion; the necessity of the Government's being fully informed and kept abreast of matters relating to security; security measures taken in other comparable democratic countries; and the security of the State in general.

The Commission was also asked to report on whether the State departments concerned in security functioned properly and in a co-ordinated manner; on any matter that might constitute a threat to the efficient functioning of security organizations; and on whether, and to what extent, existing legislation, or portions thereof, concerning the Bureau for State Security should be amended.

It was announced on 2 December that Dr. A. Hertzog, M.P. and Mr. Jaap Marais, M.P., were to be prosecuted by the State for refusing to give evidence before this Commission after having been summonsed to do so, following an alleged statement by Dr. Hertzog that he had heard the Bureau for State Security was likely to cost a very great deal more than was admitted by the Government.

FURTHER DISQUALIFICATION FOR VOTERS

Section 2 (iv) of the Electoral Laws Amendment Act, No. 99 of 1969, and Section 23 of the General Law Amendment Act, provided that a person will be disqualified for ever as a voter in general elections, or elections for the Coloured Persons' Representative Council, if, inter alia, he has been convicted of an offence under the Suppression of Communism Act or the Terrorism Act and is sentenced to a period of imprisonment without the option of a fine.
Only Mrs. Helen Suzman (Progressive Party) opposed these clauses. She pointed out that if they became law a banned person (who had been banned by the Minister of Justice without recourse to the courts) could be deprived of his vote merely if he were convicted of forgetting to report to a police station in terms of his banning order (even if given a suspended sentence). So might persons who were sentenced for such minor offences as displaying a poster supporting any aim of a banned organization, or collecting money for such an organization.

21 Assembly. 11 June. Hansard 18 col. 7745.

CONTROL OF PUBLICATIONS
PUBLICATIONS AND ENTERTAINMENTS AMENDMENT ACT, NO. 85 OF 1969
This measure dealt with periodicals produced in the Republic other than newspapers published by members of the Newspaper Press Union (which has its own Press Code). Its provisions related to subsequent issues of a periodical which has been deemed to be undesirable, either by a court of law following a prosecution, or by the Publications Control Board after it has examined the publication at the request of any responsible official or any private citizen (except in cases where the Board's decision has been upset as the result of an appeal to the Supreme Court).

If the Board considers that every subsequent edition of a publication in one of these categories is likely to be undesirable, it may, by notice in the Gazette, declare every edition of the publication to be undesirable. It will then become an offence to produce, distribute, or display the publication. The Board may at any time withdraw a notice it issues under this section.

(In terms of the principal Act, a publication may be deemed to be undesirable if it is indecent, obscure, offensive, harmful to public morals, blasphemous, offensive to religious convictions, contemptuous of any section of the population, harmful to the relations between any sections, or prejudicial to the safety of the State, the general welfare, or peace and good order.)

Persons may appeal within thirty days to the Supreme Court if they are aggrieved by a decision of the Board in regard to subsequent issues of a periodical.

ACTIVITIES OF THE PUBLICATIONS CONTROL BOARD
Questioned in the Assembly on 8 April,1 the Minister of the Interior gave the following information in regard to the activities of the Publications Control Board in 1967 and 1968:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Imported publications prohibited</th>
<th>Local publications prohibited</th>
<th>Prohibitions on publications lifted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>409</td>
<td>419</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During 1968, the Minister added, 17 publications (including four issues of one of them) were submitted to the Board by private persons or organizations. One manuscript was returned to the sender because the prescribed fee had not been paid. Of the remainder, eight had been
found objectionable (including four issues of one publication), seven had been declared not objectionable, and the ban on one publication had been lifted. The Minister said that a figure indicating the total number of prohibited publications was not readily available. Professor Ellison Kahn, professor of law at the University of the Witwatersrand, estimated in June that there were some 13,000 of them, including those banned by the Censorship Board before the Publications Control Board was created in 1963. He called for a complete revision of the list, stating that it included works by important English and American writers that were set works in universities all over the Western world.

During the Cape provincial congress of the National Party the Minister of the Interior said that the Government was considering abolishing the right of appeal to the Supreme Court against decisions of the Publications Control Board. While he had the greatest respect for the courts, the Minister said, he felt that the board was better equipped than was a judge to decide on what was morally acceptable to the people.

Discussions had been held with representatives of the Newspaper Press Union, the Minister continued, and would be resumed, about the extent to which certain newspapers failed to adhere to the Press Code of Conduct. Unless newspapers cooperated, the Government might be forced to take action.

COMPLAINTS TO THE PRESS COUNCIL

Two of the complaints to the Press Council that were upheld during 1969 were a complaint by the Students' Representative Council of the University of the Witwatersrand against Die Vaderland in regard to an article dealing with the financing of certain activities of the National Union of South African Students, and a complaint against Dagbreek en Landstem in regard to an allegation by it that the Citizens' Action Committee was an "ultra-leftist group".

2 Sunday Times, 8 June.
3 Star, 4 September.

CONTROL OF PERSONS
PROHIBITION OF DISGUISES ACT, NO. 16 OF 1969

This measure rendered it an offence for anyone to be found disguised in any manner whatsoever, and whether effectively or not, in circumstances in which it may reasonably be inferred that the person concerned has the intention of committing an offence, or of inciting, encouraging or aiding any other person to do so, unless he proves that he had no such intention.

The penalty on conviction is a fine not exceeding R200, or imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months, or both such fine and such imprisonment.

The Council of the Association of Law Societies made particular mention of this Act when, at a meeting held in October, it criticised the tendency in recent legislation to shift the onus of proof in criminal matters from the State to the accused.

BANNING ORDERS

In Government Notice 2029 of 18 July, a full list was given of the 50 white and 304 non-white persons against whom banning orders, under the Suppression of
Communism Act, were in force as at 17 June. Since then, further orders have been imposed, and some have been withdrawn or have expired and not been renewed. Since the last Survey was compiled and up to 30 November, 40 persons whose orders were due to expire were served with further banning orders for periods of five years, and 7 for further periods of two years; 12 were served for a first time with five-year banning orders; 59 persons were banned for two-year periods; and 34 orders were withdrawn.

Among those banned for further periods of five years was Mr. Peter M. Brown, an ex-chairman of the Liberal Party. At a protest meeting called by the Black Sash in Durban Mr. Alan Paton, the former president of this party, stressed that any kind of underground dealing was foreign to Mr. Brown's nature.'

Many of those who were served for a first time with two-year banning orders were African ex-political prisoners, banned on their release from Robben Island, and sometimes, in terms of the order, confined to a township in a rural African area instead of being allowed to return to the towns where they were 1 Sunday Times, 17 August.

BANNING ORDERS
originally arrested. In some cases their wives were told to join them, thus forfeiting urban residential rights.

The kinds of restrictions that may be imposed in terms of banning orders were described on pages 38 and 42 of the 1963 Survey.

So far as can be ascertained by the writer from issues of the Government Gazette and Press reports since 1950, the banning orders issued since the Suppression of Communism Act became law and up to 30 November 1969 are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons served with banning orders ......</th>
<th>Persons who have left South Africa* ......</th>
<th>Persons who have died* ......</th>
<th>Orders apparently withdrawn or not renewed after expiry ......</th>
<th>Orders in force against persons in South Africa ..........</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>853</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At least 11 whites and 68 non-whites have been banned for a second or even a third period.

The number of persons who have been subject to house arrest is not accurately known because this information is not published in the Gazette, but they include at least 20 whites and 41 non-whites. In the Assembly on 28 February the Deputy Minister of Justice said that 41 persons were then subject to 12-hour, and one to 24-hour, house arrest. Eight persons had been subjected to house arrest for second periods of five years. Of those under house arrest, nine were required to report daily to the police.

The person who was under 24-hour house arrest was Mr. William Letlalo, who for four years had not been able to leave his home in Soweto, Johannesburg
(except to report to the police), or to receive guests there. His wife did laundry and other work to support him. Shortly after the Deputy Minister gave the figures (at Mrs. Helen Suzman's request), Mr. Letlalo's house arrest order was reduced to 12 hours daily and he was released from the obligation to report to the police. New orders of 12-hour house arrest were served during the year under review on Mr. Robert Sobukwe (as described later), and on Mrs. Albertina Sisulu, the wife of Mr. Walter Sisulu, who is serving a life sentence as a political prisoner. Mr. A. Khalek

2 Evening Post, 19 July.
These totals may be incomplete.
Hansard 4 col. 1575.
Whites Non-whites Total 979 89 17 518 355

42 A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969
(also known as K. M. Docrat) was subjected to 22-hour house arrest.

"LISTED" PERSONS
The Suppression of Communism Act provided for a list to be compiled of former office-bearers, officers, members, and active supporters of banned organizations. So far, this has been done only in the cases of those who are considered to have belonged to or actively supported the Communist Party or the Congress of Democrats. Names may be removed from the list if the persons concerned satisfy the Minister of Justice that this should be done. It is an offence for listed (as well as banned) persons to change their places of residence or employment without notifying the police, or for their utterances or writings, made at any time, to be disseminated or reproduced by any means.

During the year under review, one name was added to the list, and 37 names removed from it. Since 1950 the position has been as follows, according to the writer's calculations:

Whites Non-whites Totals
Persons both listed and banned ... 66 56 122
Persons listed but not banned ... 114 234 348
Totals since 1950 ............... 180 290 470
Names removed from the list ... 14 55 69
Names remaining on the list ...... 166 235 401

Of those whose names remain on the list, at least 67 whites and 23 non-whites have left South Africa.

PEOPLE LIVING ABROAD WHO CANNOT BE QUOTED IN SOUTH AFRICA
The Act empowered the Minister, by notice in the Gazette, to prohibit the dissemination in South Africa of the utterances or writings of persons who formerly lived in the Republic but are now abroad. Five further names were added during the year under review, making totals of 21 whites and 48 nonwhites.

TRIALS FOR CONTRAVENTING BANNING ORDERS
During the past year both Dr. Pascal Ngakane and Mr. M. A. Saule were found guilty of contravening their banning orders by failing, on one occasion each, to report to the police. Each

BANNING ORDERS
was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment, all but four days conditionally suspended.

Mr. A. J. Jacquesson, whose banning order has been renewed for a further five years, was convicted of contravening it for a second time, by leaving the district to which he was confined, and was sentenced to four months' imprisonment, half suspended.

Mr. R. G. B. Triegaardt went one evening to see his 102-year-old mother, returned home later than the time stipulated in his banning order, and on conviction was sentenced to one month's imprisonment, suspended for one year.

In 1968 a magistrate sentenced Mr. N. S. Nkosi to three years' imprisonment for a sixth contravention of an order that was served on him on his release from 30 months' imprisonment for being a member of a banned organization. On appeal to the Supreme Court this second sentence was reduced to two years.

MR. ROBERT M. SOBUKWE
As mentioned in previous issues of this Survey, after the demonstration against the pass laws that was organized by the Pan-African Congress in 1960, Mr. Robert Sobukwe, the president of this organization, was sentenced to three years' imprisonment for inciting others unlawfully to support a campaign for a repeal of these laws. His sentence was due to expire on 3 May 1963, but in that year an amendment to the Suppression of Communism Act was passed, to remain in force for a year, empowering the Minister of Justice to order the continued detention of an ex-political prisoner who, in the Minister's opinion, might, if released, further the achievement of any of the objects of communism as defined in the Act. In each of the five succeeding years this provision was re-enacted and, under it, the Minister then ordered the continued detention of Mr. Sobukwe (the only person thus held).

The provision was not re-introduced in 1969, however, and on 13 May Mr. Sobukwe was officially conducted from Robben Island to Kimberley. A five-year banning order was served on him confining him to the municipal area of Kimberley, placing him under 12-hour house arrest, and prohibiting him from attending gatherings, from entering hostels, compounds, factories, or any premises where a publication is prepared, from helping to prepare any publication, from entering educational institutions or courts of law (unless as an accused or witness), and from communicating with any banned or listed person. A house in the African township was placed at his disposal, his wife was allowed to join him, his possessions were transported there, and he was provided with cash for immediate requirements. He refused the offer of a municipal post and became articulated to an African attorney.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969
EMERGENCY REGULATIONS IN THE TRANSKEI
The emergency regulations in the Transkei were summarized on page 43 of the 1961 Survey. Africans who are suspected of contravening the regulations may be detained without charges being laid against them. Chiefs who are specifically authorized to do so may order persons to move from their homes to stated places in the territory.

During May the (opposition) Democratic Party moved in the Transkeian Legislative Assembly that the emergency regulations, contained in Proclamation 400 of 1960, be repealed. They muzzled not only the general public but members of the Assembly itself, it was stated. The Transkeian Government, however, maintained that the regulations were still needed for the preservation of internal security.

Questioned in the Republic's Assembly on 13 April, the Minister of Police said that, during 1968, 32 persons in the Transkei had been detained. Of these, 27 were released without charges having been laid against them, after periods of detention ranging from 2 to 125 days. The remaining 5 persons were charged after having been detained for periods of from 96 to 102 days: one was acquitted, three convicted, and the fifth case was withdrawn. No-one was held in solitary confinement. Sixteen were in detention at the end of 1968, having been held for periods of from 58 to 97 days.

One of those detained during 1969 was Mr. B. Langa, an Opposition member of the Legislative Assembly who represented the Flagstaff district, where disturbances had occurred.

The Minister of Police told the Assembly in Cape Town that at the end of 1968 there were 19 persons under removal orders issued by chiefs.

TRAVEL DOCUMENTS
According to the Minister of the Interior, 8,617,690 white and 34,693 non-white persons entered South Africa legally during 1968 from countries other than the three former High Commission Territories, while 596,699 white and 23,597 non-white persons left South Africa for destinations in such countries. (These figures do not include non-white workers recruited for temporary periods of service in South Africa.)

The Minister said on 13 May that in 1968 there were 139,250 applications for passports and 28,764 for African travel documents. Of these, 322 were refused: 28 to whites, 96 to Indians, 141 to Coloured persons, and 57 to Africans.

4 Cape Times, 29 May.
1 Hansard 14 col. 5816.
6 Daily Dispatch, 24 June.
7 25 April, Hansard 11 col. 4748.
8 Assembly, 17 February, Hansard 3 col!. 872.
9 Assembly Hansard 14 col. 5816.

TRAVEL DOCUMENTS
Among those who were refused passports in 1969, or whose passports were withdrawn, were Mr. M. T. Moerane, editor of The World, who had been offered a study grant in the United States; the Rev. Canon Cyprian Thorpe of the Anglican Church who had planned to go to Britain on Church business; Mrs.
Thorpe; the Rev. C. McBride, also of the Anglican Church, who had intended to go temporarily to St. Helena to work for the Church there; Father A. Danker of the Roman Catholic Church, director of the Young Christian Worker movement; a student leader, Mr. Raphael Kaplinski, who wished to continue his studies overseas; and Mr. Joel Carlson.

Mr. Carlson is a Johannesburg attorney who over a long period has acted for political detainees in cases of alleged assault by the police. In the late 1950's he made nation-wide representations against the system of sending pass law offenders to work on farms. He was instructing attorney in a "terrorism" trial, and official observer for the International Commission of Jurists at several political trials. Both this International Commission and the United States Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under Law urged the Minister of Justice to secure the return of Mr. Carlson's passport, and his M.P., Mrs. Suzman, intervened on his behalf, but without success.

According to the Minister of the Interior, 69 "exit" (permanent departure) permits were issued in 1968, to 16 whites, 11 Coloured, 9 Asians, and 33 Africans. No applications for such permits were refused. Among those who left permanently in 1969 were Mr. Kaplinski, after his passport had been refused, and Mr. David Ernst after serving a prison sentence under the Suppression of Communism Act.

Among prominent non-whites who were granted passports for overseas visits or study during 1969 were Mr. T. Cinnapayen, Mr. M. Deokali, Mr. Patrick Jwili, Mrs. Ellen Kuzwayo, Mrs. J. Mokhuathi, Mrs. A. H. Mosaka, Mr. Alfred Msizana, Mr. K. Naik, Mr. S. V. Petersen, Mr. Percy Reddy, Mrs. Harriet Sibisi, and Dr. R. E. van der Ross.

The Minister of the Interior told the Assembly that 49 whites and 39 non-whites were deported from the Republic or South-West Africa during 1968. Several citizens of other countries had to leave South Africa in 1969 because the renewal of their temporary residents' permits was refused, among them the Rev. Robert van der Hart, a Roman Catholic priest who had served on the inter-church committee that drew up the "Message to the People of South Africa", Mr. David Garner, editor of the magazine Drum, Miss Mary King, who had been teaching at the Inanda Seminary for African girls, Mr. John Ramsden, a lecturer at the University of Natal, and Mr. Victor Francis, a trade unionist.

Questioned in the Assembly on 23 May, the Minister of Justice (for the Minister of the Interior) said that during 1968, applications for visas were refused to 503 whites, 27 Coloured, 467 Asians, and 254 Africans. Among those who were refused entry in 1969 were an American journalist, Mr. Russell W. Howe, Professor Ivan Morris of Columbia University (he has a Japanese wife), an advocate from Lesotho, Mr. Andrew Ramolese, and a team from the B.B.C. that had planned to make a film of the life of Mahatma Gandhi.
A United States Congressman, Mr. Charles Diggs (a Negro), who is chairman of the Sub-Committee on Africa of the U.S. House Foreign Affairs Committee, was informed that he would be granted a visa to visit South Africa on condition that he did not address any public meetings and refrained from doing anything that would constitute interference in the Republic's domestic affairs. Similar conditions were imposed when Congressmen Lester Wolff and J. Herbert Burke applied for visas. Congressman Ogden Reid, who had been invited to deliver the Day of Affirmation address at the University of the Witwatersrand, was told that he and his family would be welcome as visitors, but not for the purpose indicated in his application. All four men cancelled their applications.

Prominent people who were allowed to visit the country included Mr. Sherman M. Carter, the Negro psychologist, Mr. Inia te Wiata, the Maori bass-baritone operatic singer, Mr. George Lindsay of the U.S. Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, and Mr. Edward Lyons, a British barrister and Labour M.P.

Mr. Lindsay and Mr. Lyons came to have discussions with Cabinet Ministers and leading members of the Bar about matters that are seen overseas as adversely affecting the rule of law in South Africa, in particular the withdrawal of Mr. Carlson's passport.

It was reported in May that the Department of the Interior had informed a travel agency which planned to specialize in travel arrangements for visitors that travel groups from foreign countries including whites and non-whites in their numbers would not be admitted. If an entirely non-white group arrived by sea, it was stated, with the Department's approval members might do day tours from the port provided that they returned to the ship at night, remained as a unit and were not joined by others, and travelled by motor coach. During these day trips they might use hotels and restaurants for refreshments provided the owners were willing and no embarrassing incidents were likely to occur.

12 Hansard 15 col. 6479. 13 Star, 7 May.

TRAVEL DOCUMENTS

The Indian Government refused visas to a three-man delegation which was to have represented South Africa at a congress of the World Council for the Welfare of the Blind, in New Delhi. Two members of the delegation were Mr. Walter Cohen, chairman of the World Braille Council, and Mr. C. M. Bassa, chairman of the Indian section of the S.A. National Council for the Blind. Several prominent Indians in South Africa protested to the Indian Government.

A few weeks later this Government refused to allow South African and Rhodesian representatives to visit New Delhi to take part in a conference of Engineering Institutions.

The South African delegation was refused visas to enable them to attend a Jaycee International conference in Trinidad during October.

ADMISSION OF PERSONS TO AND DEPARTURE FROM THE REPUBLIC REGULATION AMENDMENT ACT, NO. 38 OF 1969

This Act empowered police officers and passport control officers to call upon any person to produce proof that he is entitled to be in the Republic. If satisfactory proof is not produced, the person may be taken into custody without warrant and
must as soon as possible be brought before a passport control officer for examination. (The Bill stated that the person "may be" brought before a passport control officer. The wording was changed to "shall as soon as possible" as the result of a United Party amendment: the only amendment that was accepted.)

The principal Act states that a person wishing to enter the Republic must satisfy a passport control officer that he is not a prohibited person in terms of relevant legislation. If permission to enter is refused, the person may appeal within three days to a special appeal board. The Amendment Act increased the maximum sum that may be required as a deposit from a person who appeals from R200 to R1,000. Explaining the reasons for this,1" the Minister of the Interior said that most ships refused to take persons who were refused entry back to the ports where they originally embarked because their presence spoilt the trip for other people. On an aircraft, an escort was demanded. The person concerned should pay for this.

The new measure provided, too, that an appellant may be held in custody pending the hearing. The Minister said that some people had disappeared during this period.

It was laid down in the Amendment Act that the Minister's decision on whether the removal from the Republic of a person who is not a South African citizen is or is not in the public interest shall not be subject to appeal, nor to review by any court of law. No person shall be entitled to be furnished with the reasons for the Minister's decision. The Minister said that this had been the accepted position, but the wording of the relative section was faulty. It was sometimes not in the public interest to reveal reasons for ordering the removal of aliens, he continued. If deported persons were not accepted as citizens in the country of their destination, and were regarded as stateless persons, South Africa had, in terms of the Hague Convention, to receive them back.

During the debate in the Assembly Mr. L. G. Murray (United Party) pointed out6 that people who wanted to leave the country temporarily for purposes of study or employment, but were refused passports, had no alternative but to apply for exit permits if they were determined to go. They then became aliens.

On receiving assurances from the Minister on various points, the United Party did not oppose the Bill at its second reading, only Mrs. Suzman voting against it.

BANISHMENT OF AFRICANS
The provisions of the Bantu Administration Act in terms of which Africans may be banished from their homes, and the conditions of banishment, were described on page 43 of the 1967 Survey. Altogether, about 156 banishment orders have been issued since 1948.

Questioned in the Assembly on 6 May,17 the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that no removal orders had been made since September 1966. There were still 39 Africans subject to such orders, although some of these orders had been temporarily suspended.
Mrs. Suzman said on 28 May’8 she thought that there were then 21 Africans still living in banishment. She urged the Minister to allow them to appear before him in person in order that he might review their orders. Two of them, she said, were very old people, and had been in banishment for 18 years. Of the others, one had been in banishment for 15 years, five for 8 years, five for 6 years, six for 5 years, and two for 2 years.

15 Cols. 877, 884.
16 Col. 881.
17 Hansard 13 col. 5353.
18 Hansard 16 col. 6715.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE
CRIMINAL STATISTICS
In the Assembly on 30 May' the Minister of Justice gave the following figures relating to admissions to prisons, and the daily average number of persons in prison, during the period
1 July 1967 to 30 June 1968:
Admissions
Whites ... Coloured Asians ... Africans ...
13,792 77,374 2,325 561,405
654,896
Daily average number
in custody
3,171.1 13,587.6
441.2
63,334.0
80,533.9
(The daily average number in custody, per thousand of the population, would work out at 0.87 for whites, 1.76 for Coloured, 0.19 for Asians, and 1.13 for Africans.)
The sentences passed during the same period were:
Up to and including one month
4,352 36,489 779
235,342
276,962
More than I More than 6 month up to months up 6 months to 2 years
2,332 791
18,750 2,708
389 71
155,034 15,482
176,505
19,052
On another occasion,' the Minister said that sentences and executions during 1968 were:
2 years and longer
757 2,723 58
9,752
13,290

the death
Whites Coloured Asians Africans
1 Hansard 16 col. 6946.
2 Assembly, 14 February, Hansard 2 col. 736.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969
White men ...... White women ... 
Coloured men ...... Coloured women ... African men ...... African women ...

Sentenced to
death
3 1
20
o.. 1

According to the report of the Commissioner of Police for the year ended 30 June
1968,' those who died during that year as a result of criminal acts of violence
were:
Murder ....... ...
Culpable homicide Infanticide Faction fighting Assault ... ... 
Public violence ... Other criminal acts
Totals 1967-8 Totals 1966-74

White
119 781
4
19
... 944 ... 656

Race of victim
Coloured Asian African
271  21  3,838
389  79  2,877
3  1  48
-  -  176
29  1  373
-  -  27
5  2  263
697 744
104  7,602  9,347  101  7,405  8,906

The Minister of Justice said5 that during the year ended 30 June 1967 the
following numbers of persons were convicted of certain acts of violence:
Crime
Murder
Rape and attempted
rape
Culpable homicide Totals 1966-7
Race of victims
PROSECUTIONS UNDER THE PASS LAWS
One of the reasons for the increase in the number of convictions is more intensive police work. Interviewed on 5 May, Lt.-Col. J. H. B. Gouws said that a special murder and robbery squad began operating in Soweto, Johannesburg, in August 1968. Specially trained detectives in plain clothes continually mingled with the people in order to protect them as well as to investigate crime. Realizing that this was in their interests, the local population co-operated well. Nevertheless, the crime rate in Soweto (as well as other areas, such as Athoine, Cape Town) remains very high. On 29 April the Star published an article by Patrick Laurence, based on sample surveys of 500 African residents that had been conducted by two commercial research firms. Some 30 per cent stated that they
had been attacked in the streets at one time or another, 22 per cent had been victims of robbery in the streets and 15 per cent of robbery on trains, and 14 per cent had experienced robbery or burglary at their homes.

PROSECUTIONS UNDER LAWS RELATING TO AFRICAN PASSES AND TAXATION

In his report for 1967-8, the Commissioner of Police listed some of the main offences and law infringements for which persons were committed for trial during that year. Prominent among them were law infringements relating to the pass laws, laws relating to African taxation, and other laws, rules, and regulations relating mainly to Africans, as follows:

Numbers committed for trial

Bantu reception depot regulations, rules and regulations relating to Bantu residential areas, mission stations, and Bantu Reserves 157,807
Foreign Africans entering urban areas ...... 17,245
Registration and production of documents by Africans ......................... 352,517
Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act not specified elsewhere ................... 142,727
Masters' and Servants' Acts and Bantu Labour Regulation Act .................... 23,365
Bantu tax ........................................ 243,437

The vast majority of those prosecuted for such law infringements would have been Africans. The total represents 44.6 per cent of the total number of persons, of all races, who were committed for trial during the year.

7 Star of that date.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969

DISPARATE SENTENCES

During the past year there has been Press comment on disparate sentences, not only between white and non-white, but between different courts. It was suggested that South Africa should consider the practice of some other countries of periodic meetings of judicial officers with a view to achieving as much uniformity of punishment as is possible, and that courts should take into account what other courts have given for equivalent offences, irrespective of race.

Towards the end of 1968, a 15-year-old Coloured boy in Hankey in the Eastern Cape was sentenced to R10 or 20 days for stealing two bottles of cold drink worth 10 cents. The 20-year-old white constable who arrested him was sentenced to R40 or 40 days, plus 80 days suspended, for having assaulted the boy in what a reviewing judge called a sadistic and brutal way. When reviewing these cases, the Eastern Province Supreme Court replaced the boy's sentence by a warning and discharge. The judge said that the lightness of the constable's sentence outraged his sense of justice. The court could not increase it, but it sent the record to the Minister of Police in the expressed hope that the authorities would see that Force Orders on the treatment of prisoners were complied with."
An African woman in Oudtshoorn was sentenced to R$30 or 90 days for stealing a jersey from her employer. This was returned. The reviewing judge ordered that the sentence be changed to 14 days (part of which had already been served). The magistrate must have realized, he said, that the woman would not be able to pay the fine, and so he was in effect sentencing her to 90 days. The fine amounted to more than three months' income for the woman. Comparatively, this would mean that if an average white person had committed the offence he would have been fined at least R$300.11

During January, an African was found guilty of breaking off a twig from an ornamental tree in the main street of Bredasdorp, and was sentenced to R$40 or 60 days.12

In November 1965 four young white men in Florida were found guilty of raping an African woman and assaulting her African escort. Three of them were each sentenced to six strokes, while the fourth was given a year's suspended sentence. In a subsequent civil case heard in January 1967, the judge awarded damages of R$3,000 to the woman and R$300 to her escort; but the men disappeared and made no effort to pay. At the end of 1968 a private investigation agency was still trying to find them.13

9 Star, 9 December 1968 and 31 January.
12 Star, 31 January.
13 Star, 10 December 1968.

COMMENT ON CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

On 30 August the Star published a summary of a study by Dr. B. van Niekerk of the Department of Law of the University of the Witwatersrand, in which he stated that South Africa accounted for about 47 per cent of the known total of judicial executions.

A study of court reports since 1910 indicated, he said, that the courts showed more leniency in cases of intra-racial crime than was done with inter-racial crimes. It was statistically clear that non-whites were more likely to be sentenced to death and executed for capital crimes on a white person than the reverse. To the best of his knowledge, there were only five instances on record since 1910 of whites being executed for the murder of non-whites, and he did not know of a single white who had been hanged for rape on a non-white. Dr. van Niekerk indicated that the actual crime-rate for rape across the colour-line was proportionately higher for whites than for non-whites.

COMMENT ON CRIME AND THE TREATMENT OF OFFENDERS

In the September issue of its newsletter Policy, Fact and Comment, the Progressive Party pointed to the general increase in crime and to the fact that the rate among the Coloured was 5.5 times that of the whites. Each year, it stated, one out of every six Coloured men was convicted of a crime. Three direct causes, which formed a vicious circle, were poverty, insecurity, and the abuse of liquor.
The answer lay not in having a bigger police force or in making punishment more and more severe, but in finding out what caused crime and then removing the causes.
The newsletter stated, "It is the Coloured people, their political future unsure, their settled communities continually being uprooted by group areas implementation, their personal ambitions thwarted by legal and customary colour bars, who are the epitome of a people without a sense of belonging, without a stake in the 'good life'."
In a radio talk given on 27 July, Mr. Justice J. H. Steyn of the Cape Supreme Court called for a commission of enquiry, representative of the Departments of Justice and of Prisons and of the sciences of sociology and criminology, to suggest a more constructive approach to the problems of punishment. The rest of the Western world, he said, was gradually moving away from short-term imprisonment. But in South Africa, more people were being sent to gaol on sentences of less than six months than ever before. There was something radically at fault with a system that produced these results. Prison should be used only for those who, in fact, were criminals, and in need of correction or isolation.
14 Rand Daily Mail, 28 July.

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In the Assembly on 14 March Mrs. Helen Suzman (Progressive Party) introduced a private member's motion: "that this House requests the Government to consider the advisability of appointing a commission to enquire into the desirability of abolishing capital punishment."
It was clear, she said, that the overall tendency throughout the world was towards fewer executions. South Africa was moving in the opposite direction. It had added further crimes to the capital list, was hanging more people than in previous years, and was granting fewer reprieves.
A recent British Royal Commission on Capital Punishment had concluded that there was no evidence that the death penalty was a superior deterrent to imprisonment, Mrs. Suzman continued. There was no evidence, she said, that the abolition of this penalty led to more murders. She was personally in favour of its abolition. "The crux of the matter in South Africa lies not in the retention of the death penalty but in the removal of conditions that are the root cause of violence and crime-social dislocation, poverty, low wages, hopelessness, bad living conditions, and that cancer in our society-migratory labour."
Mrs. Suzman received no support. On behalf of the United Party, Mr. M. L. Mitchell moved: "to omit all the words after 'that' and to substitute, 'this House favours the retention of capital punishment in existing cases and calls upon the Government to consider the advisability, inter alia, of providing for an automatic right of appeal in all cases where the death sentence is imposed and for the speeding up of the procedures of appeal in such cases'."
The Minister of Justice opposed the motion. "It is a fact," he said, "that our execution rate is extremely high, but our crime rate is extremely high, too. The increase in the crime rate is, naturally, causing concern."
ABOLITION OF JURIES ACT, NO. 34 OF 1969
The Abolition of Juries Act provided for the repeal of laws dealing with trial by jury in criminal proceedings. An accused had previously been able to ask for trial by a judge and jury, but the Minister could override such a request, and an attorney general could direct that an accused be tried summarily. A judge may still appoint one or two persons to sit with him at the trial, as assessors. These persons must, as before, be experienced in the administration of justice, or skilled in the matter to be considered by the court.

15 Hansard 6 col. 2570.
16 Col. 2592.
17 Col. 2611.

THE POLICE
CONDUCT OF THE POLICE AND PRISON WARDERS
Statistics
According to the report of the Commissioner of Police for the year ended 30 June 1967, during that year 7 white and 11 African policemen lost their lives in the execution of their duties. The following awards were made to policemen:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Non-whites</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S.A. Police Star for distinguished conduct</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.A. Police Star for merit</td>
<td></td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.A. Police Medal for faithful service</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Questioned in the Assembly, the Minister of Police said that actions for damages for alleged assault by members of the Police Force were brought by 76 members of the public in 1966, 89 in 1967, and 117 in 1968. Of the actions that had been finalized, 1 was won, 18 lost, and 41 settled out of court.

Giving evidence in a court case the chairman of the Prisons Board, Brigadier J. Steyn, said that between 1961 and 1965 there were 220 assaults reported in prisons. The Department viewed such assaults in a serious light. According to the Minister of Prisons, during 1968 the warders who were convicted of assaults on prisoners were 22 whites, 2 Coloured, and 15 Africans. The prisoners who were convicted of assaults were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assaults on:</th>
<th>Warders</th>
<th>Other prisoners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>593</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister of Police said, in reply to a question in the Assembly, that 70 white and 191 non-white policemen were dismissed during 1968. The total strength of the force at the end of that year was 34,205.

Prison van deaths
On 2 April, 89 Africans who had been arrested for alleged pass law offences were crowded into a van designed to accommodate a maximum of 65, to be driven 28 miles from the Modderbee prison near Benoni to court in Johannesburg. The van broke down twice on the way, and the men were locked in it from about 11 a.m. to 5 p.m., on a hot day. When the doors were opened it...
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969
was found that three of the men had died and others were unconscious and soaked
in perspiration: it was reported that at least nine were taken to hospital.
The two African policemen who had been in charge of the van appeared in the
Rand Supreme Court on 28 April, and were found guilty of culpable homicide.
The judge sentenced them to detention until the court rose. They were only minor
cogs in the system, he said, and had been in genuine doubt what to do.
Overloading of vans had been the practice for many years. The judge severely
criticized the "reckless disregard" of proper air circulation in the van.23
The Minister of Police announced on 30 April2 that strict instructions had been
issued to prevent a recurrence of this happening. A fact-finding investigation had
been carried out by senior police officers, and as a result, certain remedial
measures had already been taken. An inter-departmental committee of enquiry
had been appointed, under the chairmanship of the Chief Magistrate of
Johannesburg. The committee's findings have not been made public at the time of
writing.
A first batch (44) of the surviving men who had been in the van appeared in court
on 25 April, having been remanded in absentia since 2 April. Some had originally
been arrested as far back as 12 February. The Bantu Affairs Commissioner
discharged them all, and arranged for them to be given special papers to produce
if the police demanded to see their reference books. He warned them to regularize
their position in Johannesburg, or to leave if this could not be done.
The rest of the men appeared in court later and they, too, were discharged.
One of the men who died was Mr. Johannes Lefefe. It was widely reported25 that
officals of the Bantu Resettlement Board ordered his widow, Mrs. Evelyn Lefefe,
to vacate the family home at Diepkloof and return to Lesotho, from where she had
come 28 years previously. Her employer's request to keep her on as a living-in
domestic servant was refused. Her furniture was taken by officials to the home of
a relative in Soweto, to be forwarded to her later. Reporters who saw her leave by
train said that she seemed to be most bewildered. However, the Deputy Minister
of Bantu Administration stated26 that she was returning to Lesotho of her own
choice. Her children were at school there. He confirmed that she had been told
that she would have to vacate her home, but said that other accommodation could
have been found for her. She has instituted legal proceedings against the Minister
of Prisons.
23 Rand Daily Mail, 29 April.
24 Star of that date.
25 e.g. Star, 29 May; Rand Daily Mail, 4 June.
26 Rand Daily Mail, 5 June.
CONDITIONS IN PRISONS
Another of those who died was Mr. Shadrock Sello Swarathle. His wife had deserted him, leaving him with four minor children. During September his sister was given leave in the Rand Supreme Court to sue the Minister of Justice and of Prisons, and the Minister of Police, as joint respondents, for R10,000 damages. The third man was Mr. Simon Mxamangeli, who was apparently arrested while window-shopping, having forgotten to take his reference book with him.2” His parents were given leave to sue for R6,000 damages on behalf of the mother of his unborn child.

CONDITIONS IN PRISONS
Publication by Department of Foreign Affairs
During 1969 the Department of Foreign Affairs published an illustrated booklet entitled Prison Administration in South Africa, giving a review of the system and accounts of inspections and visits by representatives of the International Committee of Red Cross, judges of the Supreme Court, and Members of Parliament.

South Africa's Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr. M. I. Botha, sent copies of the booklet to the U.N. Secretariat, with a covering letter stating that they were being transmitted for information, although his Government did not recognize the competence of any organ of the U.N. to criticise prison management in any country, as this was a domestic matter.-8

Conclusion of case resulting from articles published in the Rand Daily Mail
Accounts were given in the four previous issues of this Survey29 of articles that appeared in the Rand Daily Mail criticising conditions in certain prisons: they were based on sworn statements by certain warders and ex-prisoners. Instead of appointing a commission of enquiry, as was urged by this newspaper and others, the Government instituted a series of cases against the informants: the outcome of these was reported in earlier years.

In 1967, summonses to appear in court on two charges (under Section 44 (f) of the Prisons Act) of publishing false information about prisons without taking reasonable steps to verify the information were served on Mr. Laurence Gandar, the editor-in-chief of the Rand Daily Mail, Mr. Benjamin Pogrund, a senior reporter, and the S.A. Associated Newspapers, Ltd., owners of the paper.

7 bid, 11 April.
26 See 1968 Survey, page 54, for a resolution passed that year by the U.N. Commission on Human Rights.
29 1965 pages 78-82; 1966 pages 93-4; 1967 page 77; 1968 page 55.

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All pleaded not guilty when the hearing began in the Rand Supreme Court in November 1968. After an adjournment it was resumed early in 1969, continuing until July.

Judgment was given on 11 July by the Judge-President of the Transvaal, Mr. Justice Cillie. He found the accused guilty on both charges. They had failed to prove that they took reasonable steps to verify the information that was published,
he stated. But there was no evidence that they knew the information was false, nor was there sufficient evidence to show that they had made or offered payment to informants.

Not all the allegations made by the informants were found by the judge to be false beyond reasonable doubt. He accepted, for example, the evidence that electro-therapy machines at the Cinderella Prison had been misused to deter malingerers. The judge agreed with a defence submission that it was not the purpose of Section 44 (f) of the Prisons Act to inhibit a newspaper from a normal function of exposing public abuses. He said he did not think that it was always necessary to ask the authorities, in this case the Department of Prisons, for comments on information received. But if this were not done it did deprive readers of hearing the other side of the story, he said.

Mr. Gander was sentenced to R100 or three months on each of the two counts; the S.A. Associated Newspapers was fined R150 on each count; and Mr. Pogrund received a sentence of three months' gaol without the option of a fine on each count, all suspended for three years on condition that he was not meanwhile convicted of a similar offence.

Commenting on this case, the Star pointed out on 12 July that neither the legislators nor the courts had spelled out what the words "reasonable steps" were, when stating that such steps should be taken to verify information received. In consequence there was great uncertainty over an important area of public duty-the duty to disclose abuses if they occurred.

On 20 July the Sunday Express said that the legal advisers to the Rand Daily Mail had considered that the taking of sworn statements and the questioning of informants constituted "reasonable steps". The judge had decided this was insufficient. Uncertainty existed about the whole matter. Instead of initiating a frank examination of the prison system and what more could be done to improve it, the Government had instituted a series of cases, mainly punitive in their scope, at which witnesses for the State had given a complete and unsatisfactory denial that anything was wrong.

It was pointed out in this article that the Rand Daily Mail had had to pay something like R250,000 in legal fees in defending itself and its informants. In view of this, "it would be a very foolhardy editor indeed who took it upon himself to involve his newspaper in the risk of similar legislation in future".

LEGAL AID
POLICE RESERVISTS AND HOME GUARDS
The categories of police reservists were described on page 74 of the 1967 Survey. In the Assembly on 6 May30 the Minister of Police said that the strength of the police reserve was then 17,530 whites, 555 Coloured, 307 Indians, and 1,050 Africans. It was hoped to recruit up to 6,175 Africans as a provisional total. The Johannesburg Municipality is extending the training of its municipal police force at Soweto. They work in close conjunction with the South African police and the reservists, carry only batons and handcuffs, and have modern aids such as two-way radio vehicles.

AFRICAN PRISONWARDERS
A first course to train African prison warders to take charge of prisons in the African Reserves was commenced during May, at the Leeuwkop Prison near Johannesburg.

LEGAL AID ACT, NO. 22 OF 1969

This Act provided for the establishment of a corporate body called the Legal Aid Board, to render or make available legal aid to indigent persons. The chairman must be a judge of the Supreme Court, appointed by the Minister of Justice (it was announced on 28 August that Mr. Justice C. D. J. Theron had been so appointed). Other members are the Secretary for Justice, as vice-chairman, the Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development, the Secretary for Social Welfare and Pensions, the State Attorney, one practising advocate and four practising attorneys, nominated by the General Council of the Bar and the Association of Law Societies respectively and appointed by the Minister, and an additional member appointed by the Minister. The appointed members will hold office for a period not exceeding three years, but may be re-appointed. Members who are not full-time State employees will be paid such remuneration and allowances as the Minister of Justice may determine.

With the Minister's consent, the Board may appoint officers and agents. It will be empowered to obtain the services of legal practitioners, and to fix conditions subject to which legal aid is to be rendered, including conditions in accordance with which any rights in respect of costs recovered shall be ceded to the Board, and conditions relating to the payment of contributions to the Board by persons to whom legal aid is rendered.

The Board's funds shall consist of moneys appropriated by Parliament and received from any other source. It may receive donations or bequests. Its accounts will be audited by the Controller and Auditor-General. An annual report will be published.

When introducing the Bill at its second reading, the Minister of Justice said that the establishment of the Board would not interfere with the existing pro Deo scheme, which would continue to operate in all criminal cases where capital punishment might be involved, nor would it interfere with the in forma pauperis system.

The Board might give or arrange for legal aid in both criminal and civil cases, he continued. A means test would have to be devised, which might vary from area to area. The Board, in accordance with its own good judgment, would have to identify cases which ought to qualify for aid: this should not be given, for example, to "layabouts and workdodgers who constitute most of the recidivists." The United Party supported the second reading; but Mr. M. L. Mitchell pointed out that the amount of money voted would determine how the system could operate.

In the Estimates of Expenditure from Revenue Account for 1969-70 a sum of R50,000 was set aside as a contribution to the Legal Aid Board.
In a memorandum on the Bill, the Institute of Race Relations pointed out that the Board would not be an independent body, as it was directly responsible to the Minister, all its members being government servants or appointments made or confirmed by the Minister. It was generally accepted in other countries that had legal aid systems that these must be independent organizations, even if financed by the State. Experience in South Africa showed that accused persons were reluctant to use services which appeared to come through Government agencies. If the Board adopted current international thinking on legal aid, as it was open to do, it would accept certain principles that were outlined in the Institute's memorandum, the more important of which were:
(a) Legal practitioners should be paid on a scale that would enable them to regard the work as a part of their normal professional practice and not as charitable work.
(b) The means test to be applied should be on a sliding scale.
(c) If possible, persons using legal assistance should be allowed choice of practitioner from a roster.
32 Hansard 4 cols. 1495-6.
33 Col. 1498.
34 R.P. 2/69, page 189.
35 RR. 30/69.

LEGAL AID
(d) All criminal cases prima facie should be defended. In civil matters it is reasonable to require proof that there is some ground on which to proceed before giving people legal assistance, but this means that there must be an adequate system of first interviews.
(e) The financing of the system should be more specifically debated. The New Zealand scheme was financed by the interest paid by banks to attorneys' trust fund accounts.
It had been suggested that in South Africa some of the surplus in the Workmen's Compensation Fund might be used.
(f) The practitioners who are involved should come from all parts of the profession, and not only from the newcomers (as was usually the case in the pro Deo system).
(g) Provision should be made for the necessary social and investigative services to be available in preparation of cases.

VOLUNTARY LEGAL AID BUREAU, JOHANNESBURG
It should be mentioned that although most of the voluntary legal aid bureaux in South Africa closed after the Government withdrew subsidies in 1961, the Johannesburg bureau continues to operate, on a municipal subsidy together with money raised from the public. It is a registered welfare organization, serving all races. The lawyers do not charge for their services.
Because of its limited funds the bureau is forced to apply a stringent means test in order to keep its work within manageable proportions. In 1968 the bureau conducted 11,202 interviews, from which about 500 cases were referred to attorneys. Many of these were civil cases dealing with matrimonial disputes and accident claims; but 83 criminal cases were taken up during the year, in 48 of which the accused was found not guilty.16

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DETENTION AND TRIALS IN SOUTH AFRICA
UNDER THE SECURITY LAWS

NUMBERS DETAINED AND CONVICTED IN 1968

Questioned in the Assembly on 27 May,' the Minister of Justice gave the following statistics relating to persons convicted under the security laws in 1968:

Convicted under:
Section 21. General Law
Amendment Act of
1962 (sabotage)
Suppression of Communism Act (1950 as amended)
Unlawful Organizations
Act (1960) ... ... Terrorism Act (1967) ...
Whites Coloured Asians Africans

One person (white) who had been released after serving a prison sentence was charged with a further offence under the Suppression of Communism Act, he said. According to the Minister of Prisons,' those who were released during 1968 after serving sentences of imprisonment under these laws were:

Convicted under: W
Section 21, General Law
Amendment Act ... Suppression of Communism Act ......
Unlawful Organizations
Act ... ... ... ...
Terrorism Act ......

Those who were still the end of 1968 were:
Whites Coloured
Asians
Africans

serving sentences under these laws at
1 Hansard 16 col. 6681.
2 Assembly. 3O May, Hansard 16 col. 6948.

ACTION TAKEN UNDER THE SECURITY LAWS

Convicted under: Whites Coloured Asians Africans
Section 21. General Law
Amendment Act 11 17 14 374
Suppression of Communism Act ...... 6 2 - 34
Various forms of detention without trial are provided for in security laws. Section 215 bis was inserted in the Criminal Procedure Act in 1965, providing for the detention for up to 180 days at one time of persons whom the attorney-general considers may be able to give evidence in serious criminal cases.3

Section 22(1) of the General Law Amendment Act of 1966 provides for the detention of suspected terrorists for interrogation for periods of up to 14 days. The Commissioner of Police may, however, apply to a judge of the Supreme Court for an extension of this period.’

Section 6 of the Terrorism Act provides for detention for indefinite periods. Questioned about the numbers detained in 1968, the Minister of Justice said6 that it was not in the public interest to disclose how many people were detained under the Terrorism Act. The Deputy Minister said that 27 persons were detained in 1968 under the Criminal Procedure Act. Of these, 22 were called as witnesses in criminal proceedings and 4 were released without being so called. (The remaining person was presumably charged or was still in detention.)’

Not all the detentions are ordered in connection with suspected political offences. From information given in the House of Assembly by Mrs. C. D. Taylor and elicited by her from the Minister of Police8 it appears that Mr. Aboobaker Suliman was suspected of certain offences and a charge was preferred against him under the Suppression of Communism Act. Six Indian and Coloured persons were detained under the 180-day clause as possible witnesses: of these, one was held for 163 days, one for 162 days, two for 157 days, and two for 156 days.

It was eventually found that Mr. Suliman could not be charged for his alleged offences under the Suppression of Communism Act, and the potential witnesses were then released. He was charged, instead, under the Population Registration Act,

3 See 1965 Survey, page 35.
4 See 1966 Survey, page 55.
6 Assembly, 7 March, Hansard 5 col. 2066.
7 Assembly, 28 February, Hansard 4 col. 1575.

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and was convicted on 61 counts of forgery and uttering, being sentenced to five months on each count, part provisionally suspended. (It appeared that he may have forged identity cards for persons who wished to be accepted as Cape Malays in order to be able to trade in proclaimed Coloured areas.)

TRIALS OF CERTAIN PERSONS DETAINED
PRIOR TO MID-1969

1. Pietermaritzburg trial
Eleven African men and one woman (Mrs. Dorothy N. Nyembe) appeared in the Supreme Court, Pietermaritzburg, in January on various charges under the Terrorism and Suppression of Communism Acts. There was a 16-page indictment, alleging that between June 1962 and November 1968 they had conspired with 26 others to overthrow the existing order in the Republic by means of subversion, terrorism, violent revolution, and warfare. Among the alleged co-conspirators were Abram Fischer, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Joe Slovo, Oliver Tambo, and Duma Nokwe. The accused were stated to have been in league with the banned S.A. Communist Party, Spear of the Nation, and African National Congress. An anonymous "well-wisher" in London was reported to have sent money for their defence, through a solicitor in London.

Several former detainees gave evidence for the State. Exhibits before the court included military weapons.

Judgment was given on 26 March. One of the men was acquitted and discharged, the rest being found guilty of various charges under the Terrorism Act, including going abroad for guerrilla warfare training in Ethiopia, Algeria, the Soviet Union, Tanzania, or Zambia; establishing means whereby those trained could secretly re-enter South Africa; searching for suitable submarine landing sites on the coast; inciting people to undergo guerrilla training; and giving assistance to people known to be terrorists.

Mrs. Nyembe was gaol for 15 years. Of the men, one was gaol for 20 years, six for 18 years each, two for ten years each, and one for five years.9

2. Men arrested in Victoria West

As mentioned in last year's Survey, a number of men were arrested in Victoria West during April 1968 and the following months. The State alleged that between November 1966 and June 1967 they were members of the banned organization Poqo, and that they attended meetings at which plans were discussed for attacking the town's police station and post office, poisoning its water supplies, cutting telephone communications and power supply cables, killing whites, and other acts.

During November 1968, in a court at Oudtshoorn, ten of the men were convicted of Poqo activities and each was sentenced to three years' imprisonment. Their appeal, heard in the Supreme Court, Cape Town, on 4 June, proved successful, their convictions and sentences being set aside. The Judge-President of the Cape passed severe strictures on the judgment of the Oudtshoorn magistrate, finding that his reasons for accepting the evidence of State witnesses were "anything but convincing", and that the same applied to his reasons for discarding as untrue the appellants' evidence.10

Another 24 of those who had been arrested in Victoria West appeared in the Supreme Court, Cape Town, during September on charges of sabotage and Poqo activities. Three were discharged during the proceedings on the ground that the State had brought insufficient evidence against them. All the rest were discharged on 30 September. (Some of them had been under arrest for as long as 17 months.)
Mr. Justice Theron said that the security police spy known as X54 had been the centre of the whole State case. Under cross-examination it had become apparent that his answers were quite clearly false and that he was prepared to tell lies. He admitted that he had lied during a similar trial in Port Elizabeth. While his evidence was corroborated in some respects by other State witnesses it was evident that they, too, were telling untruths.

The judge said that "it made a person shudder to think that someone like X54 could be placed in a position where he had an interest in the arrest of members of the public." 1

3. Men arrested in Graaff Reinet

Early in 1969, 24 Africans were arrested in the Graaff Reinet district on charges similar to those in the Victoria West case.

They appeared in the Supreme Court, Grahamstown, during June. Eleven of them were acquitted on all charges. Of the remaining 13, none was found guilty of sabotage, but all were found to have belonged to Poqo. The judge said he had taken into consideration the fact that none of the acts contemplated had actually been carried out.

The ringleader, Jim Hermanus, was found guilty on three charges, and sentenced to seven years. Of the rest, two were sentenced to 21 years each, three to two years each, and seven to one year each. 2

1 IC Rand Daily Mail and Eastern Province Herald, 5 June. 11 Rand Daily Mail, 1 October.
2 Ibid, 3 July.

RR-C

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4. Bakwena-ba-Mokgopa tribesmen

According to various reports," the Bakwena-ba-Mokgopa tribe has its headquarters at Bethanie, near Swartruggens, but a group of tribesmen lives at Hebron, to the north of Pretoria. This group pressed for its own local sub-headman. The chief of the tribe, Chief James Mamogale, told the court at the trial described below that he first appointed Jacobus More from tribal headquarters, but cancelled this appointment after objections had been raised. He then appointed Herman More, also from headquarters. The Hebron community again objected on the ground that a Hebron man should have been selected; but the chief said that the time was not ripe for this.

On about 16 October 1968, attempts were made to burn the residence of Herman More at Hebron, the tribal offices, in which two of Herman's relatives were sleeping, and other buildings. About eleven tribesmen were arrested, some of them being detained for about eight months before being indicted. Three were released during this period, subsequently giving evidence for the State, and, as described later, two died in detention.

In July, the remaining six men were brought before the Supreme Court, Pretoria, on charges of sabotage, with alternative charges of attempted murder and arson. On 18 August they were all acquitted. The judge said that with the exceedingly poor material at its disposal the State had failed to prove their guilt. It had relied
on the evidence of the three accomplices, which was contradictory and irreconcilable with the facts as known.

The released men told a Press reporter that they would continue, through the Bantu Affairs Commissioner and the Bantu Authorities, to urge that Herman More be removed.

5. Bakubung tribesmen
The removal of a portion of the Bakubung tribe from the farms Palmietkuil and Elandfontein, about 25 miles from Rustenburg, was described on page 133 of last year's Survey, and is further mentioned in a subsequent chapter of this Survey.

According to these reports and to evidence given in court by Major T. J. Swanepoel, Chief Interrogation Officer of the Security Branch, the captain of the tribe, Richard Monnakgotla, died soon after his marriage to Kathirena Tsitso Monnakgotla. Richard's brother Lukas was then appointed captain, but was deposed after there had been complaints that he was not caring properly for Kathirena and her son. Mrs. Kathirena Monnakgotla was then made captain. Many of the tribesmen objected to this on the grounds that she was not of royal blood and was originally 13 Rand Daily Mail, I July and 12 and 19 August.

POLITICAL TRIALS
not from the Bakubung tribe, and that it was not tribal custom to have a woman captain.

The trouble was exacerbated when Mrs. Kathirena, supported by about two-thirds of the tribesmen, agreed in 1966 to a Government proposal that the tribe should move to Ledig in the Pilanesberg area. The remainder of the tribe, under Lukas's leadership, refused to move, and, as described later in this Survey, many of them were arrested.

Major Swanepoel said that a few of the dissidents then formed themselves into a gang and consulted witchdoctors as to how to bring about Kathirena's death. Four unsuccessful attempts were made to kill her, and towards the end of 1968 she was eventually wounded.

Ten Africans, including Lukas and one woman, were then arrested on charges of assault with intent to commit murder.

When they appeared in the Rustenburg magistrate's court on 22 January to apply for bail one of them, Marks Monnakgotla, told the magistrate that, in an attempt to induce him to make a statement, policemen had beaten him and given him an electric shock which knocked him unconscious. Next day, the Pretoria Supreme Court granted an interim order restraining any member of the police from questioning him pending another hearing on 28 January at which the police had indicated that they would oppose an application for the order to be made permanent.

On 24 January, when the arrested Africans again appeared in court in Rustenburg, the State withdrew the charge of assault with intent to commit murder, but before they could leave the dock they were re-arrested under the Terrorism Act. Their application for bail then fell away.
On the return date, the Pretoria Supreme Court discharged the interim order and postponed Marks Monnakgotla's application sine die. The judge said it could be considered only after Marks had replied to evidence contained in an affidavit submitted on behalf of the police, who denied his allegations. There was no reason to believe that he would, meanwhile, be assaulted in prison, the judge said.

The Minister of Police subsequently told the Assembly that Marks Monnakgotla's allegations of assault had been thoroughly investigated by a senior police officer. The matter was then referred to the attorney general, who refused to prosecute.

The ten Africans were due to appear in the Supreme Court, Pretoria, on 11 September on charges, under the Terrorism Act, of having conspired to upset the rule of law and order by terrorist activity. As mentioned later, on the night before their appearance one of them, Jacob Monnakgotla, died in prison, his death being certified to have been from natural causes.

When the remaining nine appeared in court, six of them pleaded guilty to attempted murder. The State then withdrew the main charge, under the Terrorism Act.

Major Swanepoel of the Security Police urged the judge not to send to prison the three who had pleaded not guilty - Lukas, Marks and Elisha Monnakgotla. They were elderly men, he said, and not criminally-minded. These three were acquitted.

The six others were found guilty of assault and sentenced to three years' imprisonment with two years conditionally suspended.

**DEATHS DURING DETENTION**

Mr. James Lencoe

Mr. Lencoe, a Lesotho national employed in Johannesburg, was arrested at his home in Soweto during the night of 5 March, and detained under the 180-day clause of the Criminal Procedure Act. It was apparently not until 13 March that his wife was informed that he had died in the Pretoria Local Prison on 10 March, having hanged himself with his belt. A post mortem had been carried out by the prison surgeon, who found that the death was due to hanging.

Mr. Lencoe's brother instructed his attorney (Mr. Joel Carlson) to apply for another post-mortem to be carried out by a doctor chosen by Mr. Lencoe's widow, together with a doctor nominated by the State if the State so wished. As the State raised no objection, the magistrate ordered another post-mortem, which was conducted by two doctors.

During the inquest proceedings the widow, Mrs. Julia Lencoe, said that she could not identify the belt with which her husband had allegedly hanged himself. The only belt he had possessed had been left at home.

Her counsel told the court that there was medical evidence that proved beyond doubt that Mr. Lencoe had been given an electric shock on the day he died. Three leading pathologists, one of whom had been brought out from the United States, testified that there was a mark on his toe that was consistent with a very recent electric burn mark. A State pathologist, under cross-examination, said he could
not exclude the possibility that the mark might have been caused by an electric burn.
The magistrate refused to allow certain political prisoners to be called from Robben Island to testify about allegations that a team of Security Police, under the direction of Major T. J. Swanepoel, had used electric shocks as one of their methods of interrogation. Major Swanepoel denied that detainees were ever given shocks.
The magistrate found that Mr. Lencoe died as the result of 15 Account compiled from various Press reports on 21, 25, 27 and 29 January, and 11 and 12 September.
16 This account is based on numerous Press reports, e.g. Rand Daily Mail, 22 March, 24 May, 28 June, 20 August, 6 September.

DEATHS DURING DETENTION
hanging, self-inflicted; that no satisfactory proof had been given that he had suffered an electric shock on the day of his death; and that no blame attached to any living person.
Mrs. Lencoe then instituted a civil action against the Prime Minister, the Minister of Police, and Major Swanepoel for damages amounting to R5,000 in her personal capacity and R5,000 in her capacity as the mother of two minor children.

Mr. Nicodimus Kgoathe
Mr. Kgoathe was one of the Bakwena tribesmen detained in connection with a case described earlier. He was arrested on 11 November 1968, and on 21 January was taken from the Silverton police cells to the H. F. Verwoerd Hospital in Pretoria, where he died on 4 February. During his stay in hospital he was treated for lung and kidney infections. A post mortem gave the cause of death as bronchial pneumonia.
At the inquest proceedings the doctor who arranged for him to be admitted to hospital said that, in his opinion, Mr. Kgoathe was then suffering from the after-effects of concussion. Mr. Kgoathe had told him that he had fallen in a shower room, but on being further questioned said that he had been assaulted. This seemed to be the more likely explanation, since he had linear marks on his shoulders, and U-shaped wounds and other abrasions on his body.
A sergeant of the Silverton police station testified that Mr. Kgoathe had complained of body pains and said that he had been assaulted by the Security Police during interrogation. However, he refused to lay any charge. Two members of the Security Police stated that during his interrogation Mr. JKgoathe had been allowed to take a shower, and had fallen in the shower room.
The magistrate found that on the evidence before him he was not in a position to conclude that any person was to blame for Mr. Kgoathe's death.17 Through her attorney, Mr. Carlson, Mr. Kgoathe's widow sued the Prime Minister and the Minister of Police for damages of R9,000.

Mr. Solomon Modipane
Mr. Modipane was another of the Bakwena tribesmen referred to earlier. He was arrested on 25 February and died three days later in the H. F. Verwoerd Hospital. According to a Press report, the head of the C.I.D. said that Mr. Modipane had received "certain injuries" when he slipped on a piece of soap, but that this was not necessarily the cause of death. On 23 May a magistrate endorsed the post mortem report that death was due to natural causes, and found that no inquest was necessary.18

17 From accounts in the Rand Daily Mail, 29 March, 11 April, 7 June, 28 June, 4 July. 18 Rand Daily Mail, 11 April, and Minister of Police, Assembly, 20 June, Hansard 19 col. 8667.

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Mr. J. B. Tubakwa
According to the Minister of Police,19 Mr. Tubakwa was arrested on 10 September 1968 under the Terrorism Act, and on the following day hanged himself in the Pretoria Prison.

Mr. Caleb Mayekiso
Mr. Caleb Mayekiso, a former political prisoner, was detained on 14 May, in Port Elizabeth, also under the Terrorism Act, and died in detention on 1 June. The District Surgeon certified that his death was from natural causes.20

The Imam Hadja Abdullah Haron
The Imam H. A. Haron, a Cape Moslem leader, was detained in Cape Town under the Terrorism Act on 28 May. He died on 27 September while in detention. His death, too, was certified to have been from natural causes.2'

Mr. Jacob Monnakgotla
Mr. Jacob Monnakgotla was certified to have died in gaol from natural causes on the eve of the trial of Bakubung tribesmen, described earlier.22

DETENTIONS IN MID-1969
Numbers of persons were detained in May and June of 1969. Questioned in the Assembly on 3 June about those who had been detained in the Transvaal since 12 May, the Minister of Police said that 35 had been held under the Terrorism Act, and one under the 14-day clause, in connection with suspected underground political activities, while four potential witnesses were being detained under the 180-day clause. It was neither in the public interest nor the interests of the persons concerned to give their names nor the places where they were being held. The relatives of some of the persons who had been detained told their attorneys or the Press that for some days they did not know where the people concerned were being held, or under what law. They were, thus, unable to send them clothing. However, Brigadier P. J. Venter, the head of the Security Police, said that at the time of the arrests the families were told why the persons were being held, and the arrested persons were told to pack suitcases to take with them.24

The homes of some persons were searched, documents being removed. Mr. Albert Mashamba was released from detention on about 19 Assembly, 18 May, Hansard 10 col. 4277.
DETENTIONS IN MID-1969
24 June, as was Mr. John Schlapobersky on 6 August: he decided voluntarily to leave South Africa.
One of the detainees, Mr. Philip Golding, was a British subject. It was reported that the British Ambassador had more than one discussion about him with the Secretary for Foreign Affairs: it was stated that he expressed his Government's view that Mr. Golding should either be released or brought to trial. Consular representatives were allowed access to Mr. Golding several times: it was reported that he said he was in good health and had no complaints about his treatment. The British Ambassador was, apparently, informed during September that Mr. Golding would be released after he had given evidence for the State.

CHARGES UNDER THE SUPPRESSION OF COMMUNISM ACT
On 28 October, Mrs. Winnie Mandela (wife of Nelson Mandela, the former leader of the banned A.N.C.) and 21 other Africans appeared in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court on a number of charges under the Suppression of Communism Act. It was alleged, inter alia, that they had continued the activities of the A.N.C. and furthered the aims of Communism during the period October 1967 to June 1969 in Johannesburg, Durban, Cradock, Port Elizabeth, Umtata, and other places; had possessed or distributed A.N.C. literature; had investigated targets for sabotage and devised means for obtaining explosives; and had discussed the establishment of contact with guerrilla fighters in the event of their arrival in South Africa. It was alleged in the indictment that they had used or proposed using Mr. Golding as a link with the A.N.C. overseas.
The accused were remanded in custody for summary trial in the Supreme Court, Pretoria, to commence on 1 December.
It is not publicly known how many of the others who were detained had been released and how many were still in custody pending their appearance as witnesses. The State Prosecutor said in court that the State had more than 80 witnesses at its disposal, a "substantial number" of whom were being held in detention.
The trial is in progress at the time of writing.
25 Rand Daily Mail, 16 August.

GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES
SOUTH-WEST AFRICA
The only guerrilla activity reported in South-West Africa since the last issue of this Survey was compiled was the wounding and capture of one man by the police during December 1968. Another man is said to have escaped.
The trial in Pretoria, under the Terrorism Act, of 37 men who had been arrested in South-West Africa was described on page 59 of the 1968 Survey. In mid-1969,
eight more men from Ovamboland were tried in Windhoek on charges relating to the same events. They asked for pro Deo defence. As no advocate in Windhoek was available, two junior counsel arrived from Cape Town: one of them withdrew during the proceedings.
The main charge was under the Terrorism Act, with two alternative charges under the Suppression of Communism Act. The State alleged that the men, with numerous others, had taken part in a Swapol plot to create a violent revolution in the territory with the object of taking over the government. The accused were stated to have engaged in terrorist activities during the period June 1962 to January 1968. After some of them had undergone military training abroad, it was alleged, camps were set up in South-West Africa to train people there. Inter alia, the accused, or some of them, were stated to have taken part in the murder of a chief’s bodyguard and the wounding of two others, and in a plot to kill certain chiefs, an armed attack on the home of a white farmer during which the farmer was wounded, and another armed attack on the houses of two white officials in Oshikango, during which these houses were set on fire and an African servant wounded. The accused were stated to have resisted arrest, firing on members of the police.
Among the court exhibits were firearms, reports of meetings, and letters and documents from Swapo officials abroad detailing plans for military action. Evidence was given by several alleged accomplices.
On 20 August, two of the accused were found not guilty and discharged. The remaining six were declared guilty on the main charge, the judge finding it was clear that they had been associated with the Swapo conspiracy and its broad plan for the violent overthrow of the Government of South-West Africa. Five of the men were sentenced to imprisonment for life: they were Messrs. M. Victory, J. F. Haita, S. F. Haita, J. 1 Rand Daily Mail, 24 December 1968.
2 South-West Africa People's Organization.

GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES
Ipenguela, and G. Shikomba. Mr. J. S. Shimuefelani was gaoled for 18 years. On 4 November Mr. Shimuefelani was given leave to appeal against his conviction, while three of the other five, Messrs. S. F. Haita, J. Ipenguela, and G. Shikomba, were granted leave to appeal against their sentences.

RHODESIA
As mentioned in an earlier chapter, units of the South African Police continue to operate with Rhodesian security forces in patrolling the northern border of that country.
The Rhodesian Minister of Defence, Mr. J. Howman, said on 27 December 1968 that, by then, more than 160 guerrilla fighters had been killed since the incursions via Zambia began in 1966. A considerably greater number had surrendered or been captured, while some had fled back across the border. The Rhodesian forces had suffered 12 killed, 30 wounded, and 2 accidentally killed on service. One South African policeman had been killed, and two died in the Zambezi Valley.
On pages 68-9 of last year's Survey it was mentioned that, after the guerrilla raids began, Rhodesia's Law and Order (Maintenance) Act was amended to make the death sentence compulsory for persons convicted of entering the country unlawfully while in possession of arms, unless they could prove that they did not intend to endanger law and order.

By March 1968 there were reported to have been more than 100 in the death cells, and others joined them later. Five men, guilty of murder under the common law, were executed. In September 1968, however, the mandatory death sentence was removed, discretion being restored to the courts. It was reported in November by the Rhodesian Minister of Justice that, of the 173 Africans sentenced to death since 1965, 131 had had their sentences commuted to life imprisonment. There were still 36 in gaols awaiting execution or reprieve: six of them had been sentenced in 1966 and ten in 1967.

During the year under review there have been no large-scale infiltrations of guerrillas from Zambia. A report from Lusaka in September stated that the guerrilla organizations had given up any hope of achieving quick success by military means. The armed raiding parties that had been sent into Rhodesia became little more than suicide squads, and it was virtually impossible to obtain further recruits from within Rhodesia.

The new plan, it was stated, was to build up cadres of trained guerrillas in Rhodesia. Zapul had been sending lone intelligence

3 Star of that date.
4 Rand Daily Mail, 15 November.
5 ibid, 16 September.
6 The Zimbabwe African People's Union.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969

officers into the country to gauge the reactions of rural Africans, and to find safe infiltration routes and places for arms caches. Several of them had been arrested following information received from local Africans. The leaders talked of a lifetime commitment to the struggle for majority rule in Rhodesia, seeing little hope of this except through a long, bitter, and increasingly violent campaign.

PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

The war against guerrillas continues in the Portuguese territories. There is sporadic fighting in three areas of Mozambique against infiltrators who make hit-and-run raids, plant booby traps, and ambush troops. The smaller of the two nationalist organizations concerned, Coremo (the Mozambique Revolutionary Committee) operates, from bases in Zambia, in the western corner of the territory, the Tete Province, to the north of the proposed Cabora Bassa Dam. It hopes to create a situation in which the building of the dam will be impossible.

Frelimo (the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) operates from bases in Tanzania, and has infiltrated in the Villa Cabral area in the extreme north-west, and in the extreme northeast in the Makonde sector of the Cabo Delgado area. The most bitter fighting has been in the latter area.

The Frelimo leader, Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, was assassinated in Dar-es-Salaam during February, being succeeded by a threeman council led by the Peking-trained
Rev. Uriah Simango. Later, Mr. Simango resigned, leaving Messrs. M. dos Santos and S. Machel in charge. Fighting in the field was for long controlled by the Makonde tribal leader Lazaro Kavandame; but he surrendered to the Portuguese early in April, apparently having been influenced by messages from captured tribesmen telling of the Portuguese offers of friendship. Thereafter, Mr. Kavandame toured Makonde country telling his people to lay down their arms, and leaflets bearing a message from him were scattered from the air. According to the Star of 19 August, however, there had by then been no very notable effect. It was stated in the same report that the Portuguese authorities claimed that about 120 insurgents as against some 10 Portuguese troops were being killed each month. The authorities were continuing to resettle families from the fighting zones in fortified villages, where efforts are made to improve their standards of living.

Accounts of the fighting in parts of Angola and of the nationalist movements involved were given on page 69 of last year's Survey. It was mentioned that one of the three organizations involved in Angola is Unita. The Star reported on 6 May that Unita has suffered a decline since its leader, the Rev. J. Savimbi, fell out with President Kaunda after his followers attacked the

GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES
Benguela railway and halted Zambian copper exports. The leading guerrilla group is how stated to be the M.P.L.A., which is well organized on Marxist lines. Its strategy is to avoid combat as far as possible, but to infiltrate quietly to subvert the Portuguese administration. Bitter fighting continues in Portuguese Guinea against Amilcar Cabral's PAIGC (African Party for Independence for Guinea and Cabo Verde). A leader who was captured some years ago, Rafael Barbosa, and 91 others, renounced the movement and declared their loyalty to Portugal during August. They were released from detention and allowed to return to their homes on undertaking to play no further part in guerrilla activities.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS
THE UNITED NATIONS
During the debate on his Vote in the House of Assembly South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Hilgard Muller, said' that the Republic would remain in the United Nations, and would co-operate with it, as long as this was in the country's interests, and as long as it was not humiliated there. The United Nations remained a very useful international forum, he said, where South Africa could state its case, and a very useful meeting place where the best possible contacts could be made at the least expense.
South Africa was enjoying valuable co-operation in a number of important agencies, Dr. Muller continued, for example, the Atomic Energy Agency, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the International Civil Aviation Organization, and others.
During December 1968 the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted an Afro-Asian resolution appealing to the World Bank to stop all transactions with South Africa and Portugal "until they renounce the policies of racial discrimination and colonial domination". The voting was 82 to 7 with 25 abstentions.2

A few days before this, the General Assembly's Economic Committee voted by 49 to 22, with 23 abstentions, to expel South Africa from the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (Unctad). When this resolution came before the General Assembly, however, the president of the Assembly ruled that the matter was an "important question" under the rules (implying that a two-thirds majority would be required). The resolution failed to gain the necessary majority.3

In a lengthy resolution, also passed in December 1968, the General Assembly, by a vote of 89 to 4 with 25 abstentions, condemned South Africa and Portugal for their "persistent defiant stand toward the United Nations and world opinion". Members were again called upon to break off all diplomatic, commercial, military, cultural, and other relations with South Africa. The Assembly condemned the "torture, inhuman and degrading treatment of political prisoners", and demanded that South Africa should abolish the laws under which opponents of the policy of apartheid were detained without charge or trial.1 7 May, Hansard 13 cols. 5443-4.
2 Star, 19 December 1968.
3 Star, 14 December 1968.
4 Rand Daily Mail, 20 December 1968.

UNITED NATIONS
Assembly resolutions that dealt with South-West Africa are described in the last chapter of this Survey.

In May, the International Labour Organization issued a booklet condemning apartheid. "Apartheid concerns everyone directly", it stated, "since it involves the whole future pattern of human relations."

During June, the General Assembly's Special Committee on Colonialism urged the Security Council to broaden the scope of sanctions against Rhodesia and to apply punitive sanctions against South Africa and Portugal, who had defied the existing measures. The resolution as a whole was passed by 19 votes to 2 (Britain and the United States) with 2 abstentions. However, Britain and the United States voted in favour of a paragraph of the resolution which condemned South Africa, Portugal, and other governments that continued to have political, economic, financial, and other relations with Rhodesia: here the voting was 21 to none with 2 abstentions.'

In the Security Council, the motion as a whole failed by a single vote to gain the required minimum of nine affirmative votes that only a veto could upset." The International Commission of Jurists stated, in a bulletin published in September, that the situation in South Africa in regard to racial discrimination was worsening. Recent legislation, increased security measures, incidents of
brutality, and continued disregard for the rule of law, indicated that the regime in
the Republic was tightening its hold.

As mentioned on page 132 of the 1964 Survey, during that year South Africa was
excluded from a congress of the Universal Postal Union, held in Vienna, by 58
votes to 30 with 26 abstentions. An Afro-Asian motion for South Africa's
expulsion from the Union was, however, rejected by 58 votes to 56, with 3
abstentions.

The matter was again raised at the next congress of the Universal Postal Union,
which was held in Tokyo in October 1969. South Africa was excluded from this
congress by 65 votes to 53, with 10 abstentions. The congress decided that a
wider motion calling for South Africa's total expulsion required a two-thirds
majority as it affected the charter of the organization. As the voting was tied, 57
to 57, this motion was defeated.7

The question of South Africa's policies was again considered by the General
Assembly on 21 November. One resolution, carried by 80 votes to 5, with 23
abstentions, called on memberstates to cut off all air and sea communications with
the Republic, and to take steps to prohibit financial and economic interests under
their jurisdiction from co-operating with the South African Government and
companies registered in South Africa. Those
5 Cape Times, 11 June.
6 Rand Daily Mail, 25 June,
7 Rand Daily Mail. 9 and 10 October.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969
that voted against the resolution were Australia, Britain, the United States,
Portugal and South Africa.

Another resolution, passed by 101 votes to 2 (South Africa and Portugal), with 6
abstentions, urged all states and organizations to exert every appropriate effort to
secure the unconditional release of all political prisoners and people subjected to
restrictions for opposing apartheid. It reiterated that freedom fighters who are
captured in the course of their struggle should be treated as prisoners of war in
accordance with the principles laid down in the Geneva Convention.'

CONFERENCES OF LEADERS OF AFRICAN STATES
A fifth Summit Conference of East and Central African States was held in Lusaka
during April, fourteen states being represented. The delegates adopted a manifesto
in which they said they did not accept that any one group within a society had the
right to rule the society without the continuing consent of all the citizens. They
reaffirmed their commitment to the principles of human equality and human
dignity, and to the doctrines of self-determination and non-racialism, and pledged
themselves to work for the extension of these principles and doctrines within their
own nations and throughout the continent of Africa.

What they required of South Africa, Rhodesia, and Portugal, the leaders said, was
a commitment to the principles of human equality and self-determination. Given
this commitment, disagreements about the rate of implementation or about
isolated acts of policy would be the concern of individual countries and not a
matter for concerted African action. If peaceful progress to emancipation were
possible, or if changed circumstances brought this about, "we would urge our brothers in the resistance movements to use peaceful methods even at the cost of some compromise on the timing of change."

None of the African states would claim that it had achieved a perfect social, economic, or political organization, it was stated. Hostility towards discrimination and colonialism in Southern Africa was not on the basis of achieved perfection in Black Africa, but on the basis of the commitment of the Black states to human equality and dignity and national self-determination. Because there continued to be an open denial of these principles in the Whiteruled states and colonies, opposition to these regimes was inevitable. The conference (Malawi excepted) pledged itself to increase both moral and material support for the liberation movements in Southern Africa.'

This manifesto was later accepted by the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.).


FOREIGN AFFAIRS
During September, the 41 member-states of the O.A.U., at a meeting in Addis Ababa, resolved to increase their assistance to recognized liberation movements.'

RELATIONS BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND NEIGHBOURING STATES
In the course of the debate on his Vote in the House of Assembly, South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Hilgard Muller, said that "we are in direct touch with considerably more African governments than I am now prepared to, or in a position to, reveal".' He announced4 that a sum of R425,000 had been provided in the current budget for technical aid to other states.

The Minister of Finance, Dr. N. Diedrichs, told the House' that South Africa had already contributed 14.08-million dollars to the International Development Association, and was to pay three further instalments, each of one-million dollars. According to the Minister of Planning, Dr. C. de Wet, the Government has set up a special committee to examine the question of giving medical aid to neighbouring states in a more co-ordinated way."

Negotiations are continuing for a revised customs agreement with Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland. There was reported7 to have been resentment in these countries when South Africa imposed a sales tax without prior discussion with them.

Botswana's Minister of State, Mr. M. P. K. Nwako, said in February that there were then 3,820 refugees or people claiming refugee status in his country.' Two-thirds or more of them are stated to be people who fled from Angola, mainly towards the end of 1968, and joined others at Shakawe, in north-west Botswana. At about the same time a group of 115 Caprivians from South African mandated territory crossed the Chobe River to Kasane: they apparently were peasants who became alarmed at reports of tough action by the South African security forces during a drive against suspected "terrorists". There are said to be about 60
refugees in Francistown from South Africa and other states, and about 80, from South-West Africa, in the desert village of Makunda.

Most of those at Francistown have been there for some years, and are living on small grants from international agencies, since the Government prefers to reserve the work that is available for its own citizens. The Angolans and Caprivians, however, are not so much political refugees as peasant fugitives from a disturbed way of life. With the help of an administrator sent by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, the Botswana Government is giving them land and seed, hoping that they will become self-sufficient farmers.

It is reported that the South African and Botswana authorities have held several discussions on the question of "foreign" Africans who are deported from the Republic and arrive in Botswana penniless and without documents. Mr. Joe Molefi, a South African refugee, has been deported from Lesotho. The Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, has promised that no refugee there will be returned to the country from which he fled. The refugees (said to include between 55 and 70 from South Africa) will be allowed to remain as long as they do not interfere in local politics or engage in subversion against the government of any country."

During the year under review a parliamentary delegation from South Africa and a trade mission from the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut have visited Malawi. The Government of the Republic has assisted with Malawi's development and broadcasting programmes. The Prime Minister said in April that South Africa had a good understanding with the Malagasy Republic and Mauritius. There was informal contact from time to time in matters affecting trade and co-operation in the technical sphere. His planning adviser had just paid a very successful visit to both territories.

EMPLOYMENT

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

In its annual economic report, published in September, the S.A. Reserve Bank said that the revival in economic activity that started towards the beginning of 1968 accelerated progressively during the second half of that year and in 1969.
There was little evidence of inflation; but the labour shortage became more acute
than at any time since 1961.
The Reserve Bank endorsed a warning that had been given the previous week by
the Netherlands Bank that the labour shortage might lead to new inflationary
trends.
In a statement issued on 13 February the Minister of Planning said that the
Government had adopted a target growth rate of 5 per cent a year in the real
Gross Domestic Product for the period 1963-9. Over the four years 1963-7 the
average realized growth rate was in fact 6.4 per cent per annum. The target for
1968-73 should again be 5 per cent, he said.
THE COST OF LIVING
The consumer price index
The Reserve Bank stated that the seasonally adjusted consumer price index
increased by 2.7 per cent during 1968 and at an annual rate of 2.9 per cent during
the first half of 1969. If food prices (which had actually declined) were excluded,
the prices of other consumer goods and services rose at an annual rate of 5 per
cent during the first half of 1969, compared with an increase of 2.3 per cent
during 1968. This could be ascribed partly to the introduction of the sales tax
from about the second quarter of 1969, but another reason for the increase was the
rapidly rising prices of medical and other services, including recreation.
The Department of Statistics found that the weighted average consumer price
index for the nine principal urban areas rose from 126.4 points in June to 126.6
points in July (the base of 100 representing prices in October 1958). It attributed
about half of the increase to the effect of the sales duty.
Between August 1968 and August 1969 the index for all items rose from 124.0 to
126.6. The index for all items excluding food increased from 122.8 to 126.8. The
index for food only decreased from 127.2 to 126.0. It should be pointed out,
however, that this food index may actually have risen for families in the
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969
lower income groups, since the prices of grain products, meat, fats, and sugar had
increased. The main decreases were in the prices of “luxury” foodstuffs such as
milk, eggs, vegetables and fruit.
Minimum family budgets for Africans at Soweto
During June the Johannesburg municipal Non-European Affairs Department
prepared revised minimum family budgets for Africans at Soweto, comparing the
results with those of the previous study in June 1967. As it was found that the
average family consisted of 5.5 persons, two budgets were compiled, for families
of 5 and 6 persons respectively. Each allowed for a married couple with a son
aged 16 years, a daughter aged 12 years, and another son of 8 years. The family of
six persons included another daughter, aged 6 years.
The budgets were minimum ones, allowing nothing for furniture, household
goods, reading and writing materials, beer, cigarettes, recreation, savings,
personal care, or many other items which most families do, in fact, buy.
The estimated minimum monthly budgets were as follows:
Family of 5      Family of 6
=R31.97 R35.371
---
Clothing .............. 9.86 10.51
Rent and water ...... 6.00 6.00
Fuel and light ......... 3.79 3.79
Transport ............. 4.66 4.66
Taxation ............. 0.29 0.29
Cleaning materials .... 0.871 0.871
Medical expenses ..... 0.08 0.08
Education ............. 2.17 2.17
---
R59.70 R63.75

In the two years since June 1967 the percentage increase in the minimum living costs had been 11.9 for a family of five, and 11.8 for a family of six. The largest increases were found to have been in the costs of education, transport, fuel and light, and food.

This recent survey did not cover incomes; but in 1967 the Johannesburg Municipality estimated that 68 per cent of the families in Soweto had incomes below the estimated minimum living costs. The proportion who live below the breadline would be higher than this because Africans do, of course, spend money on items that are not included in poverty datum line studies. The effective minimum level of income is generally estimated at

COST OF LIVING

one-and-a-half times the poverty datum line figure, which would mean that a family of six at Soweto should have at least R95.63 a month.

Among other items, the prices of coal and of maize have risen in Soweto during 1969. Rail fares were increased on 1 October, by as much as 30 cents a month in some cases, and bus fares were increased by one cent a trip from 1 November.

INCOMES OF AFRICANS

In a recent paper Mr. W. Langschmidt, managing director of Market Research Africa, said that Africans constituted 67.9 per cent of the population of South Africa, but their share of the nation's personal cash income was only 18.8 per cent. The whites constituted 19.2 per cent of the population, yet received 73.3 per cent of its income. According to his figures, the average income per head works out at R95 a month for whites and R7 for Africans.

Mr. Langschmidt estimated that 25 per cent of all urban African households had monthly incomes as low as between R1 and R19 a month; 40 per cent had between R20 and R49; 20 per cent had between R50 and R79; and only the remaining 15 per cent had family incomes of more than R80 a month. On an average, urban African families spent 32 per cent of their income on food (as against 20 per cent for whites).

When the sales tax was introduced, the Financial Mail urged all employers to increase the wages of their African workers by a minimum of R1 a month. Large numbers of employers did so. The Director of the Institute of Race Relations, Mr. Quintin Whyte, endorsed this plea, and said he would be happier if wages were increased by more than R1 a month, especially if the rise were related to schemes
for training and enhanced productivity, in order that the Africans could feel that they were earning the rise and at the same time increasing their skills.

In a subsequent Press statement, issued when the results of the Johannesburg municipal survey were published, Mr. Whyte appealed for a ten per cent increase in the wages of breadwinners whose families lived on or below the poverty datum line.

INDIAN BUDGETS IN DURBAN
A study by Mr. P. N. Pillay and Mr. P. A. Ellison was published during 1969 as Additional Report No. 6 of the Natal Regional Survey. The authors studied a sample of 835 Indian households in Durban, finding that the average number of persons per household was 6.9, and that one in four of these households was a multiple one.

1 Quoted in the Financial Mail, 18 April, and Rand Daily Mail, 11 March and 26 April.

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Estimated minimum monthly living costs for a family of seven were calculated to be:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>R 56.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>R 8.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleansing</td>
<td>R 1.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuel and light</td>
<td>R 1.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation</td>
<td>R 4.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>R 1.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>R 73.51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Between 50 and 60 per cent of the households were found to have incomes below this amount: 15.4 per cent of them had less than R40 a month.

COLOURED FAMILIES IN THE CAPE
The Rand Daily Mail of 4 December reported on a survey by Market Research Africa (Pty.) Ltd., entitled A Coloured Day, of a random sample of 818 Coloured households in towns, villages, and fringe rural areas in the Cape, mainly the south-western portion but including other parts too. The average family was found to consist of 6.2 persons. The average home had 2.9 rooms, including closed verandahs, and only 33 per cent of those in urban areas and 2 per cent in rural areas had built-in bathrooms.

Of the male heads of households, 2.7 per cent were professional workers, 4.9 per cent did white-collar work, 14.7 per cent were employed in skilled jobs, the rest being semi-skilled or unskilled workers.

The average family income was R52 per month, and the average monthly expenditure R51.73, with more than 49 per cent of this going on food. In the urban areas, 30 per cent of the men earned less than R50 per month, 28 per cent between R50 and R109, and only 1 per cent more than R210 a month. In the villages and rural areas 84 per cent of the men received less than R50 per month in cash, although 68 per cent of these had free housing.

WAGE REGULATING MACHINERY
In reply to a question in the Assembly, the Minister of Labour said during May that 153 industrial council agreements, 5 conciliation board awards, 66 arbitration awards, and 76 Wage agreements were then in force. He was unable to say how many workers were affected by the arbitration awards, but for the rest the figures were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Industrial Council Board</th>
<th>Conciliation Board Board</th>
<th>Wage determinations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>188,551</td>
<td>1,100</td>
<td>118,332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>135,786</td>
<td>3,267</td>
<td>57,707</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>49,465</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>17,403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>417,601</td>
<td>5,369</td>
<td>289,182</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This means that the salaries or wages of 1,283,819 persons are regulated in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act or Wage Act. Experience has shown that the 975,836 non-whites concerned are generally paid at or near the minimum rates specified for their jobs, while the 307,983 whites receive more.

MANPOWER TRAINING BILL
The provisions of the private Manpower Training Bill, introduced by Dr. G. F. Jacobs, M.P. (United Party) were summarized on page 86 of last year's Survey. It was read for a second time in the Assembly on 28 February. Dr. Jacobs averred that there was no manpower shortage in South Africa, only wastage and misuse of manpower. A greater degree of under-employment existed than in any of the advanced countries of the world, he said.

The Minister of Labour criticised Dr. Jacobs' proposed training scheme as being too elaborate and costly. Furthermore, he said, "We cannot in a country such as this simply calculate our manpower requirements in terms of the shortages of skilled workers and technicians and what this will be in ten years' time. We must also take into account our traditional labour pattern... the attitudes of the various groups of workers. We must know what our aim is, who we want to train, and what we want to train them for, if we do not want to disrupt industrial peace."

The Minister concluded his reply a few minutes before the end of the two-and-a-half hours allowed for Private Members' motions, when the measure would have lapsed. Dr. Jacobs and the United Party Whips immediately called for a division. National Party members were placed in the position of having to vote against the principle of the Bill, despite the fact that the Government itself intended introducing a watered-down version of it.

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INDUSTRIAL CONCILIATION AMENDMENT BILL
The Government published its Industrial Conciliation Amendment Bill, but did not proceed with it in 1969.
It stated that if an industrial council agreement provides for a scheme for the training of employees and the establishment of a fund for the purpose, to be financed by contributions from employers, the Minister of Labour may declare that any of these provisions may be declared binding in an area additional to that in respect of which the industrial council concerned is registered, or in respect of any other undertaking, industry, trade, or occupation in the area. Before doing so, the Minister must consult any industrial council concerned in the additional area or undertaking.

If a training scheme is devised by a group or association of employers who are not subject to an order made by the Minister, they may request him to declare the scheme to be binding in respect of the relevant undertaking, industry, trade, or occupation in the area concerned.

In the course of his speech on his own Bill, Dr. Jacobs criticised the Government's Bill in that it set up no co-ordinating body for training, placing the responsibility in the hands of industrial councils. It provided no grants for training. It ignored the need for training in commerce, and the fact that some major industries, such as mining and agriculture, did not have industrial councils.

SOME RECENT COMMENTS ON THE USE OF MANPOWER
One of the papers given at a national conference on Bantu Education, convened by the Institute of Race Relations in January 1969, was by Dr. E. G. Malherbe, entitled Bantu Manpower and Education.' In the course of his address, Dr. Malherbe gave some statistics arrived at by correlating for the first time various data gathered in the 1960 census.

One of his tables (No. VII) showed the correlation between persons with high-level occupations and those with matriculation qualifications. Column (A) shows the economically active population in 1960. Column (B) indicates the percentage which persons engaged in professional, technical, and managerial occupations (excluding farming) constituted out of the economically active population. Column (C) shows the percentage which persons with school leaving or matriculation certificates constituted out of the economically active population.

Dr. Malherbe pointed out that this table brings out clearly the close relation between education and economic advancement. Moreover, a comparison of the size of the percentages in columns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(A)</th>
<th>(B)</th>
<th>(C)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>1,142,821 (20%)</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>125,890 (2.2%)</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>551,750 (9.7%)</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>3,886,457 (68.1%)</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>5,706,918 (100%)</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(B) and (C) indicates that, in relation to their low educational qualifications, the non-whites have achieved relatively more than the whites in reaching the professional and managerial occupations. They have "picked up" the necessary knowledge in practice.

The whites, Dr. Malherbe said, have achieved the limit of their educational potential as reflected in the percentage completing secondary education. But the figures show the vast untapped sources of manpower in the non-white sections of the population, particularly amongst the Africans.

It is not easy to assess the economic consequences of education, he continued. Yet this has been done in Russia which is also coping with a large peasant population living almost on a subsistence level. Mr. S. G. Strumlin, a member of the Soviet Academy of the U.S.S.R., has calculated that "the value of the work done by a person who has had four years of primary education is 43 per cent greater than that of an illiterate person, 108 per cent greater if he has had a secondary education, and 300 per cent greater if he has had higher education."5

In view of the fact that the white group is already overextended, Dr. Malherbe said, "the tempo of South Africa's future economic development will be determined mainly by the rate at which "know-how" and management are acquired by the Bantuthe largest untapped sector of South Africa's manpower resources. Immigration at best can have only a marginal effect and does not offer any long term solution. . . . The indisputable fact remains that in an expanding economy there can be no irremovable boundary between work done by whites and work done by nonwhites. Such a boundary has never existed in South Africa."  

There have been similar submissions by others in 1969, as in previous years. In an address given during August6 Dr. Niko Stutterheim, deputy president of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, said that demands for higher productivity in South Africa made it essential that the African labour force 5 "Scientific Progress and the Future of Mankind", UNESCO Chronicle. January 1965.  6 Rand Daily Mail, 21 August.

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be utilized more effectively and intensively. Africans could achieve high industrial production levels: there were instances in South Africa where African workers were producing more than their counterparts in Britain and Japan. "We must try to shape our engineering techniques in such a way that this capacity of the African worker can be fully utilized," he said.

Dr. Lawrence McCrystal, the former Chief Economist of the Industrial Development Corporation, maintained in January that if all labour restrictions were lifted and if all labour was effectively trained, South Africa could sustain a growth rate rivalling that of Japan.7

Speaking at a Progressive Party congress on 29 November, Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, agreed with a submission that, over a long period, the replacement of the gold mining industry as the generator of foreign currency was the major economic problem of South Africa. If this were to be done, he said, proper use would have to be made of
labour, and a large internal market created. That could be done only by seeing that the African, Coloured, and Indian populations were allowed to do the best work of which they were capable, and were paid the best wages they were capable of earning.

But this would not be done, Mr. Oppenheimer said, if South Africa persisted in its traditional way of life, which, in the economic field, appeared to consist of a long process of suicide. If the country would turn around and see the African population not as a problem, but as the greatest opportunity any country could have, then there was a boundless future in the economic as well as in the human sphere.

In a speech made in February the Minister of Labour and of Coloured Affairs, Mr. M. Viljoen, said that the country's phenomenal growth rate demanded that more and more non-whites should fill skilled and semi-skilled jobs. "It would be sheer idiocy to hold back South Africa's development by not allowing nonwhites into the trades". The Government's policy was to allow non-whites to enter a trade if there were no whites available. Even with a stepped-up immigration policy there were still not enough white hands to do the work.' (However, in a subsequent statement reported on 28 October, Mr. Viljoen said that there must not be an uncontrolled inflow of non-white labour into traditional white occupations. That would not solve the labour shortage problem, because it would disturb industrial peace.)

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education and of Immigration, Dr. P. G. J. Koornhof, addressed a meeting of the National Development and Management Foundation during August. South Africa's white population was totally inadequate for the country's skilled labour needs, he said. It had to be supplemented by way of immigration, on the one hand, and by the increased use of skilled non-whites on the other. The African's increased industrial skills would be utilized in the border industrial areas and in the Reserves, the Deputy Minister stated.

The only new official job reservation determination published in 1969, No. 25, related to the work of driving motor vehicles of an unladen weight of more than 8,000 lb. by persons in the employ of the Divisional Council of Port Elizabeth. This work was reserved for whites.

During March a leading commercial bank in Cape Town provisionally recruited twenty Coloured girls, some of them holding matriculation certificates, for work as clerks and machine operators. Difficulty had been experienced in finding suitable white girls. An official of the bank telephoned the local office of the Department of Labour for approval of the appointments. He was told to submit the request in writing. Eventually a discussion was arranged with the Divisional Inspector of Labour. The latter said that there was no legislation prohibiting the employment of Coloured girls. However, white women were available registered as unemployed.
(Some of these had only Standard VI certificates.) The Inspector stated that he would have to submit a report on the matter to his head office. At this stage the bank informed the Coloured women that their services would not be needed. Questioned on this matter in the Assembly, the Minister of Labour commented that "job reservation is implemented not only in a statutory way, but also in an administrative way".10
On 18 March the Minister was questioned in the Assembly"" about the exemptions that had been granted from job reservation determinations. Certain general exemptions had been granted, he replied, from Determinations No. 3, 6, 7, 13, and 16, relating to sections of the engineering industry, the building industry, and three employers in the motor assembly industry in the Eastern Cape. Besides these, individual exemptions had been granted by the end of 1968 to 528 employers, permitting some relaxation of the relevant determinations in respect of 2,918 Coloured and ‘Asian and 850 African employees. No exemptions had been withdrawn.12
9 Star, 14 August.
1 Hansard 7 cols. 2736-7.
12 Details of exemptions granted are given in the publication South Africa's Workers: Their Organizations and the Patterns of Employment, by Muriel Horrell, published by the Institute of Race Relations in 1969.

LEGISLATION OF 1969
Abolition of Juries Act, No. 34/1969 ....... Admission of Persons to and Departure from
Bantu Administration Boards Bill .........
Bantu Homelands Citizenship Bill ...........
Bantu Laws Amendment Bill ...............
Bantu Taxation Act, No. 92/1969 ..........
the Republic Regul. ....... ....... ....... 54
the Republic Regul. ....... ....... ....... 47
.... .... .... .... .... 14 5
.... .... .... .... .... 27
.... 90, 103, 148, 164 .... .... .... .... 156
58/1969 .... .... .... 162
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A question was put to the Minister, too, about the number of workers who were affected by job reservation determinations. He said that exact percentages were not available. The only figures at his Department's disposal were those reflected in reports of the Industrial Tribunal. These indicated that employers frequently failed to complete and return questionnaires transmitted to them by the Tribunal. On the basis of what information was available, however, it appeared that 2.99 per cent of the total labour force, or 208,000 persons, were potentially affected by work reservation determinations so far made. (Those actually affected would be fewer, because of the exemptions granted.)

Other measures for the racial allocation of work in specific sectors of the economy are described later in this chapter.

CLAUSES OF THE BANTU LAWS AMENDMENT BILL
DEALING WITH THE EMPLOYMENT OF AFRICANS

A new form of job reservation, which may seriously affect the employment of Africans in urban areas, was provided for in a Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, which was introduced in the Assembly towards the end of the 1969 Session. Because time was short, the Bill was taken no further after it passed its second reading.

It was proposed, in this measure, that a completely new principle should be introduced in the Bantu Labour Act, No. 67 of 1964.

The Bill (including amendments proposed by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration) provided that after he has given at least one month's prior notice in the Gazette of his intention, and after he has consulted the Minister of Labour, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development may by notice in the Gazette, as from a specified date, prohibit the performance of work by, or the employment or continued employment, of a Bantu(a) in a specified area; (b) in a specified class of employment;
(c) in a specified trade;
(d) in the service of a specified employer or class of employers.

Such a prohibition may be applied either in a specified area or generally. A person who contravenes a prohibition will be guilty of an offence, and the relevant contract of service may be cancelled. The Minister may by notice in the Gazette amend or withdraw a prohibition, and he may grant exemptions.

The principal Act empowers a district or municipal labour officer to refuse to sanction the employment or the continued employment of any Bantu in his area of jurisdiction on a number of grounds, for instance if the Bantu is not permitted to be in the area or to take up employment there, or if such employment is likely to impair safety or threaten the maintenance of public order.

The Bill adds that the employment or continued employment of a Bantu may be forbidden if it is in conflict with a prohibition notice issued by the Minister, or if adequate housing accommodation is not available to the Bantu concerned. The Deputy Minister said this was not a new principle, but some doubt existed as to the legality of the existing provision.

In his second reading speech the Deputy Minister stated that what his Department was mainly opposed to was the increase in the numbers of Bantu typists, receptionists to doctors and others, and counter assistants in white businesses in white areas, serving the white public. This caused friction. The intention was not to prevent large numbers of Bantu from being employed in any particular job; if action was necessary this was a matter for the Minister of Labour. But the proposed clause would enable immediate attention to be given to a particular situation, eliminating the cumbersome enquiries provided for in the Industrial Conciliation Act before a job reservation determination was made. Other clauses of this Bill are described in a subsequent chapter.

The United Party moved that the Bill be read that day six months.

Dealing with the clause now under consideration, Mrs. Helen Suzman (Progressive Party) pointed out that the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development was to be given much wider powers in regard to job reservation than those possessed by the Minister of Labour. There would be no need for him to give reasons for his actions, nor to afford employers the opportunity of representing their case.

Mrs. Suzman asked whether the clause was being introduced to validate action taken in the Western Cape since 1967. (In that year the Department laid down that no applications for the introduction of African labour would be entertained for certain categories of work.)

An editorial in Commercial Opinion, the official journal of the Association of Chambers of Commerce, pointed out that the Minister was to be given absolute
power to stop any African from doing any kind of work anywhere he chose. He would be bound by no criteria.  
15 Col. 8480.
16 Cols. 8477-8.
17 See index.
18 Cols. 8720-2.
20 Star, 29 March.

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A deputation from the Johannesburg City Council met the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration to draw attention, inter alia, to the dangers that might arise from the whittling away of the rights of urban Africans. The Black Sash staged demonstrations against the Bill.

In a statement sent to Members of Parliament and others, 22 the Institute of Race Relations said that the introduction of this form of unlimited job reservation at the behest of the Minister, without any safeguards whatsoever, was so dictatorial and so far reaching in its potential magnitude that it dwarfed all previous inroads -which had been many -on what were commonly regarded as the basic tenets of modern government. It constituted gross interference with the rights of employers, and stripped the African worker of such meagre security as had been left him.

CERTAIN ACTION TAKEN UNDER THE PHYSICAL PLANNING ACT OF 1967
Questioned in the Assembly on 7 February, 23 the Minister of Planning gave the following information in regard to applications received by his Department since 1 January 1968 for the use of land in industrial centres:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Applications for:</th>
<th>Received</th>
<th>Approved</th>
<th>Refused</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Use of land for industrial purposes</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zoning of land for industrial purposes</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-division of industrial land</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the Rand Daily Mail on 6 November, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development stated the previous day that so far in 1969 the Government had refused Reef industrialists permission to expand their premises over a further 6,500 morgen.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said during June that, between 16 January 1968 and the end of that year, employers asked for 42,271 African workers in terms of the Physical Planning Act. They were granted only 26,916.

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development stated on 5 November that thus far during 1969 the Government had refused Reef industrialists permission to bring some 15,500 African men from their homelands as labour.

21 Rand Daily Mail, 22 Avril.
22 RR. 45/69.
23 Hansard 1 cols. 313-4.
24 Assembly Hansard 19 col. 8162.
PHYSICAL PLANNING
In September, the Minister of Planning said that there had been a time-lag before the Act was fully implemented, as some entrepreneurs in the metropolitan centres had already ordered machinery and paid for land before the Government's plans were known. But the period of grace was coming to an end. Not another acre of land in the big industrial complexes would be proclaimed for the purpose of building factories, the Minister continued. He specifically mentioned Port Elizabeth and the Witwatersrand. No factory would be allowed to expand without receiving prior permission. The Government was reasonable, and permission would be granted where it was found that a particular type of industry could only be set up in a certain area. But, in general, new industries would have to go to the border areas.

Industrialists on the Witwatersrand and in Port Elizabeth are experiencing increasing labour shortages. A report by Professor G. Marais entitled "The future of manufacturing industries in Johannesburg and the demand for industrial land" was published in May by the Bureau of Market Research of the University of South Africa. The writer reached the conclusion, after examining Johannesburg's existing industries, that these were not particularly suited to immediate decentralization. Any measure to restrict industrial development in this area, he said, should be taken with the realization that it was the economic heart of South Africa. Any badly planned measure, or the injudicious application of such measures, would not only cause the failure of a policy of decentralization, but would also harm the economic growth of the country as a whole. The city could be regarded as an incubator for South African industries.

Professor Marais recommended that industries with a small labour force should be exempted from control, as they were the seedbeds of large undertakings. Enterprises should be allowed to employ a certain number of African women. No restrictions should be placed on the employment of Coloured and Asians. Port Elizabeth is in a particularly difficult position because it is in a Coloured labour-preference area, yet the availability of suitable Coloured workers is limited: one reason for this is the shortage of housing for newcomers to the city. According to the Midland Chamber of Commerce, industrial development has been seriously impeded.

In a review of industry in South Africa during the third quarter of 1969 the chairman of the economic affairs committee of the Federated Chamber of Industries, Mr. L. Lulofs, said that unless active steps were taken by the authorities to remove obstacles to industrial expansion, which in some areas constituted

25 Rand Daily Mail, 11 September.
26 Star report, 20 May.
27 Evening Post, 2 July.

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a threat to the continued existence of industry, future prospects could not be regarded as encouraging. In particular he cited the arbitrary control of labour.
ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE PERSONS
The Minister of Planning said in the Assembly on 7 February that the numbers of people in South Africa who were economically active at the end of 1968 were 1,404,000 whites, 676,000 Coloured, 154,000 Asians, and 4,747,000 Africans. (Hansard 1 col. 312).

THE MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY
Calculating from figures given in a Department of Statistics News Release dated 10 September, which were based on a sample survey of the manufacturing industry, the average number of employees in January 1969, and their average gross salaries and wages that month, were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numbers employed</th>
<th>Average salaries and wages per head</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites ......</td>
<td>266,000 262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured ......</td>
<td>176,000 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians ..........</td>
<td>66,000 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans ......</td>
<td>556,000 48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the Quarterly Bulletin of Statistics for June, in July 1968 there were 7,300 whites, 700 Coloured and Asians, and 13,600 Africans employed in the production of electricity, their average gross salaries and wages being R273, R69, and R47 per month respectively.

During June28 the Garment Workers' Union of South Africa pointed out in its journal that a labourer's wage in the motor industry is only 27 per cent of that of a journeyman. Similar comparisons for other industries are 31 per cent in printing, 24 per cent in woodworking, 38 per cent in footwear, 17 per cent in iron, steel, and engineering, and 27 per cent in brewing. These percentages are calculated from the minimum rates laid down in the industrial agreements, but in practice are lower than the figures given because semi-skilled and skilled workers are very often paid at higher rates than those prescribed, while labourers are not. The gap is much wider than in other industrialized countries, where comparable percentages lie between 50 and 75 per cent, it was stated.

28 Star report, 3 June.

BORDER INDUSTRIES
Questioned in the Assembly on 20 May,29 the Minister of Labour said that during the five-year period ended 31 December, 1968, 47,138 apprenticeship contracts were registered (41,936 whites, 4,573 Coloured, and 629 Asians). New contracts registered during 1968 were in respect of 7,987 whites, 985 Coloured, and 117 Asians.

Africans are not accepted as apprentices in "white" areas, but on 18 June0 the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said in the Assembly that his Department, in consultation with the Department of Labour, was designing a special apprenticeship for them, to be served in the homelands. It was being modelled "on their own lines and in accordance with their own needs".

The allocation of work in the motor industry was mentioned on page 90 of last year's Survey. Early in 1969 the motor industry amended the relevant industrial
council agreement to enable semi-skilled operatives (mainly non-white) to undertake a new range of repetitive jobs in the repairing and conditioning of motor vehicle parts, releasing hundreds of qualified artisans for more important work such as diagnosing faults and supervising repair work. The workers were granted increases in pay.

**BORDER INDUSTRIES**

Types of concerns to be assisted

In its 1968 report the Permanent Committee for the Location of Industry stated that it had, thus far, concentrated attention mainly on labour-intensive industries. In future it would encourage relatively more capital-intensive industries, too, for they often employ African labour on a large scale, and they attract supporting and related industries that facilitate balanced development.

As the industrial areas at Rosslyn, Hammarsdale, and Pietermaritzburg are considered now to be self-sustaining, the Committee is now focussing attention on areas situated further afield, in particular:
- East London/King William's Town/Queenstown;
- Ladysmith/Colenso;
- Empangeni/Richards Bay;
- Pietersburg/Tzaneen/Phalaborwa;
- Brits/Rustenburg/Zeerust/Mafeking.

The concessions that may be granted to industrialists have been described in previous issues of this Survey and are set out in full in a booklet published by the Institute of Race Relations in 1969 entitled *The African Reserves of South Africa*.

29 Hansard 15 col. 6219.
30 Hansard 19 cols. 8380-1.
3t 1964 pages 166 and 168; 1968 page 98.

**A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969**

Extent of the assistance so far given in border industrial areas

As mentioned in last year's Survey, the Minister of Economic Affairs stated in the Assembly on 26 April 1968 that, by the end of 1967, the State had spent R3,052,000 on the development of industrial townships in border areas, and R46,000,000 on water schemes, including schemes offering indirect advantages to these areas. By the end of 1966, the Electricity Supply Commission (Escom) had spent R45,000,000, again including schemes of indirect advantage to border industrialists.

In its 1968 report the Permanent Committee stated that between 1964 (when the scheme came into operation) and the end of 1968 sums totalling R420,000 had been lent to three local authorities for the provision of rail facilities for industrial sites.

According to its report for the 1966-7 financial year, the Industrial Development Corporation had by then erected 24 factory buildings and 2 sets of "flatted" factories, i.e. small factories under a common roof, with separately fenced yards but a common entrance and washing facilities.
The Permanent Committee reported that by the end of 1968 the I.D.C. had granted assistance in the form of factory buildings, share capital, and loans in 148 cases, involving commitments of nearly R66,000,000 (including about R5,400,000 in economic development areas other than border industrial areas). Of this amount, R3,500,000 had been repaid, or the applications concerned had been withdrawn, this figure including an amount for depreciation on leasehold buildings. Commitments for funds amounting to about R2,330,000 had been incurred in connection with the purchase of land and erection of housing for key white personnel. (The provision of housing for Africans is described in a later chapter of this Survey.)

On 29 March the Minister of Labour was asked about the exemptions from wage regulating measures that had been granted in border industrial areas. Seven concerns, he said, had been granted various exemptions from industrial council agreements, and four from wage determinations. The wage rates to be observed were determined on the basis of a percentage of the minimum prescribed rates, or in accordance with scales submitted by the applicants or suggested by the Wage Board.

The Permanent Committee stated in its report that road transport concessions had been granted in seven cases. From 1964 to 1968 inclusive the railage rebate on industrial products from the Transkei/Ciskei area had cost the Treasury about R1,015,000. (The rebate on harbour charges did not come into effect until nearly the end of 1968.)

BORDER INDUSTRIES
Tax concessions in respect of the cost of power, water, factory buildings, and machinery granted to the end of 1968 amounted to total rebates of R9,300,000 spread over a number of years, the Committee stated, while rebates granted in respect of housing for key white personnel amounted to R1,035,000 spread over at least ten years.

General progress in the development of border industrial areas
The Permanent Committee stated that the total direct additional investment in secondary industry in the border areas undertaken from 1960 to the end of 1968 (including investment by entrepreneurs who were not assisted by the State) amounted to an estimated outlay of more than R314,000,000.

Assistance by the State in some form or other during the 81 years had led to the establishment of 135 new industrial concerns and to the expansion of 74 existing concerns in border areas. The Committee was aware of a further 110 new concerns and expansions of existing concerns that were undertaken without State assistance during this period; but information on this point may have been incomplete since industrialists who were not receiving assistance did not submit returns.

In 1960, an estimated 76,000 workers (55,000 of them Africans) were employed in secondary industry in the border and Bantu areas, the Committee stated. By the end of 1968 the total employment had increased by more than 69,000 persons,
54,000 of them Africans, making a total of 145,000 persons, including 109,000 Africans.
According to the report of the I.D.C. for the year ended 30 June 1968, during that period the financing in border areas remained on practically the same level as in the previous financial year. The atmosphere in the industrial sector had been "averse to promoting new projects" until there was more certainty about the future financial climate. Anti-inflationary measures had had an inhibiting effect. There was still unused capacity in existing metropolitan industrial areas. Deterrent factors in the decentralized areas were the shortcomings of services such as telephones, water, power, and housing.
But the Permanent Committee reported that interest in the border industrial areas grew towards the end of 1968, because of the new concessions available in these areas and also because of a shortage of African labour in certain metropolitan areas that were subject to control in terms of the Physical Planning and Utilization of Resources Act of 1967.
In considering employment figures, the Committee has stated, it should be borne in mind that some large projects have not yet reached the production stage. Moreover the figures exclude the additional employment that has been created in the construction

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969

of roads, housing, schools, dams, and so on, and in tertiary activities and social services.
The Committee said that, to the end of 1968, about 5,000 employment opportunities had been created annually for African men in secondary industry in border areas. It had been estimated, however, that such new employment opportunities should be increased to at least 9,000 annually. Livelihoods in other sectors would have to be found by the remainder of the approximately 35,000 African men who become available annually for the labour market in the Bantu homelands.
During 1969 a firm of private border area consultants was established in Johannesburg, with the objects of helping industrialists to overcome the problems involved in moving to border areas and of advising them on the available benefits and the channels of approach. The head of this firm is reported to have said in August that 48 local firms were ready to move, and that 3 overseas firms were considering establishing concerns in border areas. It was largely the labour shortage in the cities, caused by new restrictions, that had induced the industrialists to decide to move, he added.
Many Africans are doing more advanced work in the border industrial areas than would be permitted in the cities but, in general, not above semi-skilled levels. Reporters who have toured these areas state that at present it would not be worth an industrialist's while to give the lengthy and expensive training required for full artisan status, even if the white trade unions would allow this, for most of the border area factories are operating on production lines.
Progress in specific border industrial areas
By the end of 1968 about 70 factories were in production or course of construction at Rosslyn (north-west of Pretoria). The Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs said in the Assembly on 25 February 36 that twelve new factories had been established at Hammarsdale with the aid of Government incentives: the total capital investment involved was R6,657,543 in land and buildings and R4,522,514 in machinery. These twelve factories employed 288 whites, 100 Indians and Coloured, and 4,730 Africans.

Recent figures in regard to developments in Pietermaritzburg are not available. Particular attention has been given to the Ciskei. The Minister of Economic Affairs said in the Assembly on 19 May 37 that, by then, additional employment had been created in the

34 Rand Daily Mail, 2 August.
35 e.g. Rand Daily Mail, 5 July.
36 Hansard 4 col. 1320.
37 Hansard 15 cols. 6209-10.

BORDER INDUSTRIES
East London area for about 8,000 Africans. This figure will since have risen, for there was an influx of industrialists into East London in 1969. A contract for a very large new factory complex was recently awarded by the I.D.C. 38

Another industrial area is being laid out on the Berlin Flats, 21 miles inland. The Minister of Planning announced during May 39 that this area is to be taken over by the East London municipality.

The Permanent Committee reports that during 1968 it decided to take active steps to establish a growth point in the Tugela catchment area. Ladysmith was selected for this purpose. The Department of Bantu Administration and Development had already made plans for a very large African township at Pieters, between Ladysmith and Colenso, on land acquired from whites and added to a Reserve lying to the east, hence housing for African workers will be available. There is considerable unemployment amongst Africans in the region. Some of the necessary services are already available in Ladysmith: these can be augmented, and the town is favourably situated in relation to communications and markets. An industrial area is to be developed there as a joint venture by the Permanent Committee, the I.D.C. and the local authority.

Newcastle, too, is developing as an industrial centre. The third Iscor is to be established there.

A committee representative of the Permanent Committee, the I.D.C., and the Provincial Administration is planning an industrial area at Richards Bay. A harbour is to be constructed, and rail and highway links with the interior provided. An aluminium smelting works is under construction. African Reserve No. 6, to the north of the bay, is to make way for the industrial area. Two new townships are being developed to house residents of this small Reserve and others who will work in the industries. 40

By the end of 1968, according to the Permanent Committee, sixteen new industrial enterprises had been attracted to Pietersburg, while ten industrialists had
expanded their concerns. Various factories at Tzaneen and Phalaborwa have received official assistance.
Industrial sites are being laid out about three miles from Brits, on the road to Pretoria.

OTHER ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AREAS
The assistance available in border industrial areas may be provided, too, within the African Reserves (as described in a sub39 Star, 14 October.
39 Rand Daily Mail, 30 May.
40 Ibid, 11 April

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969
secent chapter) and in areas where there is unemployment among white, Coloured, or Indian people.
The Permanent Committee reports that since March 1965, when this scheme was introduced, and the end of 1968, it granted assistance for the establishment of five new undertakings (two owned by whites and three by Indians) that used mainly Indian labour, and one (white-owned) that was based on Coloured labour.
Assistance was given for the extension of five factories, all owned by whites: one of these employed Indians and the rest had Coloured workers. The Committee was aware of two new Indian undertakings that expanded without official help. A total investment of more than R17,000,000 was involved in these concerns, of which the I.D.C. had provided about R5,400,000 in the form of loans. Tax rebates of more than R700,000 had been granted in respect of investments in factory buildings and machinery. The I.D.C.'s commitments in respect of housing for key white personnel were approximately R670,000. Additional employment had been created for an estimated 370 whites, 1,100 Coloured, and 1,600 Indians.
The areas in which assistance has so far been given are George/Knysna, Upington, and various parts of Natal. It is reported4' that further industrial areas, to be dependent on Coloured labour, are to be developed at Kimberley, Beaufort West, De Aar, and Bloemfontein.

INDIAN-OWNED MANUFACTURING CONCERNS
Among the Indian-owned concerns that have been assisted by the I.D.C. are textile-mills in Pietermaritzburg, Pinetown, and Tongaat: descriptions of these were given in the issues of Fiat Lux for April and May.
The possible establishment of an Indian Industrial Corporation was considered by the Government some years ago. The Minister of Indian Affairs said on 14 March42 that preliminary investigations into the need for such a body had proved inconclusive: the matter would be discussed by the South African Indian Council. The implementation of the Group Areas Act has made it clear to Indians that increasing numbers of the younger people will have to look to manufacturing rather than commerce for their livelihoods. Already 40.8 per cent of the economically active Indians are employed in manufacturing, as against 23.3 per cent in wholesale and retail trade.43 According to the Minister of Indian Affairs,44 the number of Indian-owned factories in41 Sunday Times, 6 July; and Rand Daily Mail, 18 November. 42 Assembly Hansard 6 col. 2527.
AGRICULTURE

creased from 142 in 1962 to 350 in 1967.
Most of these concerns are situated in Natal, but in about 1966 a group of Indians in Barberton established Amalgamated Enterprises as an investment company to channel funds from middle-class Indians into industry. The Financial Mail reported on 8 August that the company's subscribed capital was then R150,000, and that it had financed a candle company and a garage in Johannesburg and a knitting firm in Cape Town.
Dealings began in September in the shares of the first Indian-controlled company to receive a Johannesburg Stock Exchange quotation—a firm making concrete pipes which operates from Pietermaritzburg.45
Towards the end of 1968, the Benoni Town Council asked the Government to extend border industrial area concessions to Indian entrepreneurs who wished to establish factories near the proclaimed Indian group area of Actonville, which serves the East Rand. By so doing they could provide employment for other Indians, who were being forced out of trade. The outcome has not been reported at the time of writing.
According to a statement by the Minister of Planning on 27 November, certain border area concessions are available to industrialists for the employment of Indians in Verulam, Tongaat, and Stanger.
During 1969 the M. L. Sultan Technical College in Durban provided a part-time course for Indians in business leadership.
Leaders of industry and commerce among the Indian community of Natal have created a representative organization which will operate in association with the Natal Chamber of Industries and the Durban Chamber of Commerce.46

EMPLOYMENT IN AGRICULTURE

On 6 December 1968 and 7 February the whole of the "white" rural areas in the Transvaal (except those already subject to control), together with nine magisterial districts in the Cape and fourteen in the Free State, were declared controlled areas under the Physical Planning Act. The effect is that farm land in these areas may not be subdivided except under permit.
In reply to a question in the Assembly on 14 March, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said that there was still only one full-time inspector of agricultural labour. He was assisted by 36 labour liaison officers. During 1968 they inspected 5,787 farms.
The Government is pursuing its objective of abolishing the labour tenant system in favour of full-time labour, in districts

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969
where the white farmers' associations agree to this, and of resettling African squatters who were previously living on State land or white-owned farms. Mr. P. H. Torlage, M.P., Deputy Chairman of the Bantu Affairs Commission, told the Assembly on 26 May 2 that the labour tenant system had been abolished in 25 districts of the Transvaal, the whole of the Free State, 2 districts of the Cape, and 3 districts of Natal. Since he spoke, it has been done away with in two further districts, in the Cape and Natal respectively.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said that, at the end of 1968, 27,517 labour tenants were registered. During the previous year, 6,591 had been found redundant. In the same year, 7,301 squatters had been resettled, leaving 82,629 registered on 31 December.

Bantu labour control boards have been established in 23 further districts, mainly of the Transvaal and Free State. They have jurisdiction over the employment of all African workers on farms in their area, and consist of two local farmers with the Bantu Affairs Commissioner as chairman.

There have been very large numbers of labour tenants on farms in Natal, in particular, and also of squatters: some farmers are said to make more from the rents paid by squatters than from farming activities. On 10 April the Natal Mercury published an article by its Agricultural Editor, Mr. Lawrence Morgan, based on personal investigations, in which he said that some 150,000 African families would have to be evicted from Natal farms if there were a complete switch-over to full-time labour.

As described in a subsequent chapter, there are already many thousands of Africans living in squalid shacks on the outskirts of Natal towns, and their numbers are likely to grow.

The Natal Mercury reported on 3 October that there was a particularly grave situation in the Weenen district, where the labour tenant system was abolished as from 30 June. Most of the former labour tenants were refusing to accept the wages (R6 a month) and conditions laid down by the farmers' association for full-time workers, and in consequence were being ejected: in some cases their kraals had been burned to compel them to leave. They were forced to sell their stock, and claimed that they were obtaining very low prices because white farmers had formed a "buying ring".

According to a Press statement by Mr. P. H. Torlage of the Bantu Affairs Commission, the farmers preferred charges of illegal squatting against those who disregarded notices to leave. By 1 October, 291 kraalheads (representing 2,246 souls) had been convicted. They were given suspended sentences provided that they left the farms within 14 days: none had left by the time that the sentences became operative.

These people were moved at State expense to resettlement areas at Tugela Estates and Keates Drift in the Msinga area or to Trust land in the Ladysmith and Nkandhla Districts, Mr. Torlage said, and were provided with tents, building
materials, sanitary conveniences, drinking water, and rations of mealie meal. Pro Nutro and soup powder were made available to children and old people. In future, however, former labour tenants who failed to move would have to find their own transport when ejected.

Mr. Torlage warned farmers that they would have to compete with industry for labour.

The Natal Mercury said on 7 October that there were an estimated 10,000 labour tenants in the Weenen District, whose future was in the balance. Many were likely to swell the ranks of squatters round the towns. It commented that Keates Drift was a barren area.

On 4 October the Natal Witness quoted Mr. W. T. Webber, M.P., as having said that the Africans feared, with justification, that if they became full-time farm workers they would be tied to the land for the rest of their lives.

The Weenen and District Farmers' Association has in the past refused to release more land for African settlement. It is reported that in view of the crisis there may be a change in attitude, but that in any case a Government technical committee may recommend that land be expropriated. Spokesmen for the African tribes concerned are said to have stated that they may be prepared at some future date to accept full-time farm employment, but only after they have been provided with the security of homes elsewhere.

Mr. Torlage is reported to have said on 16 June that fulltime African farm workers would not be allowed to change their jobs, nor to settle in the homelands, unless there was no shortage of farm labour anywhere in the country.

A clause of the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill (which was taken as far as the second reading only in 1969) will, if passed, render it illegal for an African who lawfully occupies a dwelling on land in a white rural area to allow any African who is not entitled to live there to occupy the dwelling. An African found in such a dwelling in circumstances giving rise to a reasonable suspicion that he occupies it will be deemed to be occupying it, unless the contrary is proved. It will be deemed that he is doing so with the consent of the lawful occupant unless the contrary is proved.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said that it was already an offence for a farmer to allow an unauthorized African to live on his farm. In future, any African concerned would be held co-responsible.

EMPLOYMENT IN MINING

According to the official publication Mining Statistics, 1968, the average numbers employed in all types of mining in 1968, and their average cash salaries and wages per month, were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numbers employed</th>
<th>Average monthly cash earnings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

104 A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969
Whites ... 83,490 297
Coloured ...... 6,035 62
Asians ........ 824 76
Africans ...... 585,687 18

Besides their cash wages, the Africans receive free accommodation, food, recreation, medical care, and certain items of clothing. The value of this payment in kind was analysed on page 126 of the 1967 Survey: on 11 September the Star estimated, on a townships analogy, that its value to the workers is about R7.60 a month.

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 1968 was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area from which recruited</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cape</td>
<td>97,537</td>
<td>25.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal and Zululand</td>
<td>8,082</td>
<td>2.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free State</td>
<td>7,830</td>
<td>2.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal</td>
<td>16,498</td>
<td>4.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>.129,947</td>
<td>33.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesotho</td>
<td>65,131</td>
<td>17.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botswana</td>
<td>15,598</td>
<td>4.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swaziland</td>
<td>4,459</td>
<td>1.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>.85,188</td>
<td>22.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Coast</td>
<td>105,816</td>
<td>27.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tropical territories</td>
<td>61,675</td>
<td>16.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>382,626</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Chamber of Mines announced in September that the minimum wage for African mineworkers was to be raised from 34 cents to 40 cents a shift. As 26 shifts are worked a month, the minimum monthly cash wage is now R10.40. It was also announced that the Mines would pay the return fares of all those who go back to their homes for a short break annually, as most do.

Previously, the Mines paid for the incoming trip only.

In various statements, representatives of the mining industry pointed out that relatively few Africans earn the minimum wages, which are paid only to those employed for a first time, who are under training for some weeks at the start. Most of those doing a second spell on the mines would begin at 45 cents a shift, or R1.70 a month. Various bonuses are available, while men doing work requiring any degree of training are paid at higher rates. The overall average was stated to be about R15.60 a month on all types of mines, and perhaps R19.60 on gold mines.

MINING

Asked by the Press to comment, the Director of the Institute of Race Relations, Mr. Quintin Whyte, said that he welcomed any increase in the wages of the Africans. While realizing that the fixed price of gold and a rising cost structure limited the increases that could be granted, he pointed out that in 1966 white
earnings per shift were more than fifteen times what the Africans were paid in cash and kind. He would like to see a more rational use of African labour on the mines, he said.

Early in 1969 the (white) Mineworkers' Union complained to the Government that Africans were being employed on the mines on surveying and mine ventilation work and in sampling work that had traditionally been done by whites. The Underground Officials' Association did not support the complaint, considering that the system was working satisfactorily and was not a threat to white miners; however, it suggested that there should be discussions between the Department of Labour, the employers, and the trade unions concerned.

According to the Financial Mail on 24 April, Africans were being employed in these posts as an experiment, if no whites were available. They were required to hold at least a Standard VIII certificate. On each mine where the experiment was in progress the approval of the white mineworkers and underground officials had been sought and obtained.

Towards the end of April, a deputation from the Mineworkers' Union was granted an interview with the Minister of Labour. Thereafter, the Minister told Members of Parliament that he had asked the President of the Chamber of Mines to restore the previous dispensation.

It was reported on 12 July that negotiations between the Chamber of Mines and the Mineworkers' Union had broken down. Then, on 18 July, in terms of Government Notice 2055 the Industrial Tribunal was directed to investigate whether measures should be taken to safeguard white persons employed on the mines on work connected with sampling, surveying, and ventilation against interracial competition.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969

Mining in the African Reserves, and the question of the utilization of their skills, are dealt with in the next chapter of this Survey.

EMPLOYMENT IN BUILDING CONSTRUCTION

According to figures given in a Department of Statistics News Release on 10 September, the average numbers employed in construction during January 1969 and their average gross cash salaries and wages that month, were shown in sample surveys to be:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numbers employed</th>
<th>Gross salaries and wages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites ..... 54,000</td>
<td>282.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured ..... 39,000</td>
<td>98.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians ..... 3,000</td>
<td>134.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans ..... 199,000</td>
<td>45.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Free accommodation is generally provided for the Africans.)

Skilled African building workers, who may be employed in African townships only, are naturally paid higher rates than the rest. The Minister of Labour said in
the Assembly on 27 May9 that, by the end of 1968, 4,599 Africans had been registered as trained building workers, and 215 were then in training.

It was announced in February"0 that African workers in the Transvaal building industry were to receive a two cents an hour increase in wages together with holiday pay. A pension scheme was to be introduced on the basis of a 1-cent contribution per hour each by the employer and the employee.

Job reservation in the building industry, and a certain relaxation of the relevant determinations because of a shortage of white artisans, were described on page 91 of last year's Survey.

On 11 February the Minister of Labour said in the Assembly' that 534 white apprentices were registered in the building trade in the Republic in 1968, as against 678 in 1967 and 798 in 1966. The Director of the S.A. Building Industries' Federation, Mr. W. G. de C. Malherbe, told the Sunday Times on 9 February a recent survey had shown that, in spite of a recruiting campaign in Britain and Holland, the building industry was short of at least 2,000 artisans-more than four per cent of the entire skilled labour force. This shortage was most acute in the Transvaal, particularly along the Reef, where building development was at a peak.

9 Hansard 16 col. 6688.
10 Rand Daily Mail, 4 February.
11 Hansard 2 col. 490.

COMMERCE AND FINANCE

The Master Builders' and Allied Trades' Association stated in February2 that it was considering approaching the Government to request authority for non-whites to be trained in the reserved "wet" trades of bricklaying and plastering. On the Witwatersrand, only 5 white bricklayers and 2 plasterers had been indentured during 1967, while in 1966 there had been only 7 recruits to bricklaying and none to plastering. The secretary of the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers commented that while he knew the position was serious, he was certain that his union and others in the building industry would oppose the employment of non-whites in the trades concerned.

At the annual congress of the Building Industries' Federation held in October its president, Mr. M. Lipshitz, suggested that all existing qualified white artisans should be guaranteed preferential life employment in exchange for concessions that would allow employers to use non-white labour in the "wet" trades. Employers asserted that the standard of work of the whites was falling, that many of them did as little work as possible, and that, nevertheless, they were able to dictate terms to employers. It was stated that the building industry must break down unless it were permitted to use all the labour it could train, regardless of colour.

The congress decided that as from 1 April its existing training scheme would be further developed. Employers who did not train apprentices would be required to subsidize the training given by others. It was hoped that this would induce them to recruit more apprentices.3

EMPLOYMENT IN COMMERCE AND FINANCE
On 30 September the Department of Statistics issued a News Release giving the employment and gross earnings of persons in the wholesale and retail trade at the end of March (based on sample surveys), and similar information about those in banking institutions and building societies at the end of June (based on complete surveys). The numbers employed and average monthly earnings were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale trade</td>
<td>74,000</td>
<td>17,800</td>
<td>8,100</td>
<td>76,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail trade</td>
<td>113,900</td>
<td>28,200</td>
<td>15,300</td>
<td>103,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banking institutions</td>
<td>40,041</td>
<td>998</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>4,489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building societies</td>
<td>6,656</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1,376</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average monthly earnings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale trade</td>
<td>244.6</td>
<td>170.5</td>
<td>94.4</td>
<td>47.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail trade</td>
<td>129.7</td>
<td>51.4</td>
<td>81.9</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banking institutions</td>
<td>204.7</td>
<td>55.8</td>
<td>72.2</td>
<td>52.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building societies</td>
<td>226.8</td>
<td>76.5</td>
<td>106.7</td>
<td>49.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12 Rand Daily Mail, 4 and 5 February. 13 Ibid, 28 and 30 October and 1 November.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969

According to information obtained from the Johannesburg Municipality by the Institute of Race Relations, as at 30 June 1968 there were 1,516 shops of various kinds in Soweto, where 396,835 Africans were then living under municipal control.

But there was only one banking agency. The Department of Bantu Administration refused permission to another bank to operate there. It stated that, as an experiment, it had allowed five major banks to open four agencies each in urban African areas, provided that not more than one was opened in any such area.

Urban African traders are finding it increasingly difficult to get labour. Residents of the townships can usually obtain better wages in the "white" areas, and the traders are not permitted to import labour from rural areas.

White residents of several Reef towns, notably Germiston, have been urging that either Africans should be debarred from shopping in the "white" areas on Saturdays, or else separate counters should be provided. The trading organizations have opposed these proposals.

During October the Bantu Investment Corporation arranged for a party of Zulu-speaking African traders from the Reef to visit shops in Zululand that white owners might be prepared to sell.

THE PUBLIC SERVICE, PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATIONS
AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES

A Department of Statistics News Release of 15 July set out employment figures for the public sector of the economy as at 31 March, and gave statistics in regard to gross salaries and wages from which the figures below are calculated.

(Information in respect of the public service excludes the Railways Administration, while that for local authorities excludes divisional councils in the
Cape, the Transvaal Board for the Development of Peri-Urban Areas, the Natal Local Health Commission, and the Bantu Resettlement Board.

Numbers employed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public Service</td>
<td>129,950</td>
<td>31,832</td>
<td>7,435</td>
<td>164,167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincial Administrations</td>
<td>87,857</td>
<td>11,411</td>
<td>2,222</td>
<td>72,751</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Authorities</td>
<td>44,500</td>
<td>17,500</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>110,400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average monthly earnings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public Service</td>
<td>211.4</td>
<td>100.3</td>
<td>127.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincial Administrations</td>
<td>198.1</td>
<td>49.2</td>
<td>66.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Authorities</td>
<td>230.2</td>
<td>71.0</td>
<td>48.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14 RR. 34/69.

15 Star, 17 March.

16 Sunday Express, 12 October.

THE PUBLIC SERVICE

A comparison of the percentage structure of the labour force in the public service with that in the manufacturing industry is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public Service</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>49.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>52.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A Parliamentary Select Committee report that was published in August revealed that there were very serious shortages of staff in the public service. Inter alia, it quoted the Secretary to the Treasury, Mr. L. V. Lodder, as having said that the Financial Institutions Division of the Treasury was starting to collapse because there were simply no people to do the work.

Commenting on this report, Professor Ben Roux, the head of the Political Science and Public Administration Department of the University of South Africa, said that the main reasons for the Government's manpower problem were the mass of laws which had to be administered because of its race policy, and the overlapping and duplication of work in State and semi-State departments.

The Rand Daily Mail pointed out that "at Union, South Africa had 12 Government departments; today it has 39. Nine years ago 30.09 per cent of the economically active whites were employed in the public sector (including the Railways and Post Office); today, despite the shortages, the percentage is more than 36."

Because of the lack of adequate numbers of white personnel, non-whites are increasingly being employed in the service of the Post Office to work in white as well as non-white areas as telegraph messengers and postmen, officially on a temporary basis. Questioned in the Assembly on 18 February, the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs said that his department was then employing 870 Coloured, 661 Africans, and 245 Indians on the delivery of mail, and 71 Coloured, 24 Africans, and 7 Indians on the sorting of mail.

On 13 May he said that 106 post offices in Bantu areas of the Republic, and 5 in South-West Africa, were staffed solely by Africans.

Non-white people are increasingly being employed in the police and prisons services, too, for work amongst persons of their own racial groups. According to
the Minister of Police2' the strength of the police force at the end of 1968 was 18,638.

17 Rand Daily Mail, 21 August.
18 16 August.
19 Hansard 3 col. 916.
20 Hansard 14 col. 5832.
21 Assembly Hansard 1 col. 93.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969
whites, 1,430 Coloured, 642 Indians, and 13,495 Africans. All the officers were white. So far as non-commissioned officers were concerned the actual establishment was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>White</th>
<th>Non-white</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Warrant Officers</td>
<td>1,438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sergeants</td>
<td>4,432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constables</td>
<td>9,203</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the Report of the Department of Police for the year ended 30 June 1968," the non-whites who were serving as senior N.C.O.'s at the end of that year were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chief Sergeant, Special grade</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief Sergeant</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Sergeant</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Questioned on the matter in the Assembly," the Minister of Police said that 33 police stations were staffed solely by Africans.

In an address given on 4 November, the Commissioner of Police said that details were being finalized for the introduction of commissioned rank among non-white policemen.

The Johannesburg City Council employs Africans on municipal bus services for Africans, but uses whites on services to and from Coloured as well as white suburbs. Because of a continued shortage of white drivers and conductors, in spite of wage increases, the City Council suggested during 1968 that it would have to consider employing Coloured crews on services for whites and Coloured. During May the City's Management Committee discussed the matter with the Minister of Labour. The Minister subsequently ordered the Industrial Tribunal to investigate the whole question.

THE RAILWAYS ADMINISTRATION
The Railways Administration, too, has found it increasingly necessary to employ non-whites in jobs that were previously reserved for whites.

The Minister of Transport said in the Assembly24 that in May the staff consisted of 115,432 whites, 13,388 Coloured, 973 Indians, and 93,756 Africans. Over the years, between 8,000 and 9,000 whites (mainly labourers) had been replaced by 22 R.P. 47/69.

23 16 May, Hansard 14 col. 6026.
24 Hansard 6 col. 2249, 2255; Hansard 7 col. 2744.
TAXI DRIVERS
Africans. Non-whites who were occupying graded posts included 29 Coloured, 82 Indians and 854 Africans.
The Star reported on 13 March that, some time previously, the General Manager had created a special committee to discuss with the staff associations concerned the handing over of jobs to non-whites, usually officially on a temporary basis. In order to reconcile white workers, pay increases had been granted. The white unions had been urged to encourage their members to apply for promotion on the graded staff and to recruit white workers for graded posts.
In the speech referred to above the Minister stated that he was prepared, if this were in the interests of the country, to go even further in using non-white workers, whether the unions agreed or not. There had been certain disagreement. But he did not want whites to do pick and shovel work if this could be avoided. He wanted to give the white man a better position.
It was reported in the Star of 14 March that Die Spoorbond, which represents the lower-paid white daily workers, had accepted the situation.
There is stated to be a continuing shortage of checkers, stokers, shunters, station foremen, conductors, and ticket examiners -posts that are still reserved for whites, and the situation continues to deteriorate.
Mr. P. C. du Plessis, chairman of the Federal Consultative Council of the Railways Staff Associations, said in July25 that 2,000 railway employees were resigning every month.
TAXI DRIVERS AND OWNERS
It was mentioned in last year's Survey that Coloured taxi owners were appealing to the National Transport Commission against a ruling by the Cape Road Transportation Board that white passengers could not be transported in their taxis (although white owners who are unable to find white drivers are permitted to employ Coloured drivers to convey white passengers). The Commission refused to consider the appeal because it was stated to have been filed late.
SEAMEN AND DOCKWORKERS
The Minister of Defence said on 7 March that the Navy at Simonstown was then employing 150 Coloured in sea-going capacities, and 1,537 Coloured and 161 Africans in non-sea-going posts. On the S.A.S. Natal, 57 previously white posts had been converted into posts for the S.A. Coloured Corps, the whites having been transferred to other ships.26
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969
During April there was a strike of almost 2,000 dockworkers in Durban for higher wages. Not only officials of the Departments of Bantu Administration and of Labour, but also senior police officers and the special branch, were called in. The Africans were given the option of returning to work under the existing conditions or being paid off. Almost 1,500 of them were discharged, although, of these, some 400 were re-employed at their own request,
after screening. The rest were given four hours to leave Durban. New labour was recruited from amongst unemployed men in and around the city.

**DOMESTIC SERVANTS**

On 10 September the Department of Statistics issued a News Release giving the average monthly wages paid to full-time general domestic servants in various centres in October 1967, as estimated by the employers. Some extracts are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cash Kind Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Coloured woman: Cape Town</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Port Elizabeth</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>African man: Witwatersrand</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pretoria</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Durban</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pietermaritzburg</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>African woman: Witwatersrand</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pretoria</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Durban</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pietermaritzburg</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cape Town</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>East London</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In an article published in the South African Outlook for July, Dr. Michael Whisson described what the effective minimum wages should be for women domestic servants who are helping to support their families. (The effective minimum level is one-and-a-half times the poverty datum line figure.) He estimated that a full-time servant who lives in requires R40.20 a month, while one who lives out but has all her meals at work requires R43.60.

The Department of Statistics reports that, two years ago, 48.3 per cent of white families in South Africa had no domestic servants. This figure is steadily rising, it states, particularly on the Witwatersrand.

Under the Group Areas Act, Indians and Coloured people are not permitted to employ African domestic servants, unless special authority is granted on compassionate grounds. The Garment Workers' Union of South Africa maintains that because of this restriction hundreds of trained women are lost to industry, and the standard of living of their families is unnecessarily depressed.

AFRICAN PROFESSIONAL WORKERS

AFRICAN PROFESSIONAL MEN AND WOMEN

On 15 July the Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development sent a circular minute, A12/1, to all urban local authorities, reading as follows: "It has come to the notice of the Department that certain local authorities, in conflict with policy, grant consulting room and office facilities in urban Bantu residential areas to non-European medical practitioners.
and other non-European professional persons. It is, therefore, necessary to set out the
policy of the Department in this regard.
"It should be borne in mind that urban Bantu residential
areas, although set aside for the purpose of occupation by Bantu, are situated in
White areas, and taking into consideration the application of the principles of the
policy of separate development, it follows that each national unit should be served
by its own people in its respective homeland. It is, therefore, imperative that non-
European medical practitioners and other Bantu who pursue professions should practise
amongst their own people.
"Local authorities are, therefore, requested to ensure that
non-Europeans who render professional services are not granted consulting room
and office accommodation in urban Bantu residential areas. The Bantu should be
persuaded to offer their services in the Bantu homelands where an acute shortage
exists in the field of professional services and where, as a result of industrial and
other development including the provision of hospitals and clinics, excellent
opportunities for
their establishment exist.
"Professional services in urban Bantu residential areas
should be rendered by Whites in terms of the provisions of
section 42 (g) of Act No. 25 of 1945.
"Bantu who are at present legally exercising such rights
may be permitted to continue to do so but should, by way of persuasion, be
activated to establish themselves amongst their
own people in the homelands.
"Your co-operation in this matter will be appreciated."
It appears that as further Africans complete professional training they will be able
to practise in urban townships only if they qualify for residential rights there.
This circular minute gave rise to many protests, among them from Mr. Quintin
Whyte, Director of the Institute of Race Relations, who wrote to the Department
and issued two Press state-
ments.9 He made the points, among others, that for years the Government had
told Africans that they must serve their own people in their own areas. Were the
millions of Africans in urban areas not "their own people"? With the shortage of
trained manpower, how were white professional men to provide adequate services
for urban Africans? What would happen in cases of emergency at night with no
resident doctors on call in the townships?
After obtaining a Master's degree in nuclear physics at a Canadian university, Mr.
Alfred Msezane applied unsuccessfully for a post with the Atomic Energy Board
in South Africa. The best employment he could find was as a teacher, where he
would have started on a salary of R55 a month. He decided to abandon his further
studies for a doctorate in the Republic and to take up a scholarship offered overseas.

During August, Mrs. Desiree Finca of Soweto became the first African woman to be admitted as an attorney in South Africa.

Johannesburg's non-white traffic inspectors have been instructed not to take action against white motorists in any circumstances, in order to avoid "racial incidents."

**TRADE UNIONISM**

**Membership figures**

During 1969 the Institute of Race Relations published South Africa's Workers: Their Organizations and the Patterns of Employment, by the writer of this Survey. So far as could be ascertained, the number of unions in mid-1969 (including a few unregistered unions), and their strength, was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Membership</th>
<th>Type of union unions</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>African</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White unions</td>
<td>183,781</td>
<td>33,088</td>
<td>148,985</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Racially mixed unions</td>
<td>60,166</td>
<td>67,448</td>
<td>22,309</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>African unions</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16,040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>426,020</td>
<td>108,212</td>
<td>32,655</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Indians are classified together with Coloured for the purposes of the Industrial Conciliation Act. The numbers of each of these population groups had, in most cases, to be estimated by the trade union officials concerned.)

29 RR. 99/69 and 115/69. 30 Rand Daily Mail, 2 April.

**TRADE UNIONISM**

It was calculated that, of the economically active population, 30.3 per cent of the whites, 16.0 per cent of the Coloured, 21.2 per cent of the Asians, and only 0.3 per cent of the Africans, were members of the unions.

As described later, the two main co-ordinating bodies are the Trade Union Council of South Africa (Tucsa) and the South African Confederation of Labour. The number of unions that were affiliated to each of these in mid-1969, and that were unaligned, were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affiliated to: Unaffiliated</th>
<th>Confederation Tucsa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White unions</td>
<td>27 13 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racially mixed unions</td>
<td>- 25 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured and/or Asian unions</td>
<td>- 23 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African unions</td>
<td>- - 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>27 61 98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Their membership was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affiliated to: Unaffiliated</th>
<th>Confederation Tucsa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White unions</td>
<td>183,781 33,088 148,985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racially mixed unions</td>
<td>129,830 20,093</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured and/or Asian unions</td>
<td>23,560 27,550</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The study indicated that the white membership of the racially-mixed unions had practically halved since 1961, when a similar investigation was made. On the other hand, however, in 1969 almost twice as many Coloured and Indian members belonged to the mixed as to the exclusively non-white unions. There have from time to time been moves to set up a separate Coloured co-ordinating body, but adequate support has not been forthcoming.

The movement has made little progress among white collar workers. The highest degree of organization is among white workers engaged in mining, printing, the metal industries, engineering, and the Railways service, and among Coloured and Asian employees in the furniture, printing, and clothing industries.

Trade Union Council of South Africa

It was mentioned on page 113 of last year's Survey that, after a period of wavering on the question, in April 1968 Tucsa decided, by majority vote, that it would continue to accept the affiliation of African unions. During the months that followed twelve unions that disagreed with this policy disaffiliated from the A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969 organization: between them, they had 29,136 members (about 18 per cent of the total Tucsa membership). It was reported3\(^3\) that other unions, some of them Coloured, intimated that they intended withdrawing, too. The general secretary, Mr. J. Arthur Grobbelaar, stated in February32 that over the past two years the revenue of his organization had been cut by nearly R16,000 a year—a figure that might mount to R21,000. Activities had to be curtailed, and some members of staff were retrenched.

Tucsa's 1969 national conference was held in Johannesburg, commencing on 17 February. It had before it a recommendation by the national executive committee that the constitution of the organization be altered to limit membership to trade unions that were registered, or eligible for registration, under the Industrial Conciliation Act (i.e. thus excluding African unions). Only two small unions voted against the recommendation, and only one speaker opposed it: he was Mr. Eric F. Tyacke, until shortly before a member of Tucsa's headquarters staff.

By a smaller majority, reported33 to be 77 votes to 10 with 2 abstentions, Tucsa decided to entrench the amendment to its constitution for a minimum period of two years. After this period, a card vote would have to be taken if the question of admitting Africans were again raised at an annual or specially-convened conference; an 80 per cent majority would be necessary to effect a change; and any such change would not become effective for six months after the decision. A committee was appointed to recommend ways in which members of registered unions might be protected while preventing the exploitation of unregistered and unrecognized workers of any racial group. This would have to be done within the framework of the constitutional change.
Tucsa decided to open its ranks to federations of trade unions (as distinct from individual unions) and to other worker co-ordinating bodies whose affiliates were registered in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act. After this conference, four of the unions that had left Tucsa decided to re-affiliate, and two other unions sought affiliation for the first time.

Tucsa's next conference was held in Durban during August. Nine resolutions were adopted which, between them, formed a Working Man's Charter. They contained proposals for promoting the usefulness and indispensability of white workers by creating facilities for better training, and for re-training when technology rendered their jobs redundant or capable of being done by less skilled people. There were suggestions for the furthering of the country's economic growth through increased productivity; for
31 Rand Daily Mail, 17 February.
32 Star, 18 February.
33 Ibid.

TRADE UNIONISM

annual pay improvements; for better housing and health schemes and care of the aged.
The conference accepted unanimously that the exploitation of any sector of the working force would not be in the interests of labour generally, and that the only real inter-racial safeguard was the rate for the job. At least 49 unions undertook to negotiate, through their own machinery, better wages and working conditions for unorganized and unrecognized Africans. It was decided that Tucsa would give thought to the rôle that it might be able to play within the system of works committees for Africans that is provided for in the Bantu Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act.

According to a report in the Star of 22 October, the Minister of Labour received a delegation from Tucsa, and said that in his opinion it was the duty and responsibility of members of the registered unions to negotiate on behalf of Africans in their particular industries. On 1 November the Amalgamated Engineering Union announced that it would do so shortly, in negotiations with employers in the steel and engineering industries.

The South African Confederation of Labour

The S.A. Confederation of Labour was originally composed of three federal bodies: the S.A. Federation of Trade Unions, the Koördinerende Raad van S.A. Vakverenigings (Co-ordinating Council of S.A. Trade Unions), and the Federal Consultative Council of S.A. Railways and Harbours Staff Associations. Each retained its identity for purposes of internal administration.

Towards the end of 1968, a newly-formed Federation of Mine Production Workers joined the Confederation, as did one of the unions that left Tucsa. The S.A. Federation of Trade Unions disbanded, but some of its constituent unions became individual members of the Confederation.

All the unions that are direct or indirect members of this body have exclusively white membership.
Divergencies of views, described in last year's Survey, continue within the Confederation, for example on such matters as the extent to which job reservation should be applied.

Suggested meeting of labour leaders
In mid-November Mr. J. H. Liebenberg, president of the Federal Consultative Council of Railways Staff Associations and an ex-chairman of the Confederation, suggested that leaders of the major trade union co-ordinating bodies should meet to work out a practical plan for relieving the shortage of skilled workers while at the same time ensuring the security of white workers. Unless this were done, he said, the economy would be exposed to grave harm. Mr. Grobbelaar of Tucsa expressed support for this suggestion.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969

African unions
Several of the African unions that left Tucsa have, since, gone out of existence. Fourteen African unions were accounted for in the study by the Institute of Race Relations, but only two or three of these are really active and well-organized. Most of those that remain receive help from industrial councils and registered unions, particularly unions affiliated to Tucsa.

THE WORKING OF THE BANTU LABOUR (SETLEMENT OF DISPUTES) ACT
The Minister of Labour said in the Assembly on 22 May that, during 1968, the Bantu Labour Board and labour officers secured wage increases, amounting to R6,500,000, for some 247,000 African workers. The Institute of Race Relations was informed by trade unionists that all of these improvements in wages did not necessarily result from representations made by the Government-appointed officials: they often followed from representations made by registered unions on the Africans' behalf.

According to the latest report of the Department of Labour, for 1967,^4 during that year there were 20 stoppages of work, involving 1,302 Africans, which could be regarded as strikes: they arose from demands relating to wages and other conditions of employment. A further 38 disputes resulted in stoppages of work that were not regarded as strikes: these involved 798 African workers. Nineteen disputes, involving 466 Africans, were settled through the machinery of the Act without stoppages of work occurring. In a number of these cases the grievances were removed through the intervention of labour officers. Two lockouts, involving 140 Africans, took place during the year.

Only 24 works committees could be traced by the Institute of Race Relations, in factories throughout the country, although there were a few other, non-statutory committees. Some of them were doing very useful work; but the investigation showed that their competence is limited—they are organized on a factory, and not an industrial, basis, and members can do no more than make representations to their own employers.

34 R.P. 68/68, page 15.
THE AFRICAN RESERVES

THE EXTENT OF THE RESERVES

The categories of African areas are as follows:

(a) The scheduled areas are areas that were in African occupation in 1913 and were described in a schedule to the Natives Land Act of that year. Certain boundary changes have, since, been made by decision of Parliament. All scheduled land in the Transkei was handed over to the control of the government of that territory in 1966.

Until 1913 in the northern provinces, and 1936 in the Cape, Africans were legally entitled to acquire land from whites in parts of the country outside the Reserves. Since these dates, they have been able to do so in the released areas only. Farms acquired by Africans prior to 1936 are considered to be part of the scheduled areas if they adjoin existing Reserves; but if they are surrounded by white-owned land they are officially regarded as black spots.

(b) The Bantu Trust and Land Act of 1936 provided that a "quota" of 7,250,000 morgen of land would gradually be added to the existing Reserves. Only 6,729,853 morgen of this quota land, constituting the released areas, was demarcated in the Act.

All State-owned land that was within the released areas was vested in the S.A. Bantu Trust, to be added to the Reserves. The Trust, and African tribes and individuals, have bought land from whites within the released areas.

According to the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development,’ the area of the Reserves at the end of 1968 was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morgen</th>
<th>Scheduled areas</th>
<th>Quota land vested in the Trust</th>
<th>Quota land bought by Africans since 1936</th>
<th>Quota land bought by the Trust</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. Areas</td>
<td>1,085,054</td>
<td>1,441,583</td>
<td>1,535,589</td>
<td>271,357</td>
<td>4,333,583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Areas</td>
<td>2,282,338</td>
<td>297,534</td>
<td>1,277,149</td>
<td>154,605</td>
<td>4,011,626</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>3,188,799</td>
<td>89,956</td>
<td>423,856</td>
<td>15,893</td>
<td>3,718,504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>908,421</td>
<td>9,102</td>
<td>110,202</td>
<td>2,257</td>
<td>1,029,982</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969

The total area, of 17,074,342 morgen, or 56,475 square miles, represented 11.98 per cent of the area of the Republic. Still to be acquired in terms of the 1936 Act were 1,620,917 morgen (less 168,420 morgen of quota land that was acquired by the Trust in the Transkei and handed over to the government of that territory). To this figure should be added the land bought and still to be purchased for the resettlement of people from black spots.
THE EXTENT OF BLACK SPOTS
Besides clearing the black spots, the Department is gradually eliminating various isolated, smaller, scheduled areas, or portions of these areas that jut out into white farming land.
Information about these areas was given to Parliament during 1969 by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development and by his two Deputy Ministers. It transpires that the farms regarded as black spots were 179,977 morgen in extent in 1948. By the end of 1968, 83,198 morgen had been cleared, and 96,779 morgen remained.
Of the black spot land that was cleared in the four years 1965-8, 28,470 morgen were purchased and 5,480 morgen expropriated.3
According to the Deputy Chairman of the Bantu Affairs Commission, the area of small Reserves, or outlying portions of other Reserves, that were to be eliminated was 546,779 morgen in 1948. The Minister and Deputy Minister told Parliament in 1969 that 222,981 morgen of this land had still to be cleared.

AREAS OCCUPIED BY EACH ETHNIC GROUP
In reply to a question in the Assembly on 7 February, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development said that the areas occupied by each ethnic group were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Area in morgen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>3,980,647</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td>1,035,903</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zulu</td>
<td>3,585,212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tswana</td>
<td>4,330,135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tswana</td>
<td>890,716</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Sotho</td>
<td>1,947,277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>935,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Sotho</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swazi</td>
<td>519,057</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOME BLACK SPOT REMOVALS
Dumdee district
Limehill, Uitval, and Vergelegen are three resettlement areas, adjoining one another, in the Dundee district of Natal, next to the Msinga Reserve. A description
was given in pages 126 et seq of last year's Survey of the removal of Africans to these areas from various "black spot" farms and mission stations. At Limehill in particular it was clear that inadequate preparations were made before the people arrived.

The advance arrangements were better at Vergelegen. Those going there were members of the Kunene tribe, who (as reported last year) sold the farm they previously owned to the Government for R251,276, using part of this sum for the purchase of alternative land.

Of the rest of the people moved, some had formerly owned land, while others lived in huts they had built on rented plots. The Deputy Minister of Bantu Development said in the Assembly on 28 February' that compensation, amounting to R139,033, had been paid to 966 persons.

It was reported towards the end of 1968 that there had been a great deal of illness and a number of deaths in the Limehill complex. During December a group of volunteer doctors, nurses, clergymen, and nuns went to the Amakhazi mission station, nearby, to give aid to the sick and hungry. Large lorry-loads of food and clothing were sent by Inter-Church Aid, which is centred in Johannesburg.

Four doctors held a clinic at the mission for three weeks. There is a Government clinic at Limehill, with a full-time nurse, that is visited by the district surgeon twice a week; but some of the Africans apparently stated that they could not afford to pay the small fee charged. The visiting doctors reported' that they had examined 760 patients. Among the illnesses diagnosed were 337 cases of diarrhoea, 8 of typhoid, 9 of pneumonia, 5 of suspected tuberculosis, 29 of eye infections, 43 of cystitis, 34 of scabies or worm infestation, and 112 of deficiency diseases (including 28 cases of kwashiorkor).

The doctors commented that it seemed that water supplies and facilities for the disposal of waste were inadequate. However, every doctor working at a mission hospital would confirm that a serious health situation existed in many parts of rural South Africa, they said. Among the causes were poverty, ignorance of food values and hygiene, and the use of incorrect methods in trying to cure illnesses.

The Daily Dispatch indicated,' and the Minister of Health stated,9 that although boreholes had been sunk in the Limehill complex to feed reservoirs and water taps, many of the people still followed the old custom of fetching water, which might be polluted, from streams. They did not like the taste of the tap water, which had been chlorinated. There had been few latrines in the areas they previously occupied, and the people had not become accustomed to using those available in the resettlement area. Mothers used wrong methods in trying to cure gastroenteritis, and often brought sick children to the clinic too late for effective treatment.

The Minister said that gastro-enteritis was, in any case, common in summer, and its incidence at the Limehill complex could not be attributed to the resettlement.
His Department's Chief Medical Officer and Chief Health Inspector had been to the area, visiting 4,126 persons. In a period of five months, he said, 73 people had died in a community of 7,500. This gave a death rate of 25 per 1,000, which was lower than amongst rural populations in most other African States. (Various commentators pointed out that this was no reason for any complacency.) There had been no serious outbreak of typhoid, the Minister stated: the deaths among children were due mainly to malnutrition and ignorance.

The Minister outlined the steps that had been taken by his Department, including the inoculation of all handlers of foodstuffs and all contacts with typhoid cases, and the purification of water supplies and treatment of latrines. A team of workers was immunizing people against smallpox, polio, and tuberculosis, and a health educator had spent some time at the Limehill complex.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Development said that water for building purposes was being supplied by a tanker and stored in drums near the building sites. A shortage of thatching grass had held up building operations and in mid-March there were still 76 families living in tents; but all of these except two expected to have their new dwellings completed by the end of April.

It is reported that unemployment is still a serious problem. Mr. Lawrence Morgan, the Agricultural Editor of the Natal Mercury, visited the area at the end of January and stated that most of those who previously had jobs had retained them, nevertheless at Uitval, where the position seemed to be worst, not more than about 60 per cent of the active male population were in employment. It was possible to commute daily to labour centres where work was available, and the Government was subsidizing bus fares; but Limehill was 17 miles from Wasbank and 20 miles from Dundee (the nearest towns), while Uitval and Vergelegen were still further away.

Inter-Church Aid and the Natal Citizens' Association have sent representatives to the area to help with vegetable-growing and to teach homecrafts to enable the women to earn some money.

Questioned in the Assembly on 7 February, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development said that, besides the removals to the Limehill complex, during 1968 the Department moved 905 people from various farms to Vaalkop, also in the Dundee district.

Other parts of Natal

A further 1,751 Africans, the Deputy Minister continued, had been moved during 1968 from black spots to new townships in the Newcastle and Pietermaritzburg areas.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said in the Assembly on 14 March that about 1,370 Africans were to be moved in mid-1969 from the Underberg area to three farms in the Impendhle district.
Northern Transvaal
Further information given by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development was that, during 1968, 460 persons had been moved from various farms, including Wallmansthal, to the new townships in the Hammanskraal complex to the north-west of Pretoria.
The removal of African families from Eersterus, on the outskirts of Pretoria, to Stinkwater, some 27 miles to the north, was described on page 135 of last year's Survey. Again, inadequate advance preparations were made.
Questioned in the Assembly on 4 and 17 March,14 the Deputy Ministers of Bantu Administration and of Bantu Development said that part of the farm Stinkwater was owned by Africans, and part by the Bantu Trust. On the African-owned portion the people were living on a more-or-less agricultural basis. About 700 families were to be settled in two residential villages on the Trust-owned portion. Already there were 228 families from Eersterus and 150 families who presumably came from white farms. Then there were some 500 families, many of them illegal squatters who had moved in fairly recently, on the African-owned land. This made a total of about 878 families with 2,850
12 Hansard 1 col. 316.
13 Hansard 6 col. 2519.
14 Hansard 5 col. 1781; Hansard 7 cols. 2720-1.

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children. The non-Tswana families would eventually be resettled elsewhere: the Tswana Territorial Authority had requested this.
These people were, thus far, served by one school (another large one was under construction) and four shops, it was stated. There was a clinic three miles away, and a new one was being built at Stinkwater itself.
No employment was available locally, but a labour bureau at Stinkwater helped people to find jobs in Pretoria. The (subsidized) bus fare was R1 for a five-day week and R1.20 for a week of six days.
There were three equipped boreholes on the farm Stinkwater, it was stated, at two of which there were reservoirs. The distances that people had to carry water varied from 800 yards to three-quarters of a mile.
The Star reported on 13 March that many of the workers who commuted to Pretoria had to catch a bus at 4 a.m., and did not get back home until 8 p.m. or 9 p.m. They found the bus fares too expensive. For these reasons most of the workers came home at weekends only. Families who had come from rural areas had built mud, thatched-roof huts; but those from Eersterus were mainly living in rickety shacks of rusty corrugated iron and cardboard, although a few brick houses were being built.
It was reported during February5 that a water shortage had developed at Stinkwater, and that women and children were digging with their hands in dry river beds. The use of the muddy water they thus obtained had caused stomach upsets. The Department sent two water tankers to the area, but withdrew this service, at first stating that it was unnecessary because the people preferred the taste of water from the river and were disinclined to walk to the nearest borehole.
Departmental spokesmen admitted later, however, that there was a shortage, and blamed this on the influx of illegal squatters.

As mentioned on page 137 of last year's Survey, there has for years been friction between Tsonga and Venda tribesmen in the Sibasa district, and many of the people feel that they would prefer to separate. During 1968 the Department moved numbers of Tsonga families from a mainly Venda area near the Elim Mission to a Trust farm further east, variously known as Jimmy-Jones or Jim-John.

Various Press reports were quoted last year which indicated that the advance preparations were inadequate. It would appear that these reports were exaggerated. The Star reported on 29 May that, according to an informant at Elim Hospital, there was some initial dislocation, but most of the families had settled down quite well. Some moved without Government assistance. The move had not been completed, it was stated, because the number of people to be moved had been underestimated, and there was need to augment the water supplies in the new area.

124 Pretoria News, 7 February; Sunday Express, 9 and 23 February.

BLACK SPOTS

Western Transvaal
(a) Bakubung tribe

It was mentioned on page 133 of last year's Survey that in 1965 the Bakubung tribe was ordered to leave the village of Molotestad, on the farms Palmietkuil and Elandsfontein in the Rustenburg area, and to move about 60 miles to Ledig in the Pilanesberg area. The division that existed within this tribe is described on page 66.

Some 645 families under Chieftainess Kathirena Monnakgotla did go, receiving compensation for their previous properties, but about another 183 families, led by Lukas Monnakgotla, refused to move. They were twice convicted of occupying State land without permission and given conditionally suspended sentences: on the second occasion the condition was that they should leave by the end of 1968. Again they defied the order. On 13 January, 190 heads of families and other adults were arrested. After discussions with officials, however, they at last agreed to go to Ledig, and all were released except ten men who were accused of assaulting the Chieftainess with intent to murder her. Their trial is described earlier.

Department officials helped the rest to demolish their old huts and take usable materials with them. They had to dispose of their livestock. Plots of land were allocated to them at Ledig at the end of a two-mile strip inhabited by the tribesmen who had arrived earlier, and tents were made available while they were building new homes.

An observer who visited Ledig recently said the families have residential plots of about 100 square feet, and, in most cases, arable plots too. The older residents have been allowed to retain a few livestock. There are several waterpoints, and boys with donkeycarts sell drums of water to householders. In the village are a
large lower and higher primary school, a clinic, and four small shops selling basic necessities. The bus fare to Rustenburg is R2 return, and to Phokeng 50 cents. Breadwinners are in employment at various centres.

(b) Bakwena-ba-Magopa tribe
It was mentioned in last year's Survey, too, that a section of the Bakwena-ba-Magopa tribe was to be moved from the farm Swartkop, 22 miles from Koster, to make way for white diamond

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prospectors. The tribe owned the land, but not the mineral rights. At the time of writing the move has apparently not yet taken place.

(c) Morsgat (or Moesgat)
On 25 October the Rand Daily Mail featured a report on a resettlement area at Morsgat, called Madikwe, about 28 miles from Swartruggens, where some 300 families (approximately 1,200 people) had been moved. Most of them previously lived in huts or brick houses at quarries, where the men are employed. It seems that others were endorsed out of towns in the Western Transvaal. Their living conditions had by no means been ideal, but they had solid shelter, the men's employment was on their doorsteps, and they lived with their families. They could keep livestock.

Towards the end of 1968 the first hundred families were taken by officials to Morsgat. Tents were supplied, but the people themselves had to clear the bush to erect these. A small initial ration of mealie meal was, apparently, provided. Other families followed at intervals, sometimes in pouring rain. They all had to dispose of their livestock.

Ten months later, many of the people were still living in tents. Others had erected shanties of corrugated iron or planks and cardboard. The cost of better building materials was beyond their means. There were still no sanitary facilities: when they arrived some people started to dig pits, but were told not to do this, as toilets would be provided. They had not eventuated. For the entire community of about 1,200 souls there was one water tank at a borehole, with two taps. Women had to queue for long periods to fill their tins with malodorous water: there was a layer of green slime floating on the water in the tank. Some women had to carry their water for up to 600 yards. The people complained of severe stomach disorders, skin diseases, and sores on their bodies.

The district surgeon apparently visited the settlement periodically and, if necessary, arranged for an ambulance to take patients to a mission hospital 25 miles distant; but the nearest clinic was at Swartruggens, the return bus fare being R1.10.

The average wages of the breadwinners were between R3.50 and R4 a week. As the bus-fare from the quarries to Morsgat ranged from R1.30 to R1.80 return, few of the men could afford to come to their new homes more than once per week or fortnight.

Classes for the children were started in tents, a school being built later (lower and higher primary). Three of the six teachers were paid by the community itself.
Supplies were at first bought from a visiting Indian trader, but in about August a small shop was opened at the settlement, stocking bare essentials only.

THE TRANSKEI
The Rand Daily Mail could obtain no information about Morsgat from the Department. Its reporters found that many of the people at the settlement were afraid to talk to them. A policeman ordered them to report to the police station at Swartruggens, where they were told that they had acted wrongly in taking photographs. (Two of them, who were Africans, had not required permission to enter Morsgat.)

A somewhat different account was given in the Sunday Times on 2 November after the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration had invited certain reporters and photographers to accompany him on a visit to Madikwe. The Deputy Minister told the touring party that no-one was compelled to settle there, and anyone was free to leave. Already in the settlement, he said, were 400 families (about 1,600 souls), while another 173 families had applied to live there. There were 200 four-roomed houses in the course of construction, some of which should be ready for occupation by mid-December. The rent would be R4 a month plus a few cents for services. For those who wanted to build their own homes, the Department supplied bricks at R12 per 1,000, and they were given five years, or longer if necessary, to pay for these and other building materials.

The report stated that there were two borehole watering points. No unemployment existed: an adjoining farm had vacancies for 60 men and 40 women.

The Rand Daily Mail stated on 6 November that its investigation had taken place at intervals over a period of about three months, and that it then sent a questionnaire to the Department which after sixteen days had not been answered. It asked where the villagers could go if they did decide to leave. Only after its questionnaire had been submitted was a start made with the provision of housing and pit latrines, it alleged.

Northern Cape
Various removal schemes have been in progress in the Vryburg and Kuruman areas of the Northern Cape, where several fairly large black spots have been eliminated.

Ciskei
The department is continuing to move Africans from isolated farms east of the main road inland from East London to the west of this road, in the King William's Town area.

BOUNDARIES OF THE TRANSKEI
In reply to a motion passed by the Transkeian Legislative Assembly in 1968 that the districts of Elliot, Maclear, and Mount Currie, and portions of the districts of Port St. Johns and Matatiele, be included in the Transkei, the Republican Govern-

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ment wrote to say that continued representations to this effect would only tend to disturb good relations. However, as and when white-owned farms in the
Umzimkulu district were offered for sale they would be bought by the S.A. Bantu Trust. When this district was completely Trust-owned the land would be transferred to the Transkeian Government.

MANAGEMENT OF CERTAIN TOWNS IN THE TRANSKEI

As described on page 138 of the 1968 Survey, the towns of the Transkei have been zoned as completely reserved for future African occupation, or so reserved in part. In a few of the small "Black-zoned" towns, for example Tsomo, Tsolo, Flagstaff, and Qumbu, so many of the previous white residents have left that the all-white Village Management Boards disintegrated. As a temporary measure, white men have been appointed as commissioners to run the affairs of villages such as these.

The town of Matatiele is part of the Republic. It has been decided that a self-contained all-African town called Romohlakoana should be established in the vicinity, with its own municipality which will be responsible to the Transkeian Government.

NEW TERRITORIAL AUTHORITIES

The establishment of the newly-constituted Ciskei and Tswana Territorial Authorities was described last year. Four further such authorities were constituted during 1969:
- Basotho ba Borwa, for the South Sotho at Witzieshoek (Proclamations 59 and 60).
- Matshangana, for the Tsonga people (Proclamations 96 and 138).
- Lebowa, for the North Sotho (Proclamations 115 and 202).
- Venda (Proclamations 168 to 170).

In each case except at Witzieshoek there will be tribal or community authorities and regional authorities as well as the territorial authority. A regional authority is not needed at Witzieshoek because there are only two tribes in the area: their tribal authorities have been vested with powers of regional authorities. The numbers of regional authorities in the other areas under consideration are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tswana</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsonga</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Sotho</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16 Star, 21 July.
17 Minister of Bantu Administration and Development. Assembly, 2 May.
Hansard 12 col. 5161.

TERRITORIAL AUTHORITIES

As previously, a tribal authority will consist of the chief, councillors recognized by the tribe, and any others who may be appointed by the chief with the concurrence of his councillors. Community authorities may be set up in respect of two or more tribes that have no recognized chiefs, in which case they are composed of the traditional councillors of the constituent tribes together with such
additional members as the elected head may appoint. Alternatively, in areas where no tribal structure exists, all the members may be elected by adult males.

Regional authorities consist of the heads of tribal or community authorities in the region concerned, or of one member of each of these authorities designated by it. In the Ciskei, the Paramount Chief and other chiefs or their deputies are automatically members. Further members of tribal or community authorities may be included by decision of the regional authority. Each regional authority is to have an executive, headed by a senior chief and with other members appointed by the authority itself.

The constitutions of the territorial authorities vary. In the Matshangana and Venda areas these authorities consist of all the members of the constituent regional authorities. The Paramount Chief is added in the case of the Ciskei. The Lebowa territorial authority consists of all the members of nine constituent regional authorities and one-third of the members of the tenth (a much larger body than the others, which will select its own representatives). The Tswana territorial authority members are the chairmen of the regional authorities and other representatives appointed by these bodies. Finally, at Witzieshoek the members will be the two tribal chiefs and six councillors appointed by each tribal authority.

Each territorial authority elects its own chairman, and also elects a Chief Executive Councillor (who must be a chief) and, except at Witzieshoek, five other executive councillors. In the Matshangana and Lebowa areas, at least three of the five must be chiefs. At Witzieshoek the executive council is composed of the Chief Executive Councillor, the other chief in the area, and one councillor elected by each of the two tribal authorities from among its members.

The Chief Executive Councillor will be responsible for the Department of Authority Affairs and Finance, and will allocate responsibility for the other departments to the members of the executive council. In territorial authority areas other than Witzieshoek the other departments are community affairs; works; education and culture; agriculture; and justice. At Witzieshoek, agriculture is combined with works, and justice with community affairs.

Territorial authority services are to be created, to be assisted by seconded officials of the Republic's public service. The RR-E

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administrative head of each department will be an official from the Republic designated by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development.

Considerable numbers of seconded personnel will be needed The official estimates of expenditure for 1969-7011 make provision for 234 persons to be seconded by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development to the Ciskeian service during that year, and 231 to the Tswana service, at a combined cost in salaries of R1,168,000. These figures do not include personnel needed for the educational and certain other services.

Territorial executive councils will frame proposals for taxation, estimates of expenditure, and draft enactments on matters within the territorial authority's competence, for submission to this authority.
In terms of proclamations listed earlier in this chapter, the assets and liabilities of regional authorities are being transferred to territorial authorities, together with the powers that these subsidiary bodies previously had to deal with such matters as education, roads, water supplies, hospitals, clinics, agricultural matters, stock diseases, and afforestation. In future the regional authorities will act in these matters as agents of the territorial authority.

In addition, the territorial authorities will be responsible for the promotion of diversified economies, welfare services and social pensions, the control of labour bureaux, the notification of births and deaths, and the collection of revenue. In the Ciskei and Tswana areas, the administration of social pensions (but not the power to make regulations in connection therewith) is already being transferred to the territorial authorities from the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. 19

These two territorial authorities have already framed their first budgets, for the year ending 31 March 1970.

The salaries and allowances to be paid annually are as follows: 20

- Chief Councillors ............... R3,600
- Other heads of departments ...... R3,000
- Chairmen of territorial authorities ... R600
- Deputy chairmen ................. R300

Other members of the territorial authorities will be paid sessional allowances, or allowances for attending meetings, plus transport and subsistence allowances if necessary.

19 Proclamations 68 and 69 of 1969.
20 Republican Estimates of Expenditure, op cit, and various proclamations.

**TERRITORIAL AUTHORITIES**

The Chief Executive Councillors are:
- Ciskei : Chief J. J. Mabandla
- Tswana : Chief Lucas M. Mangope
- South Sotho : Chief Wessels M6ta
- North Sotho : Chief Maserumule Matlala
- Venda : Chief P. R. Mpephu

There is a wide network of tribal and community authorities, subsidiary to the regional authorities: 15 new ones were created during the year in the areas under consideration. It would seem, however, that there are some areas where the tribes still oppose the Bantu Authorities system.

**BANTU AUTHORITIES IN THE ZULU AND SWAZI AREAS**

During April, Prince Israel Mcwayizeni was installed as Regent Paramount Chief of the Zulu nation until Prince Mbongi Goodwill ka Cyprian ka Solomon Zulu, the direct heir of the previous Paramount Chief, comes of age and marries.

Since then, a rift is reported to have developed for various reasons between Prince Israel and one of the leading political figures, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. On the Bantu Authorities issue, the Prince has stated2’ that he intends continuing with his predecessor's plans to establish a territorial authority.
Chief Buthelezi has become head of the Mashonangashoni Regional Authority, which was set up in the Mahlabatini district in 1968. His attitude, and that of his people, was expressed in an interview published in Drum in October 1968. The Bantu Authorities Act was passed without their consent, he said, and they were, thus, under no obligation to express either acceptance of or objection to the proclamation of the regional authority. They had learned in 1964 that their feelings were irrelevant: the acceptance of Government policy was compulsory, not optional.

During 1969 a new regional authority was established in the Nqutu district, and six new tribal authorities were formed. So far as can be ascertained from weekly issues of the Government Gazette, by November there were totals of 17 regional authorities and 202 tribal or community authorities in the Zulu areas, but the structure was not yet complete.

There are two regional authorities in the scattered Swazi areas but, as yet, no territorial authority.

THE FINANCING OF DEVELOPMENT WORK

In 1969-70, Parliament voted R8,500,000 from Loan Account


Further details are given in the booklet The African Reserves of South Africa, published by the Institute of Race Relations in 1969.

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for the purchase of land for African settlement, and R44,952,000 for development work (as against R5,000,000 and R39,779,000 respectively the previous year). This money is credited to the account of the S.A. Bantu Trust.

The Trust derives additional revenue from local taxes, quitrents and certain fees paid by Africans, fees paid by prospecting and mining companies, profits from various ventures, and interest on money invested. Its budget for expenditure in the 1969-70 financial year amounts to about R66,465,000.

With the aid of grants from the Consolidated Revenue Fund totalling R15,075,000 for the year, the Transkeian Government plans to spend R23,570,000 in the 1969-70 financial year. To this should be added the costs of health, hospital, and other services which are still provided by the Republican Government: the expenditure on these items was about R6,630,000 in 1967-8.

A new development in 1969-70 is the provision from the main vote of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development of a sum of R7,433,000 to be paid to Bantu Authorities for services to be provided by them. They will derive additional revenue from Governmental appropriations for education and from tribal levies. At the time of writing only the Ciskei and Tswana Territorial Authorities have framed their budgets: they plan to spend R15,115,100 during the
current financial year. Again, the central government will itself finance the services it provides.

The share capital of the Bantu Investment Corporation was R13,000,000 early in 1969, and is to be increased to R18,250,000 by 31 March 1970. That of the Xhosa Development Corporation is close on R7,000,000, and the Bantu Mining Development Corporation has an initial share capital of R500,000. All the shares in these corporations are held by the S.A. Bantu Trust.

AGRICULTURE IN THE RESERVES

The planning of rural locations

The planning of rural locations (tribal areas) has been described in previous issues of this Survey. It involves the demarcation of arable, grazing, and residential areas; the fencing of grazing camps and provision of watering points; and, where necessary, stock limitation.

Calculating from information given by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration2 and that contained in the Transkeian Annual for 1968,24 it transpires that 8,649,435 morgen of land in the Reserves had been fully planned by the end of 1968, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Percentage of total area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td>68.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>43.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Northern Areas</td>
<td>71.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Western Areas</td>
<td>41.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>37.2</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

According to the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development" and the Transkeian Annual, by the end of 1968 about 64,000 miles of fencing had been erected for farm layout and grazing camps in the Bantu areas of the Republic, and 22,000 miles in the Transkei.

Almost 200,000 miles of grass strips have been planted in the Republic26 and 126,700 miles in the Transkei to protect arable land and for guiding the oxen when ploughing. More than 17,000 miles of contour retaining banks have been built in the Republic and 2,675 miles in the Transkei to protect arable land in areas where grass stripping is considered to give inadequate protection.

About 6,000 boreholes are operating in African Reserves in the Republic, and 470 in the Transkei, to provide water for domestic use and for stock. During the recent prolonged drought only about one in three of the boreholes sunk in the Northern Transvaal proved successful. In addition to major irrigation works, 5,810 dams have been constructed (1,160 of them in the Transkei).

By the end of 1968, Bantu Authorities and the Department itself had built about 21,000 miles of roads and 693 bridges in the Reserves of the Republic.

Farmers' Associations
The Minister and his Deputy Minister of Bantu Development said in Parliament" that special attention is being given to the co-operative movement. More than 300 African farmers’ associations exist, undertaking joint ploughing. The Department is gradually extending credit facilities to them: an amendment to legislation may be required in this regard.

Ploughing in the Xhosa areas
Parts of the Transkei have suffered drought for a number of successive years, and the farmers have lost so many cattle that many are unable to plough. During 1968 the Xhosa Development Corporation made 40 tractors available for hire at 75 cents an hour, but the drought undid much of the work that the ploughing set out to achieve. This scheme was extended in 1969: 105 tractors were available in the Transkei and 45 in the Ciskei.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969
Farmers wishing to hire these were granted credit amounting to a total of up to R644,000: those receiving loans repaid only half of them provided they did so before 31 July, otherwise the full amount was repayable with interest. The Corporation also provided a planting service for farmers who undertook to use hybrid maize seed and fertilizers. Twenty-two white farmers from across the Transkeian border offered to help with these schemes by acting as controllers. A ploughing company from Kokstad worked in the Mount Ayliff district of the Transkei during 1969.

Unrest in Pondoland
It was reported during April9 that there had been unrest in Pondoland over cattle culling and other aspects of the agricultural rehabilitation schemes. There were demonstrations and talks of violence. Police units were rushed to Flagstaff to protect a chief whose life had been threatened. A member of the Legislative Assembly and several other men were detained in terms of Proclamation 400 of 1960.

Yields of grain
The Transkeian Annual for 1968 states that the average yield of maize in that territory is three bags per morgen: with better agricultural methods the yield could be raised seven-fold or more. For over 30 years there has been very little change in this situation, it was stated.

According to the Report of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development for 1967-30 the average yields in the Republic's African areas that year were 2.76 bags per morgen on drylands and 7.99 per morgen on irrigated plots.

Livestock
Statistics in respect of livestock in the African areas are given in the publication The African Reserves of South Africa, published by the Institute of Race Relations.
The Department stated that, during 1967, 820 approved bulls and 395 rams were sold to African farmers in the Republic at subsidized prices for the purpose of stock improvement. According to the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development, 2,400 dipping tanks are available to protect beasts against tickborne diseases. There are 790 such tanks in the Transkei. The Department has built 208 cattle auction kraals to enable Africans to dispose of surplus stock: African owners make more than R2,000,000 a year from sales. The Departmental report stated that, during 1967, 509 stock sales were held, at which 49,291
28 Rand Daily Mail, 16 May, and Star, 26 June. 29 Star, 18 and 29 April.
31 Senate, 30 May, Hansard 13 cols. 3396-7.

AGRICULTURE IN THE RESERVES
head of large stock and 22,998 head of small stock were sold for R3,324,649. At the end of 1967 there were 79 co-operative dairy schemes with 1,240 participants, whose gross income for the year had been R52,607. Co-operative shearing schemes had been established in wool-producing areas to assist farmers in classing and marketing the wool properly, obtaining better prices than a local trader would pay: 31,957 sheep were shorn on a co-operative basis in 1967. In its report for the year ended 31 March 1697 the Xhosa Development Corporation said it had been conservatively estimated that incomes from wool, hides, and skins could be increased by 50 per cent by improving their handling and marketing.

Irrigation schemes
About 24,000 morgen of land are irrigated in African areas outside the Transkei, and further schemes are in progress." These have been described in previous issues of this Survey.
The first 100 families have been settled on plots irrigated from the Lubisi Dam in the St. Mark's district of the Transkei. The Mngazi scheme is being planned in the Port St. Johns area.

Market crops
The Departmental report states that in 1967 Africans in the Republic grew 6,671,200 lb. of vegetables and had 756,809 fruit trees. By early 1968, 147,317 citrus trees had been planted on various Trust farms: these estates yield a net profit of about R80,000 a year.33 Fibres, mainly sisal and phormium tenax, are grown on Trust farms in suitable areas as a semi-industrial undertaking, to provide employment. The Minister and Deputy Minister said in the Assembly4 that, in the Bantu areas of the Republic, 1,700 tons of fibre were produced in 1968. This figure was likely to mount to close on 4,000 tons by 1970. Already the fibre industry provided work for more than 3,000 Africans. The plantations covered 12,376 morgen by the end of 1968. In the Transkei, 2,000 morgen are thus far under fibre crops, providing employment for 2,000 people.
The cultivation of sugar by Africans in Natal has expanded very rapidly in recent years: the yield was 34,317 tons in 1945-6,"5 but is reported3” to have reached
330,000 tons in the 1967-8 season, worth more than R1,000,000. The plantations then covered about 16,340 morgen. There were then 4,480 growers, 1,060 of whom had received Departmental help with ploughing and the supply of seed cane and fertilizers, the value of which is recovered over four years.

At the end of 1968, 180 morgen were under tea at Lambasi in the Transkei, expansion to a total of some 2,000 morgen being planned.3

About 9,600 morgen are under cotton in the Bantu areas, mainly in Natal, although small-scale growing on an experimental basis has been in progress in the Northern Transvaal and the Transkei. The Umtetwa Cotton Growers' Association near Empangeni has been particularly successful.33

On Trust farms in the Republic and an experimental farm near Port St. Johns in the Transkei experiments have been made in the growing of castor oil, tapioca, coffee, pyrethrum, cashew nuts, sunflower seeds, coconuts, and other crops. Seedlings are sold to African farmers.

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FORESTRY

Questioned in the Assembly on 17 March,' the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said that in the Bantu areas of the Republic (excluding the Transkei) there were 158,551 morgen of indigenous forest (not including savannah forest of the bushveld), 33,058 morgen of commercial plantations, and 8,524 morgen of non-commercial woodlots.

The Deputy Minister's figure for non-commercial woodlots apparently does not include all of them, for the Departmental report for 19672 states that at the end of that year the noncommercial plantations and firewood lots planted by the Trust were 40,161 morgen in extent, while Africans themselves had planted 12,020 morgen. The wood is used for fencing posts, cattle pens, hut-building, and firewood.

It is stated in the Transkeian Annual for 1968' that there are 102,500 morgen of indigenous forests in that territory. By the end of 1967, plantations covered 53,613 morgen.

The Deputy Minister said that the Bantu Investment Corporation and a private concern had each established a sawmill in Bantu areas of the Republic. (It would seem that most of the sawlogs are sent to private white sawmillers or to mills operated by the Department of Forestry.)

There were 13 creosote impregnating plants in the Bantu areas, the Deputy Minister added. According to the Departmental report for 1967 they treated 134,304 fencing and straining posts, 508,156 droppers, and 32,938 other poles during that year.
MINING IN THE RESERVES

In the Transkei there are five logmills, sawing about 2,000,000 cubic feet of softwood annually, while further logs are sold to private sawmillers. Some 1,000,000 cubic feet of pulpwood is supplied annually to a pulp and paper factory in the Republic. There is a wood preservation plant near Umtata, and a planing mill that produces structural and furniture timber and flooring mouldings. In the same area is a creosote impregnating plant.

MINING IN THE RESERVES

The establishment of a Bantu Mining Corporation was announced at the end of March. This corporation, or agents acting on its behalf, will investigate the mining potential of the Reserves, undertake prospecting, and work specific projects. The board of directors includes mining experts and representatives of the Bantu Investment Corporation, Industrial Development Corporation, Department of Mines, and Department of Bantu Administration and Development.

Speaking in the Assembly on 18 June, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that because the Government's policy was to create labour opportunities, the mining corporation would do everything in its power to develop any possible deposit, even if it merely covered costs and showed no profit.

In reply to a question on 14 March, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said that the following licences were issued during 1968 in the Bantu areas:

Issued to:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>White persons</th>
<th>White companies</th>
<th>Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prospecting Mining</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The mining licences, he added, were in respect of precious metals, mainly platinum, and base minerals such as norite and granite, in the Tswana and North Sotho homelands. The revenue that accrued to the Trust during the year ended 31 March 1968 was R550,219: details of revenue accruing to Africans were not available. Earlier, however, the Minister said that during the previous year R35,000 was paid to Bantu Authorities or tribes and R20,000 to individual Africans. (This amount will, since, have increased considerably.)

The platinum mine in a Tswana area of the Rustenburg district, and the copper mine in BaVenda territory near Sibasa, were mentioned on page 155 of last year's Survey. Both are operated by white companies, which pay royalties or licence fees for the benefit of the tribes concerned. It is still not clear to
what extent, if any, the mines and works regulations will be relaxed to enable Africans to do skilled work.

SECONDARY AND TERTIARY INDUSTRY

Commercial concerns

In its latest annual report, for the year ended 31 March 1968, the Bantu Investment Corporation stated that it had by then granted loans to 653 African traders and businessmen: 142 of these men had received additional loans, making a total of 795 loans. Applications were carefully investigated: only 14.33 per cent of those lodged had been approved. Of the men assisted, 408 had asked for help with existing enterprises, and 245 for help to start new concerns. The large majority of the loans, 84.7 per cent, were in respect of trading concerns.

The chairman of the Xhosa Development Corporation, Mr. C. B. Young, is reported to have said that by the end of October 1968 this corporation had granted 295 loans, totalling R1,591,242, to Africans in the Transkei and Ciskei, mainly businessmen.

By the end of March 1968, the Bantu Investment Corporation had erected 201 shops and offices for letting to Africans, at a cost of R938,710. This Corporation has itself established or taken over two trading complexes and four wholesale concerns; has opened shops at two African holiday resorts; and operates two sales depots for handicrafts.

Questioned in the Assembly on 18 March,8 the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said that the Trust had, thus far, acquired 235 trading stations and 10 garages from whites in the Transkei, while Africans had purchased another 11 trading stations. Of 209 being administered by the Xhosa Development Corporation, 39 were being managed by white persons, 12 by Coloured, and 158 by Africans. Five of those under white management were being used as training schools for Africans.

The Xhosa Development Corporation is reported to be planning to take over from white owners a large firm of wholesalers with headquarters at Umtata and depots at various points in the Transkei.

Further branches of its savings banks have been opened by the Bantu Investment Corporation during the year under review.

Service concerns

Of the loans mentioned earlier, 13.01 per cent were made to Africans to establish or expand service concerns, mainly bus services.

7 Daily Dispatch, 18 December 1968.
8 Hansard 7 col. 2725.
9 Natal Mercury, 20 August,

SECONDARY INDUSTRY IN THE RESERVES

The Xhosa Development Corporation has acquired five hotels from whites, at Butterworth, Cofimvaba, Qamata Poort, Flagstaff, and Umtata Mouth, and is building one in Umtata. An hotel in Cala has been bought by a private African. In the Ciskei, Government agencies have bought existing hotels at Mount Coke and Chalumna, for eventual sale to Africans. An African is reported to be building an hotel at Mdantsane, near East London.
The chairman of the Xhosa Development Corporation said towards the end of 19681" that his organization had taken over from whites a soft drink bottling concern in Umtata and five garages in various towns. It had established a brewery at Butterworth which was supplying beer halls run for Africans by the municipalities in most Transkeian towns and in Mdantsane and Zwelitsha in the Ciskei.

According to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development," the four service concerns that were established in the Republic and the Transkei with official assistance during 1967 and 1968 were, at the end of the latter year, employing 8 whites and 264 Africans. The Corporation, he added, was planning various fuel depots and a seaside resort for Africans at a site still to be determined.2

Secondary industry within the Reserves

The Bantu Investment Corporation has granted 12 loans to African light industrialists. As mentioned in previous years, it has established or taken over two furniture factories, two vehicle repair works, three bakeries, and a maize roller mill.

In the Transkei, Africans have established a cane furniture factory in Umtata and six brickyards. The Xhosa Development Corporation is administering a small maize roller mill, a sweet factory, a sheet metal works, a mechanical workshop, a furniture factory, a spinning and weaving factory, and a brick-making concern. The meat deboning plant which it ran at Umtata lost money steadily, and is now under private white management.3

In his reply to a question asked on 14 February, referred to earlier, the Minister said that the eight manufacturing concerns that were established in the Republic and the Transkei with official assistance during 1967 and 1968 were, at the end of the latter year, employing 15 whites and 360 Africans.

The Government's plan to invite whites to serve as agents of or contractors to the Trust or a Corporation in undertaking development projects in the Reserves was mentioned on page 149 of last year's Survey, as were the conditions that will apply.

Speaking in the Assembly on 7 February,1 the Prime Minister said that fairly long-term contracts might be granted to whites on the agency basis, of perhaps twenty-five years in the case of a labour-intensive industry or fifty years for a mining concern, depending upon the mineral concerned and the likely life of the mine. Commenting on this matter after a meeting with the Minister, the president of the Cape Chamber of Industries, Mr. J. P. Cronje, said it appeared that
contracts would be renewed only if the authorities were satisfied that the Africans had not yet reached the stage where they could take over.

It was announced during 1969 that all the concessions available to entrepreneurs in the border industrial areas would apply, too, within the Reserves. According to the Bantu Investment Corporation, "additional concessions will be offered. The Corporation will make land, buildings, and services available at an annual rental of between 2 per cent and 6 per cent of the investment therein. In certain cases the cost of water and power may be subsidized. Subsidized transport facilities will be available to white employees, or, alternatively, housing will be made available at a minimum rental of 4 per cent per annum of the investment in buildings and services.

As in the case of the border areas a price preference to a maximum of 5 per cent will be allowed on Government tenders on a selective basis, but the industrialist in a homeland will have the additional advantage of a 10 per cent price preference in respect of tenders for the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. In its latest annual report the Corporation stated that industrialists would be asked to sign an undertaking to transfer the ownership of the concern to the Corporation or any company that might be established for the purpose after a stated period, at an agreed-upon valuation.

During his meeting with industrialists, the Prime Minister is reported to have said that those who were accepted as agents in the homelands would be able to train and employ Africans in more highly skilled work than was permitted in white areas. A system of apprenticeship was being worked out. Provision would be made for the payment of higher wages for higher skills; the introduction of wage regulating measures for this purpose was being investigated. Eventually, the Prime Minister stated, the homelands would have their own laws on training, wages, and labour, and their own certificates of training, valid in their own territories only. Such certificates might initially be issued by the Department of Bantu Education.

In a statement made on 8 October, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that the provisions of the Industrial Conciliation Act and the Apprenticeship Act, and wage determinations made in terms of the Wage Act, were to be suspended in the homelands as from a date to be announced later. The suspension would not apply to the Transkei, for in terms of its constitution it could make its own arrangements.

Workers in the homelands would still be protected by the Factories, Machinery, and Building Work Act and by the Shops and Offices Act, the Minister said, although the provisions of these measures might be adjusted in approved cases. The Minister said in the Assembly on 18 June that Butterworth and Temba (Hammanskraal) had been selected as growthpoints. The Chairman of the Bantu Investment Corporation said later, on 20 November, that another industrial area in a Transvaal homeland, one in Natal, and one in the Northern Cape were
envisaged, too. It was hoped that, within five years, some 65,000 workers would be employed in these areas.

On 10 September the Financial Mail quoted the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration as having said that 22 industrialists had already applied to settle on an agency basis at Temba, three at Butterworth, and one at Umtata.

In the course of his speech in the Assembly the Minister announced that he had succeeded in obtaining the co-operation of an established, large-scale manufacturer in Paarl in plans to establish a bag factory at Butterworth on an agency basis. This factory would eventually produce up to seven million bags a year from fibre being produced in the Bantu areas of South Africa, more specifically the Transkei.

Shortly afterwards it was reported that machinery worth R34,000 had been shipped from Britain to Marshall's Tea Company, which was to set up a tea factory at Lambasi near Lusikisiki, where tea is being grown.

TOWNSHIPS IN THE BANTU HOMELANDS
Township councils
In terms of Proclamation R211 of 8 August, new regulations were gazetted for township councils in Bantu areas. When a council is to be established, the township will be divided into not less than six or more than twenty wards, and each ward will elect one council member. The Territorial Authority for the national unit concerned may designate further members, their numbers not to exceed one-half of the number of elected members. They will all hold office for three years. The council will elect its own chairman and vice-chairman. Members will be paid such allowances as the Minister may direct. All men and women residents of the township who are over the age of 21 will have a vote in the council elections unless they are subject to certain disabilities.

Various powers, duties, and functions hitherto exercised by the Bantu Affairs Commissioner will be exercised by the council instead, relating to the lay-out of the township, allotment of sites and erection of buildings, the management and control of the township, the provision of sanitary, health, medical, recreational, welfare, and marketing services, the sale of Bantu beer, regulation of entry into the township, and the removal of persons unlawfully there.

A council may make regulations in connection with these matters, which require the approval of the Territorial Authority and the Minister. It may engage such employees as it considers necessary, and decide on their salaries. A treasury will be established, and annual estimates of revenue and expenditure prepared. Rates not exceeding R1 a year may be levied on heads of families and lodgers. Should a council fail to make any regulation or to levy any rate which the Territorial Authority considers necessary, this body may call upon the council to do so, and, if it does not comply, may itself take the required action. Such action will be deemed to have been taken by the council.
Among those who are entitled to attend council meetings and to address the council (but without voting rights) are the Commissioner-General of the national unit concerned, the Secretary, the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner and local Bantu Affairs Commissioner, the magistrate, the senior police officer of the district, representatives of the Territorial Authority, or the deputies of the officials mentioned. The chairman may in his discretion allow African members of the public to attend as observers, and, if the Bantu Affairs Commissioner agrees, also members of the nonAfrican public.

The Minister will decide under which Territorial Authority a council will fall. Until he does so, the Secretary will exercise the powers and perform the duties of a Territorial Authority as described in the regulations.

In the Institute of Race Relations publication The African Reserves of South Africa the regulations for townships in Bantu areas are compared with those for urban Bantu residential areas.

The various categories of townships in Bantu areas, to serve different purposes, are described in this booklet, and their location shown on a map.

MIGRATORY WORKERS IN WHITE AREAS

Dwellings provided in homeland townships

If one totals statistics that were given by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development in the Assembly on 14 March 1969 and 27 February 1968, it appears that between the beginning of 1960 and early 1969, the Trust, or African contractors working for it, had built 67,009 houses in the homeland townships. Up to 30 September 1967 the cost of the dwellings plus services amounted to R31,406,078. The Minister of Economic Affairs gave a higher total, of R36,100,000, which included, too, the costs of schools and other public buildings and recreational and other facilities.

In addition to the dwellings it built, the Trust took over certain houses that had been erected by other authorities, for example by the Rustenburg Municipality at Thlabane, and sold sites to Africans on which they could build for themselves. According to the Controller and Auditor-General, by 31 March 1968 the Trust had taken over 3,034 houses and had sold 8,866 sites to Africans.

Combining the figures given above, it would appear that approximately 79,000 dwellings are available in the homeland townships.

In his previous report the Controller and Auditor-General stated that, as at 31 March 1967, 3,852 houses and 7,174 sites had been sold to Africans for R3,486,005 and R401,403 respectively, of which a total sum of R3,235,815 was owing. The number of houses sold had increased to 4,995 a year later.

Deeds of grant are issued to Africans who have paid the full amount owing. It was stated in the Departmental report for 1967 that by the end of that year 1,121 deeds of grant had been concluded, the largest numbers being in Selosesha, Kayaletu, Montshiwa, and Ga Rankuwa.

In its latest report the Bantu Investment Corporation stated that by 31 March 1968 it had granted housing loans, totalling R487,622, to 303 Africans. The conditions were similar to those applied by building societies.
EMPLOYMENT OF AFRICANS WHO ARE DOMICILED IN THE HOMELANDS

The Transkeian Department of the Interior gave employment figures in its report for 1967 and 1968. In 1968, about 105,000 of the men were permanently on the land, while some 250,000 constituted the labour potential. Of the latter, 41,626 were employed within the Transkei and 155,329 were recruited during the year for work outside the territory. It was estimated that Transkeian migratory workers in the Republic earn about R23,300,000 annually in cash wages, at least half of this finding its way into the territory.

No comparable statistics have been published in respect of the other African homelands; but the Deputy Minister stated that in July 1968 there were 1,664,000 contract (migratory) African workers in the white areas. Subtracting the 155,329 recruited in the Transkei it would, thus, seem that about 1,508,671 were recruited from other African areas.

It was announced by the Deputy Minister on 20 August that the Government was considering a plan whereby Africans from the homelands would have deductions made from their wages, as deferred pay, or to be transmitted to some address in the homelands. "It is in this way they will be taught to save and contribute to the development of their land. It should be realized by all that the African citizen from another land is in the white area only to sell his labour."

Special trains are run to enable migrants from the Northern Transvaal who work on the Witwatersrand to return to their homes at weekends.

HEALTH SERVICES IN THE RESERVES

During July the Minister of Health announced that the central government was to take over the control of all health and hospital services in the African homelands. The responsibility for these services would lie with the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, while the Department of Health would be the executive authority.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said on 9 May that there were some 50 hospitals in the homelands, providing 17,715 beds. An extensive building programme was in operation.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS IN URBAN AREAS

BANTU ADMINISTRATION BOARDS BILL

Terms of the Bill
A draft Bantu Administration Boards Bill was circulated to local authorities during 1969, but was not presented to Parliament.

(a) Establishment and functions of Boards

The Bill provided that the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development will be empowered, after consultation with the local governing bodies concerned, to establish Bantu Administration Boards for specified areas which may include one or more urban areas or portions of such areas. A local authority may itself be designated as a Bantu Administration Board, subject to such qualifications as the Minister may determine.

The Minister will appoint as many members of the Board as he considers necessary, with a minimum of six, one of whom he will designate as chairman. Three of the members will be appointed because of their knowledge, respectively, of the affairs of employers of Bantu workers, of the farming community, and of the local authorities in the area, and two members will be State employees. There is provision for the appointment of alternates for each member of the Board except the chairman. The Minister will determine the period of appointments and the remuneration and allowances of members of the Board. The Board may appoint an executive committee consisting of the chairman and two other members, one of whom must be the member appointed for his knowledge of the affairs of local authorities.

In a Board may be vested "all the rights, powers, functions, duties and obligations of an urban local authority, to the exclusion of such local authority" deriving from the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, 1945, the Housing Act, 1966, the Bantu Services Levy Act, 1952, the Urban Bantu Councils Act, 1961, and the Bantu Labour Act, 1954. No aspect of the administration of African affairs will, then, remain under the jurisdiction of the local authority concerned.

It will be deemed that any Bantu residential area established by the local authority in the area of a Board was established by the Board. A Board will have the right to require a local authority to provide essential services in the Bantu residential area. If a local authority neglects to perform any act required of it, the Minister, after consultation with the Administrator, may direct it to carry out this act. If the local authority still does not comply the Minister may direct the Board to undertake the work concerned. It may recover the costs incurred by court action, or by levying a special rate upon all the rateable property within the area under the jurisdiction of the local authority, or by deduction from any subsidy or other moneys due to the local authority by the Central Government or the Province, "or by all three or any two of such methods of recovery". No rates shall be levied upon any land or premises owned by the board so long as these have not been sold or leased.

A Board will take over all the assets and liabilities of the Government or of a local authority connected with the administration of Africans in the area under its jurisdiction, and all amounts standing to the credit of the Bantu Revenue Account, including the Bantu beer and liquor accounts and the Bantu Services Levy Fund of each local authority in its area. The Board "may from time to time at the
request of the Minister, pay to the Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development, such amounts from funds standing to its credit and which are not likely to be required by it" for the development of the homelands.

The objects to be achieved by the establishment of a Board are stated to be to ensure uniformity of and more effective administration of the Acts mentioned earlier, "an even distribution and better mobility of Bantu labour in its area according to particular categories of employment", more effective use of Bantu labour in the area, reduction of labour turnover and encouragement of labour saving devices, the provision of effective housing for Bantu workers and of adequate amenities by employers of Bantu labour, and the promotion of sound relations between employers and Bantu workers.

By arrangement with a local authority, officials in its service may be seconded to a Board. A Board may recruit other staff on terms and conditions approved by the Minister. The Minister will designate the secretary of the Board, who will be its chief administrative officer.

The chairman of a Board is to be empowered to appoint any member or officer of the Board as an inspector who will have the right to enter premises, question people, inspect records, and call for information in furtherance of the objects of the Board.

So far as land controlled by a Board outside a prescribed area is concerned, unless the Minister by notice in the Gazette excludes any part of it, Chapter IV of the Bantu Trust and Land Act, 1936, will continue to apply. (In terms of this Chapter, control is exercised over the number of Africans on farms.) A Bantu Labour Control Board will continue to operate in this area, but the Board will take over the functions of the Bantu Affairs Commissioner in relation to Bantu farm workers.

If the State President is satisfied that a Board has achieved the object for which it was established, he may by proclamation in the Gazette abolish it. Thereafter "all the powers, duties, assets and rights of the Board shall vest in the Minister and all the liabilities and obligations of the Board shall devolve upon the Minister". The maximum penalties for offences under this measure are a fine of R100 and/or imprisonment for six months.

(b) Urban residential rights

In terms of the Bill, urban residential rights that have already been acquired by Africans under Section 10 (1) (a), (b) or (c) of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act will not be done away with, but they will apply only in the prescribed area where they were gained, and not to any extension of this area by virtue of the operation of the new Act.

The Bill also provides that, from the time the Act comes into force, no African will be able to qualify for such urban residential rights.

Comment on the Bill

In a Press statement on the Bill1 the Institute of Race Relations welcomed the more rational approach to labour mobility for which it provided but condemned
most of the other features, in particular, the clauses dealing with urban residential rights.

The statement concluded, "The Institute cannot agree with the authoritarian nature of this Bill and can only see it as one more measure aimed at bringing South Africa ever closer to a complete system of centralised and bureaucratic state control, with the whole African population constituting a state within a state under the direction of the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development."

After considering recommendations by the Provincial Municipal associations, representatives of the United Municipal Executive had an interview with the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration. It was reported that they supported the objective of larger labour control areas, but recommended that this should be achieved through co-operation between two or more local authorities in terms of Section 40 of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, rather than by the creation of Bantu Administration Boards.

The Deputy Minister is reported to have said that certain changes would be made to the original draft of the Bill to IRR. 75/69.

2 Rand Daily Mail, 30 August.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969
make it more acceptable to local authorities. On the question of the provision of essential services, for example, a Board would have to seek the agreement of a local authority. But this agreement must not unreasonably be withheld. It seemed to be clear from what the Deputy Minister said, however, that the Government had no intention of abandoning the main principles embodied in the draft.

He said that Boards would not be forced upon local authorities, and that the legislation would not be implemented throughout the country at once. It would be applied after investigation and in consultation with the local authorities concerned, in areas where it was considered that the situation could best be handled through Boards. The State did not contemplate itself taking over the administration of Bantu affairs in urban areas, the Deputy Minister stated.

BANTU LAWS AMENDMENT BILL
Clauses relating to the administration of urban African affairs
As mentioned elsewhere in this Survey, the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill was passed at its second reading, but, because of shortage of time, was taken no further in 1969. Some of its clauses are dealt with in other chapters, as appropriate.

3 (a) Use of Bantu beer profits
The Bill provides for the widening of the powers of local authorities to subsidize services which the Minister certifies are in the interests of Africans, in the homelands as well as in the urban area concerned. With the Minister's approval, contributions to the costs of such services may be charged directly to the local authority's Bantu beer account, instead of merely to any portion of the profits (up to two-thirds) which may revert to the main Bantu revenue account after the costs of any social or recreational amenities provided within the local authority's area have been met.
(b) Groups of employers
Section 28 of the Bantu Labour Act of 1964 empowered the State President to make regulations, inter alia, dealing with the formation of groups of employers for the purpose of recruiting Bantu for work in farming, agriculture, horticulture, irrigation, or mining.
The Bill states that regulations may permit groups of employers to be formed for the purpose of the employment, as well as the recruiting, of Bantu, and this may be done for any type of work. (It was suggested some time ago that labour pools should be formed for the building industry. The Bantu workmen would be employed by the group of employers as a whole, and could be transferred from one to another. Migrant workers would not have to return home for their transfer to be registered.)

The Government will have extensive powers to make regulations governing the admission and expulsion of employers from groups, the areas in respect of which groups may be formed, and the conduct of the affairs of such groups.

(c) Fees to be paid in prescribed areas
In terms of the Bill, employers of African women, as well as men, in prescribed areas will have to pay a monthly fee, not exceeding 20 cents, to the local labour bureau if the contract of service has by law to be registered.

(d) The detention of and the performance of work by Bantu removed from urban areas
An amendment to the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act made in 1964 provided that an African who has been found guilty of illegal presence in a prescribed (usually urban) area, or who has been illegally introduced into the area, may be removed by court order, together with his dependants, to his home or last place of residence, or to a rural village, settlement, rehabilitation scheme, institution, or other place indicated by the Secretary.
The Bill makes it clear that if an African is ordered to any place other than his home he will be detained there for such period, and perform there such labour, as may be prescribed by the law in terms of which the place concerned was established.

(e) Certain records prima facie evidence of facts recorded therein
In any criminal proceedings for a contravention of a provision of the Bantu Labour Act or the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, or of regulations issued thereunder, the records maintained by a municipal or district labour officer, or by the officer in charge of an aid centre, shall be prima facie evidence of the facts recorded therein.

(f) Re-entry to prescribed areas
The Bantu Labour Act provided that an African must not be refused permission to re-enter a prescribed area after an absence therefrom of not more than 12 months, for the purpose of taking up employment with his last previous employer if a vacancy exists, or, if there is no such vacancy and if the Bantu Affairs
Commissioner has no objection, for the purpose of taking up employment with any other employer in the area.
In terms of the Bill, this provision will be deleted. The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration pointed out* that Africans can return to their previous employers, after an absence
4 Assembly, 18 June. Hansard 19 col. 8482.

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of not more than a month, in accordance with the "call-in" card system.
POSSIBLE DEDUCTIONS FROM WAGES OF
MIGRANT WORKERS
As mentioned on page 164 of the 1968 Survey, the Bantu Labour Regulations gazetted that year provided that when a contract of service is entered into by an African in one of the homelands for work elsewhere, he may be called upon to make "suitable" arrangements for the deferment of part of his wages, or for the remittance of regular sums of money to his dependants.
In an address given during September,6 the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration indicated that such a scheme may be made compulsory.

STATISTICS RELATING TO INFLUX CONTROL
The Deputy Minister said in the Assembly on 20 and 23 May and on 16 June7 that during the period 1947-67 there was an increase of 156 per cent in the number of Africans in white areas, as compared with a rise of 530 per cent in the gross value of production. In July 1968, there were 1,664,000 single Africans from the homelands working in these areas.
In 1968, he continued, 61,658 Africans who were not economically active were removed from white areas. Of these, 16,814 were sent away from Johannesburg, and 4,780 from Durban. Altogether, 450,373 Africans moved from white areas had been resettled in townships in the homelands.
The number of Africans in the Cape Peninsula, Port Elizabeth, and Krugersdorp had actually decreased in recent years, the Deputy Minister said. In some urban complexes, for example Johannesburg, the natural increase of the African population was considerably in excess of the influx from outside.
In the course of a political speech made during March,8 the Deputy Minister of Justice, Mines, and Planning, Mr. G. F. van L. Froneman, said that there were 3,807,465 Africans in white urban areas who, in his opinion, were "superfluous"; they were the dependants of bread-winners.

CONVICTIONS UNDER THE "PASS LAWS"
On page 51 figures are given relating to the numbers of persons (nearly all Africans) who were prosecuted in 1967-8 for infringements of the "pass laws" and legislation governing Bantu
6 Rand Daily Mail, 19 September.
7 Hansard 15 cols. 6221, 6531; Hansard 19 cols. 8159-63.
8 Rand Daily Mail, 28 March.
THE PASS LAWS

taxation. (Officially, there are no pass laws. The Commissioner of Police terms these law infringements "documentary offences".)

The total number of prosecutions that year for pass law offences was 693,661, and for poll tax offences 243,437. The combined number represented 44.6 per cent of the total number of prosecutions of persons of all races, for all offences. Average numbers per day were 1,900 for pass law offences, or 2,567 if poll tax offences are included. The Rand Daily Mail pointed out10 that persons equal in number to the entire population of a town the size of Warmbaths were being bundled into police vans every day.

The Minister of Police and the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration were questioned on these matters in the Assembly on 6 May.11 They said that a daily average number of 245 Africans was arrested in the Johannesburg municipal area in 1968 in connection with the registration and production of documents and urban areas legislation. The Minister of Police said that on an average, 700 such arrested persons were conveyed daily by van from gaol to the Fordsburg Bantu Affairs Commissioner's courts: (But the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration stated that the daily average number of those brought to the Fordsburg courts was 453 in the last month for which figures were available, and that an average of 266 cases was heard daily.)

The average period of detention before an arrested person was brought to court was 24 hours, it was stated. If there was a remand for further investigation, or because the court rolls were full, then the average period spent in detention was 14 days. The daily average number of cases remanded was:

- 169 for a first time, mostly for purposes of identification;
- 14 for a second time, mostly because identification had not been completed;
- 4 for a third time, mostly for enquiries under the Section of the Act dealing with idle or undesirable Africans.12

The average length of the time of remands was 7 to 14 days.

(A description of proceedings in the Fordsburg courts was given on page 172 of last year's Survey.)

Mr. M. L. Mitchell (United Party M.P.) commented13 that the number of arrests for "pass law" offences was mounting to an appalling level, causing the dislocation of lives and grievous human suffering, constituting an affront to human dignity, adversely affecting race relations, and tying up a big section of the police force with petty contraventions. He pointed out that the number arrested each year equalled about a quarter of the white population.

9 Ibid, 23 April.
10 14 April.
11 Hansard 13 cols. 5356, 5364.
12 Section 29 of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act. 13 Sunday Times, 20 April.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969
Asked by the Press to comment, Mr. Quintin Whyte, Director of the Institute of Race Relations, said14 that these arrests brought people into contact with hardened criminals and led to disrespect for the law. He believed that this loss of respect for authority was induced in children when they saw their parents arrested for what were minor offences. The pass laws probably represented the most hated form of discrimination and control. The police had an unenviable task.

At a meeting of the Afrikaanse Sakekamer on 20 August the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said15 that employers should know more about the rules and regulations applying to Africans. It was not right that a black employee should suffer alone for something in which his white employer often had a hand.

ADVICE OFFICES

It was mentioned in an earlier chapter that the Black Sash continues to run Advice Offices in Johannesburg and Cape Town (the latter with the co-operation of the Institute of Race Relations). Daily the (voluntary) members of staff interview large numbers of Africans who are in difficulties in regard to the related problems of housing and influx control. Many come with the dreaded words "Warned to leave the prescribed area within 72 hours" stamped in their reference books. The offices report that an ever-increasing number of cases are "hopeless". Many people who, in fact, qualify to remain in prescribed areas cannot produce documentary proof of continuous residence there. Visitors to the offices include widows or deserted or divorced women who can find nowhere to live or have been endorsed out; married couples seeking permission to live together; ex-prisoners trying to rehabilitate themselves under the most adverse conditions; young men and teen-age boys whose parents omitted to keep their names on housing permits while they were away at school, or who for one reason or another broke their residence in the urban area.

Commenting on the plight of these young men, the Black Sash said, "If they cannot establish their right to be in any prescribed area, the most they can look forward to is a lifetime spent away from their families on yearly contracts, with little or no chance of choosing their employer and with no prospects of advancement". Immense suffering is caused among women who are endorsed out, it was stated. Most of them have lost all contact with their original homes. The plight of the families of deserted, widowed or divorced women is desperate.


INFLUX CONTROL
THE EFFECT OF INFLUX CONTROL IN VARIOUS AREAS

The Cape

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said in the Assembly16 that the African population of the Cape Peninsula had been reduced from 113,337 at the end of 1967 to 109,153 a year later. Over the same period the number of children there had decreased from 44,567 to 39,320.
Questioned about employment, the Minister stated that the total number of African men who were employed in the Cape Peninsula, and the number of contract workers, were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Men in Employment</th>
<th>Number of Contract Workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>50,608</td>
<td>16,432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>48,888</td>
<td>14,601</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Detailed population figures are given in the next chapter.

It is mentioned elsewhere in this Survey that the Western Cape and the Cape Midlands have been declared Coloured labour preference areas. Influx control of Africans is, thus, enforced particularly rigidly in this region. A labour crisis has resulted in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage, where no increase is permitted in the employment of Africans and where there is an insufficient number of suitable Coloured workers. Coloured people cannot be recruited in large numbers from other areas because there is no housing for them locally. The effects of influx control on housing policies, and the conditions that result, are dealt with in a subsequent chapter.

**Randburg**

Randburg is one of the newer towns on the perimeter of Johannesburg. In its first ten years the number of dwellings there trebled, as did the number of domestic servants. Most of these live on their employers' premises: the rest are expected to lodge at Alexandra Township, a long distance away in many cases.

During 1968 the authorities discovered that nearly three-quarters of the domestic servants (reported to number about 1,500 persons) were in Randburg in contravention of influx control regulations. Residents were told that the servants who were there illegally must leave by 1 November 1968, but after representations by the Town Council this date was extended to 31 January. A directive was issued that new servants must be recruited only through the tribal labour bureaux in specified areas.

16 4 February, Hansard 1 col. 139.
17 18 February, Hansard 3 col. 901.

**East Rand**

It is reported that, as a step towards becoming "white by night", the Boksburg Town Council decided that in three of its suburbs there should be no resident domestic servants unless special permission was granted. The suburbs selected were close to the bus route to the African township. There were protests from the residents, and the scheme has, apparently, been postponed.
The Springs municipality is reported to have decided to repatriate to their homelands as many families of African subtenants as possible. Pietersburg

The Pietersburg Town Council, too, decided on a "white by night" policy, but had to postpone the plan because there was insufficient suitable accommodation in the African townships for the domestic servants who would have become commuters.

18 Information from numerous Press reports. 19 Rand Daily Mail, 30 June; Sunday Express, 6 July. 20 Star, 14 March. 21 ibid, 6 and 26 May.

SUNDARY MATTERS AFFECTING NON-WHITE PEOPLE URBAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The Department of Bantu Administration and Development has rejected two recommendations by the Soweto Urban Bantu Council: that such councils and advisory boards on the Witwatersrand should occasionally hold regional meetings to discuss matters of common interest; and that members should be allowed to make representations to the authorities on behalf of residents on matters such as influx control.

When he met senior members of the Soweto Council during August, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration announced a plan for the creation of People's Representative Councils in urban areas, with full-time members appointed by the territorial authorities on an ethnic basis. These bodies would, where necessary, represent residents in dealings with the authorities. They would deal with family disputes, housing, education, labour matters, and the issuing of trading licences, and would give advice on resettlement in the homelands. (It would appear that their powers will cut across those of urban Bantu councils.) Questioned in the Assembly on 13 May, the Minister of Community Development said that at the end of 1968 there were 21 Coloured management committees and 38 Coloured consultative committees, nearly all consisting of nominated members. Only in Johannesburg were there elected as well as nominated members, although in Paarl, Bellville, Worcester, Graaff Reinet, and Upington the committees were being reconstituted on a partly elective basis.

According to the Cape Times of 21 February, many Coloured people in Cape Town feel that the management committees there are usurping the functions of ratepayers' associations.

The whole of Verulam has been declared an Indian group area. During September, for the first time, municipal elections were held for an all-Indian Town Board. Mr. I. G. H. Kathrada became the first Indian mayor, while Mr. Dick Naicker is the first Indian town clerk.

Another Indian local affairs committee with nominated members has been set up, at Westville.

1 Star, 20 and 30 August; Rand Daily Mail, 5 September. 2 Hansard 14 col. 5831. 3 See the 1965 Survey, page 173. for the constitution of these bodies.
STATE EXPENDITURE ON AFRICANS

The Report of the Controller and Auditor-General for 1967-81 sets out the direct expenditure by the State during that year on behalf of Africans in the Republic. Expenditure in the Transkei is excluded except for posts, telegraphs, and radio services. Also excluded are advances and loans for African housing. But the figures include administration and the expenditure that State departments as employers are required to incur for the registration of workers and in contributions to the Bantu service levies.’ A summary is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>General Services expenditure</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bantu Administration and Development</td>
<td>10,722,123</td>
<td>13,625,033</td>
<td>26,775</td>
<td>24,373,931</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.A. Bantu Trust</td>
<td>6,230,559</td>
<td>2,206,188</td>
<td>36,508,245</td>
<td>44,944,992</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bantu Education</td>
<td>1,728,210</td>
<td>27,342,819</td>
<td>2,134,913</td>
<td>31,205,942</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education, Arts and Science</td>
<td>10,440</td>
<td>10,440</td>
<td>10,440</td>
<td>10,440</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health and Hospitals</td>
<td>26,034</td>
<td>24,659,402</td>
<td>24,685,436</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>8,347</td>
<td>12,129,135</td>
<td>12,137,482</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other departments</td>
<td>297,860</td>
<td>169,063</td>
<td>466,923</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19,023,573</td>
<td>80,261,632</td>
<td>38,675,320</td>
<td>137,960,525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>19,023,573</strong></td>
<td><strong>80,261,632</strong></td>
<td><strong>38,675,320</strong></td>
<td><strong>137,960,525</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**BANTU TAXATION ACT, No. 92 OF 1969**

Previous general tax

In terms of the Natives Taxation and Development Act of 1925 as amended in 1958, every male African of the age of 18 years and over had to pay a basic general tax of R3.50 a year unless he was exempted because he had attained the age of 65 years, or was regularly attending an educational institution, or for reasons beyond his control was indigent. This tax was in respect of a calendar year.

Instead of the provincial personal taxes paid by adults of other racial groups, all African men and women were required to pay an additional general tax, on a sliding scale, if their incomes exceeded R360 a year.

African men and women were liable for normal and provincial income taxes on the same basis as were members of the other racial groups, except that the amounts paid might be offset against the additional general tax.

Changes to come into effect from 1 March 1970

In terms of the new Act, as from 1 March 1970 the amount of the basic general tax payable by male African adults is decreased from R3.50 to R2.50 a year. Africans will no longer pay normal and provincial income taxes. Instead, the rates of the additional general tax will rise more steeply than they did previously with increases in income. No rebates or
deductions whatsoever will be allowed, and husbands and wives will be taxed separately.
The Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development will decide whether or not payments in kind (free accommodation, rations, etc.) should be included in the taxable income. If his decisions apply to defined classes of Africans they will be published in the Gazette, otherwise individual employers may be notified. African men will still be responsible for paying their own basic general tax of R2.50 a year. If they are in employment, the additional graded taxes payable must be deducted from their salaries or wages by the employers, on the PAYE system. The penalties for failure to comply are a maxima of R400 or six months or both. Unless absolved, the employer will in addition be personally liable for any amount that should have been deducted and forwarded to the Receiver, and, furthermore, may be required to pay a penalty amounting to ten per cent of this amount.

Unless they receive an official assessment based on the employer's returns and have no other sources of income, all Africans liable for the additional graded taxation will have to render a return of their incomes by the end of April of each year. Those who fail to comply will be subject to the same penalties as those prescribed for employers. Authorized persons may call upon Africans to produce proof of payment of taxation for the current year. The latter may be arrested without warrant if they fail to do so. Africans who have failed to pay their taxes by the due date, or to produce proof of payment on demand, may on conviction be sentenced to R100 or three months. They will thereafter not be charged again for failure to pay, but the debt will not be extinguished.

The Bantu Affairs Commissioner, Receiver, or assessing officer may require an employer to deduct arrear taxes from an African's remuneration. In assessing the amount to be deducted, regard shall be had to the African's needs. Otherwise, a warrant of execution may be issued against the taxpayer's movable property.

Rates of taxation

Rates of taxation for those in the lower income groups are given below. The general tax payable by men is here combined with the amounts payable according to the tax based on income.

The previous annual rates were as follows:

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exceeding R360 to R480</td>
<td>R4</td>
<td>R2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R480 to R600</td>
<td>R5.50</td>
<td>R4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R600 to R720</td>
<td>R7</td>
<td>R6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R720 to R840</td>
<td>R8.50</td>
<td>R8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R840 to R1,020</td>
<td>R10.50 to R12.50</td>
<td>R10 to R12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The new rates are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exceeding R360 to R480</td>
<td>R3.70</td>
<td>R1.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R480 to R600</td>
<td>R5.26</td>
<td>R2.76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
R600 to R720  R6.82  R4.32
R720 to R840  R6.82 to R9.22  R4.32 to R6.72  R840 to R1,020  R9.22 to
R12.82  R6.72 to R10.32

Other taxes payable
The provisions of the new Act in regard to other taxes are much the same as before. Local tax is payable by Africans in the Reserves who occupy land under communal tenure. Married persons with allotments of land pay annually R1 for each wife's group of huts, up to a maximum of R4. This tax must be paid, too, by widows holding allotments of land in the names of their deceased husbands. A special rate may, in addition, be imposed by the State President on all taxpayers in a tribal area if the tribe or community so requests, and if the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development approves of the purpose for which the rate is to be levied and is satisfied that a majority of taxpayers in the area endorses the request. The proceeds are paid into tribal accounts.
A general levy has been imposed in the Transkei. Parliamentary debate on the Bill
When introducing the Bill at its second reading, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development said that the tax year for Africans was to be brought into line with that for other racial groups. This could not become effective until 1 March 1970: in the intervening period there would be no tax on African incomes. The Transkeian Government had agreed to adopt the same system as was to be introduced in the Republic, he added.
On behalf of the United Party, Mr. T. G. Hughes moved that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee before the conclusion of the second reading, in order that an examination might be made of African incomes and living costs, of the various forms of taxes that they were required to pay, and of their ability to do so. This motion was not carried.
6 Assembly, 26 May, Hansard 16 cols. 6610-4.
7 Cols. 6618-23.

TAXATION OF AFRICANS
Mrs. Suzman (Progressive Party) opposed the second reading. There should be a common system of taxation for all groups, she maintained, based on ability to pay. She drew attention to various ways in which the system discriminated against Africans, in particular, the facts that they were allowed no rebates or deductions, and that all African men had to pay the basic general tax, irrespective of their incomes. The rates were too high for those in the lower income groups, she said, for whom every penny of expenditure counted. Africans as well as others would be affected by the new sales tax.

AMOUNTS PAID BY AFRICANS IN TAXATION
In the course of his speech the Deputy Minister said that in the 1967-8 financial year Africans paid about R11,300,000 in the basic and additional general taxes. Information about some of the amounts paid by Africans that year in other forms of taxation has been obtained from the reports of the Controller and Auditor-
A sum of R1,000,041 was paid in local tax and quitrent, while R2,004,934 was raised in general and tribal levies. No information is available about the amounts that Africans paid in normal and provincial taxes and hospital levies, nor about their share of indirect taxes. Their contributions to the cost of educational services are described in the chapter on education. Free labour is often made available for the construction of works in Bantu areas.

EMIGRATION OF COLOURED AND INDIAN PEOPLE
It was mentioned on page 76 of last year's Survey that the Canadian Government had suspended the immigration of South Africans except for the families of persons who were already settled in its country. It is reported that a considerable number of Coloured and Indian people are still leaving South Africa, but are mostly now going to Australia. They are stated to be leaders in various professional and business spheres whom South Africa can ill afford to lose.

COLOURED CADETS
The Training Centres for Coloured Cadets Act was described on page 215 of the 1967 Survey. All Coloured men between the ages of 18 and 24 years are required to register for training.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969
those to receive this training then being selected by a special board. The penalties for those who fail to register are maxima of R200 or six months or both. The date after which any young man was obliged to produce his certificate of registration within seven days of a demand by an authorized person was fixed as 10 January. According to the Minister of Coloured Affairs," all those who were already between 18 and 24 years of age were required to register before 31 May 1968: by that date, 78,331 (approximately 88 per cent) had done so. Another 3,254 registered by the end of 1968, their late applications being condoned. About 10 per cent of all these men were unemployed. Youths who were to reach the age of 18 years during 1969 were supposed to register during February. Many did not do so promptly: the Minister threatened that raids might be carried out.

The training centre, at Faure in the Western Cape, opened at the end of May, and it was anticipated that 750 recruits would have received training by the end of 1969. Most of them are at the centre for three months, after which they are placed in employment; but if it is considered in individual cases that this period is too short a youth may be required to remain at the centre for twelve months.

COLOURED DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION
In the Government's estimates of expenditure from the Revenue and Loan Accounts in 1969-7012 an amount of R1,775,900 was allocated for the development of Coloured rural areas and assistance to Coloured businessmen, including R1,350,000 for the work of the Coloured Development Corporation. It
was anticipated that R36,000 would be recovered from the management boards of the Coloured settlements.

Questioned in the Assembly, "the Minister of Coloured Affairs said that during the year ended 30 September 1968 the Corporation made 21 loans, to a total value of R478,145, to Coloured men in the liquor trade, running retail businesses and an hotel, or operating fishing boats. Altogether, the Corporation had established or assisted in establishing:

54 retail businesses
19 liquor stores
4 manufacturing concerns
5 transport businesses
2 dry cleaners
5 building firms

11 Assembly 14 and 18 February, Hansard 2 col. 709 and Hansard 3 cola. 909-10.
13 17 March, Hansard 7 cols. 2722-3.

SQUATTER CAMPS
1 furniture shop
1 boat building establishment
1 property business
1 supermarket
1 bank
15 other concerns
The Corporation had established or taken over two cinemas (in Cape Town and Port Elizabeth respectively), and eight hotels, at Stellenbosch, Bosmont (Johannesburg), Mossel Bay, Oudtshoorn, Beaufort West, Grassy Park and Elsies River in Cape Town, and Korsten in Port Elizabeth.
The Bank mentioned is the Spes Bona Savings and Finance Bank in Cape Town.
The Minister said that during the year ended 30 September 1968 Coloured people deposited R111,501.
The supermarket is at Athlone, Cape Town. According to the Sunday Express of 13 April, after its first year of operation it had a deficit of R72,518.
The Minister said that the Corporation made a profit of R25,366 in 1967 on its interest in the rock-lobster export market.

COLOURED SQUATTER CAMPS
The Minister of Justice said in the Assembly on 27 May" that three squatters' camps in the Kenhardt District of the NorthWestern Cape had been declared emergency camps in terms of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act in order that better administrative and health arrangements might be made. They accommodated 1,763 people.

NATURALIZATION OF INDIANS
During the year ended 31 October a further 239 stateless persons born in India were granted South African citizenship. They had settled in the Republic before the Indian Republican constitution came into effect, and were, thus, not citizens of that country.
GROUP AREAS AND HOUSING

GROUP AREAS AMENDMENT ACT, No. 69 OF 1969

One of the purposes of the Group Areas Amendment Act of 1969 was to extend to controlled areas certain provisions that previously applied in group areas only. They now apply in virtually the whole country except for Bantu areas. If a racially disqualified person acquires property by testamentary disposition or intestate succession, this property must be sold within a year to a person who is qualified to own it, unless exemption is granted.

The Act previously provided that the State President may by proclamation define an area and declare that, after a year has elapsed, any building, land, or premises that are specified in the proclamation may be occupied or used for a particular purpose only. This provision has been used to deprive Indians of residential rights in specified premises while allowing them to trade there.

The Amendment Act makes it possible for a proclamation of this nature to be applied to all buildings, land, or premises in a stated area, without listing each of them separately. As previously, no proclamation will come into effect until a year has elapsed. The new measure added that at least three months' notice must be given to the occupiers and owners.

In terms of the principal Act and Proclamation 5 of 1968, domestic servants are exempt from the provisions relating to the occupation of premises in a group area by disqualified persons: that is, they may live on the premises of their employers (if, in the case of Africans, the requirements laid down in the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act are complied with). When granting exemptions, the State President may impose conditions. The new measure adds that one such condition may relate to the visitors of a domestic servant. The Deputy Minister of Planning said that as the Act previously stood conditions could be imposed for the residence of domestic servants in group areas, but it was doubtful whether this could legally be done in respect of visitors.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AMENDMENT ACT
No. 58 OF 1969

The most important clause of the Community Development Amendment Act, which was strongly opposed in Parliament and by the United Municipal Executive, gave wide new powers to the Community Development Board. I Assembly, 19 May, Hansard 15 cols. 6170, 6243.

GROUP AREAS

In terms of a 1967 amendment to the Act, the State President, after consultation with any local authority involved and reference to the Administrator, could by proclamation vest the Board with any or all of the powers, functions, and duties of a local authority in respect of any defined area.

The powers with which the Board may be vested were set out in detail in the new measure. It was made clear that an area defined by the State President, in which these powers are to be exercised, may be within or outside an area under the jurisdiction of a local authority. It was provided that, in exercising these powers,
officials of the Board may enter upon land or premises outside the defined area and cause works to be carried out there. The Board may be empowered to call upon a local authority to provide stated services in the defined area. If the local authority fails to do so, the Board may itself provide these services and recover the costs from the local authority, if necessary by court action or by levying a special rate on rateable property within the local authority's area of jurisdiction.

It became clear, during the debate, that the reason why the Government was giving the Board these wide powers was to legalize, if necessary, action that had already been taken in authorizing the Board to override the Stellenbosch Town Council in regard to the development of a new Coloured group area at Cloetesville. The Board also wished to be in a position to force the Cape Town City Council to provide certain services in the Indian group area of Rylands. The State President was, previously, empowered to repeal or amend any proclamation assigning powers to the Board to develop an area. In terms of the new measure he will be able to provide that the powers and functions, and financial responsibilities, in respect of the area will revert to the local authority concerned if a proclamation is repealed. The local authority may become liable for financing obligations entered into by the Board, and for the repayment of expenditure incurred by the Board.

A further provision of the Amendment Act empowered the Board to pay compensation to any local authority in connection with the development of a group area which for any reason is deproclaimed. If such compensation is paid, full information must be tabled in Parliament.

During the second reading debate the Minister of Community Development said certain local authorities had incurred expenditure in developing group areas that would not be used. It had, for example, been decided not to continue with certain group areas for Coloured people to the west of the Fish/Kat/Aliwal North line in the Cape, and in some Transvaal towns.

In a Press statement on the Bill' the president of the United 2 Assembly, 15 April, Hansard 10 col. 4022.
3 Rand Daily Mail, 23 April.
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A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969
Municipal Executive, Mr. J. J. C. de Kock, said that local authorities had not been consulted about the measure, which could seriously affect their interests.

Soon after the Act was passed the Government froze development in an area of Pretoria to the west of Church Square and set up a special committee to replan and develop this area. It was reported on 1 November that the Pretoria City Council had expressed the strongest possible objection to this interference in its affairs, and had decided to play no active part in the work of the special committee. It raised objections, too, to a Government plan for a Chinese group area. The city must be planned as a whole, the council maintained.

BANTU LAWS AMENDMENT BILL
Control of urban housing schemes
Some of the clauses of the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill affected the housing of Africans.

It provided that, subject to the Administrator's approval, the S.A. Bantu Trust may, by agreement with a local authority, take over the assets and liabilities of the local authority in respect of an approved Bantu housing scheme that has been or is being carried out by means of moneys from the National Housing Fund, or borrowed by the local authority.

A similar provision was contained in the Housing Act, No. 65 of 1969. The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said that one of the objects was to enable the Trust to take over Kwa Mashu, Durban, and incorporate it into an adjoining homeland.

Removal or abolition of Bantu residential areas

In terms of the principal Act as amended, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development was empowered, after reference to the Administrator and after consultation with the urban local authority concerned, to require the local authority to take such steps as the Minister directed for the removal, curtailment, or abolition of a location, Bantu village, or Bantu hostel within the local authority's area of jurisdiction. The Minister might do so if he considered that a health or safety hazard existed, or in the interests of town or regional planning schemes.

It was laid down in the relevant section that, before issuing such an order, the Minister must appoint an officer to hold a local enquiry in public, at which the urban local authority and other interested persons would be entitled to be heard. The Bill removes the necessity for such an enquiry.

The Deputy Minister said that there would still be consultation with the local authorities, and interested parties could make representations to the Minister.

The Bill added that after the Minister has approved or ordered the removal of any location, Bantu village, or hostel, a Bantu Affairs Commissioner may instruct the police to move from it any person who, in the Commissioner's opinion, has entered it, or has remained in it, after a date fixed by the Minister, and without the urban local authority's permission. The Commissioner will form his opinion on the basis of affidavits placed before him, and will act on the application of the urban local authority or the Secretary.

The person's personal effects will be removed with him, and he may be moved to any place where, in the Secretary's opinion, adequate housing accommodation exists. Any building or structure he is proved to have erected in the location, village, or hostel after the fixed date, may, in terms of the Bantu Affairs Commissioner's order, be demolished.

During the period prior to the fixed date, the local authority may prohibit the construction or alteration of any building or structure in the location or village, or may allow this subject to conditions.

URBAN AFRICAN RESIDENTIAL AREAS

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After the location, village, or hostel has been removed or abolished, and a notice to that effect has been published, any person who enters or remains on the land concerned without the urban local authority's written permission will be guilty of an offence. Upon conviction the court may, in addition to imposing any other penalty prescribed, order the police to remove the person and his personal effects to any place where adequate housing accommodation exists.

Unless the Minister otherwise directs, no compensation will be payable in respect of any building or structure or improvement thereon that has been erected in contravention of the provisions of the Act or has been demolished by order of the Bantu Affairs Commissioner.

Vacation and demolition of condemned dwellings
The principal Act provided that if its Medical Officer of Health considers this to be necessary, an urban local authority may condemn a dwelling, and give one month's notice to the occupants, and may then demolish the dwelling. The occupants must be offered other adequate housing accommodation in a location or village under the local authority's control, or the local authority may pay compensation to the householder for any loss he sustains and make available a site on which he may build his own dwelling.

In terms of the Bill, the occupants of a condemned dwelling may, instead, be offered such other housing accommodation in any location or Bantu village as the Minister may approve (it need not be in the town where the occupants were living), or such other adequate housing accommodation in a scheduled or released Bantu area as the Minister may deem expedient.

African families may, thus, be required to leave an urban area if the dwelling they occupy there is condemned for reasons of health, through no fault of their own.

Proclamation R84 of 11 April applied the provisions of the Bantu (Prohibition of Interdicts) Act to such removal orders.

Disestablishment of urban local authorities
The Bill provides that, when an urban local authority is disestablished, its powers and functions may be taken over by a statutory body. Then-existing regulations under the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act and the Bantu Labour Act will continue to apply.

FAMILIES DISPLACED UNDER THE GROUP AREAS ACT
In reply to questions in the Assembly on 7 February, the Minister of Community Development said that, as a result of the proclamation of group areas up to 30 September 1968, the following families became disqualified to remain in their homes:

- 656 white families
- 58,999 Coloured families
- 784 Chinese families
- 35,172 Indian families

Those who had been resettled in group areas by that date were:

- 497 white families
23,587 Coloured families
17,723 Indian families
According to information given to Parliamentarians who visited resettlement schemes in 1969, 25,156 African families have been moved from areas that were allocated to Indian, Coloured, or white people.
It was reported that the Secretary for Community Development, Mr. J. H. Niemand, admitted to the Parliamentarians that the possibility existed that new non-white areas would in time become surrounded by extensions to the white areas.

PRICES OBTAINED AND PAID FOR PROPERTIES
Questioned in the Assembly on 25 February about the revenue and expenditure of the Group Areas and Community Development Board in 1967-8, the Minister of Community Development said:
R9,480,597 was spent on the purchase of properties; R6,999,213 was obtained from the sale of properties;
R 555,168 was paid by the Boards in depreciation contributions;
R 323,199 was obtained by them in appreciation contributions.

The Controller and Auditor-General stated in his report for 1967-81° that during that year six payments had been made in respect of loss of goodwill, amounting to R11,603 in all.
It was reported in the Sunday Times on 22 December 1968 and 12 January that some white property speculators were making fortunes at the expense of non-whites who were forced to sell. It cited the case of two properties in the shopping area of Rustenburg that were held in the names of companies with white nominee directors. The Department treated them as Indian-owned, however. They were sold to a white company for R70,000, of which the Board retained R16,000 (presumably as an appreciation contribution). Less than two years later the new owners resold the properties for R453,000.
The prize commercial site in Rustenburg, it was stated, which had been owned by Indians since 1887, was sold to whites in 1967 for R200,000. A year later, its value was estimated at R430,000.
The newspaper quoted Senator C. C. Henderson (United Party) as having said in the Senate that in the forced sale of a small but profitable Indian business in the Ladysmith area a basic value of R5,000 was fixed by the Board. After appeal by the Indian, he finally accepted a compromise offer of R6,630. The Board then sold the property to a white for R9,500 and he later employed an Indian manager for the business.
Other examples were given, for example at Somerset Strand, where Coloured men were forced to sell beach-front sites.
During the Parliamentary debate on the Minister's vote Mrs. Helen Suzman (Progressive Party) talked of the hardships being experienced by Indians who
were resettled some miles out of towns and were, thus, forced out of trade. She called for an enquiry into the profits being made by the Group Areas Board.

USE OF PUBLIC HALLS IN GROUP AREAS

It was reported in April'2 that the Minister of Community Development refused to receive a deputation from the Cape Town

9 R.P. 56168 pages 442, 523, 578, 599, and report on the accounts of the Transkeian GovernSurvey.

10 R.P. 56168 page 466.

11 Star, 27 February.

12 Star, 25 April.

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City Council which wanted to appeal to him to give blanket permission for municipal halls in its area to be used by Coloured people for meetings, school concerts, wedding receptions, and similar gatherings, excluding dances. The Secretary replied that the Minister was not prepared to grant blanket permission. Each application for a permit would continue to be considered on its own merits.

PROVISION OF HOUSING

Questioned in the Assembly,"3 the Minister of Community Development said that, as at the end of 1968, the estimated demand for dwellings by persons who fell in the income limits for assisted housing was 4,680 for whites, 21,480 for Coloured, 11,350 for Indians, and 25,830 for Africans.

During 1967, his Department and local authorities made available 4,358 dwellings for whites, 5,912 for Coloured, 4,529 for Indians, and 14,369 for Africans.

THE URBAN POPULATION OF THE TRANSVAAL

In 1969 the Institute of Race Relations published a factpaper on the urban population of the Transvaal, based on numbers as estimated by local authorities. There had been a growth in the African urban population in most areas since 1960, from 2,016,067 to 2,752,133, in spite of influx control.

It was estimated that the increases in respect of the other racial groups were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Increases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>1,254,744</td>
<td>99,022</td>
<td>57,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>1,781,131</td>
<td>136,643</td>
<td>98,364</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Descriptions were given of the various group areas. It appeared that there had been a very considerable movement of Indians to the longer-established group areas where housing and other social development had taken place. But in other cases the population had remained static or had actually decreased; these were towns where the group areas had not been developed, or where there was uncertainty for some years after the Act was passed, or where the implementation of the Act was resisted.

It seemed likely that numbers of the younger Indians were migrating to the larger cities where group areas existed, leaving their parents to run their shops in the
smaller towns. Wealthier people who had retired from trade were possibly moving, too, to areas where for the first time they might buy plots of land. 13 7 February, Hansard I col. 343.

GROUP AREAS: TRANSVAAL
The smaller country towns would possibly be left with the smaller-scale traders and people who were too old to seek new livelihoods.
The Government's plan to move Coloured people from the smaller Transvaal towns to regional townships was described on page 198 of last year's Survey.

NOTES ON GROUP AREAS FOR WHITES, COLOURED, AND ASIANS

Johannesburg
During July the Transvaal Provincial Executive approved the incorporation in 1970 into the Johannesburg municipal area of about 100 square miles of land to the south of the city, much of which was formerly controlled by the Transvaal Board for the Development of Peri-Urban Areas. Included in this area are the Coloured townships of Nancefield and Klipriviersoog, the Indian township of Lenasia, and the Soweto African townships. (Meadowlands and Diepkloof were excluded.)
Indians, in particular, have welcomed this decision, hoping that as a result the provision of services and recreational facilities will be speeded up at Lenasia.
Despite opposition by the Railways authorities the Road Transportation Board has recently authorized a private company to run bus services within Lenasia and to and from the city, to supplement the inadequate train service.
No start has yet been made with building the Oriental Bazaar at Fordsburg, which will eventually accommodate about 330 of the estimated 680 Indian traders who have been or will be displaced under the Group Areas Act.14 The people already living in the area, mainly Indian wage-earners but including a number of traders, will first have to be provided with alternative accommodation.
The Secretary for Community Development has announced” that about 50 morgen of land in the vicinity of Lenasia and Nancefield has been earmarked for development as an Indian industrial area.
There is a mounting shortage of housing for Coloured families in Johannesburg, aggravated by an influx from other parts of the country.
During January, a Chinese citizen was charged with contravening the Group Areas Act by living in a white area without a permit. His white landlord was charged, too, being sentenced to R50 or 25 days. The Chinese family was ordered to leave before the end of the year. There is no Chinese group area in Johannesburg. The man explained that he had been uprooted once before, when the Board had been unable to find him any suitable dwelling where he could live legally.
14 Rand Daily Mail, 13 August. 15 Ibid, 27 August.

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Other Reef towns and Pretoria
Beyond the proclamation of Nigel as a white area, there have been no significant developments during 1969 in regard to group areas in other Reef towns and Pretoria. The development of existing group areas is described in the Institute of Race Relations publication The Urban Population of the Transvaal (1969).

Other Transvaal towns

The Indians of Rustenburg have been required to move their homes to Zinniaville, about three miles from town. The municipality built 56 houses there. Those who owned their premises in the main shopping area had to sell to whites, but were granted temporary permits to rent them for trading purposes. During January, however, they were informed by Government representatives that no further such permits would be granted after the end of the year. Sympathetic white residents petitioned Members of Parliament, and eventually the Government appointed a township consultant to investigate whether the Indians would be able to make a living at Zinniaville. The outcome has not been reported at the time of writing.

The Indians of Middelburg have been told that their homes and shops must be moved to the Indian group area by the end of January 1971. This area is not as far out of town as is Zinniaville.

The whole of Schweizer Reneke has been declared a white area, the Indians being allocated a stretch of undeveloped land a quarter of a mile out. Similarly, an Indian group area has been proclaimed at Potgietersrus. Solmaekaar has been proclaimed a group area for whites only.

Properties are being expropriated from both whites and Indians at the western entrance to Vereeniging to make way for an Indian Bazaar.

The Cape Peninsula

Mrs. J. Newton Thompson, an ex-Cape Town City Councillor, said at a meeting of the Institute of Citizenship during February''6 that 11,000 Coloured families in the Cape Peninsula were in desperate need of housing, and the waiting list was growing at the rate of 1,250 applications a year. Yet the Government insisted that half of the new houses built by the Council must be reserved for people whom it was displacing under the Group Areas Act.

A few days later Mrs. E. Stott, a City Councillor, pointed out7 that thus far the Council had been unable to reach its target of 4,000 new dwellings a year. The Chairman of the Council's Health and Housing Committee, Major A. Z. Berman, 16 Cape Times, 7 February. 17 Ibid, 12 February.

GROUP AREAS: CAPE

commented'' that thousands of Coloured people, living in shacks or stables or sleeping in old cars, could afford to pay no rent whatsoever because they had no fixed incomes.

Referring to District Six (zoned for whites), Mrs. Stott said that between 5,000 and 6,000 Coloured families would have to leave. A grave problem they would face was finding houses of the same size elsewhere for the compensation they would receive.

According to Mr. J. H. Niemand, Secretary for Community Development, the Board is to take over all the 2,085 privatelyowned properties in the area demarcated as the District Six Urban Renewal Area. By June it had already
expropriated 427 of them with a total value of R953,000, and was shortly to expropriate another 428, worth R2,250,000. It was expected that the process would be completed within eighteen months to two years. The residents would be moved out over a three-year period probably commencing during 1970. It was announced by the Minister of Coloured Affairs in March that three new Coloured townships, together eventually accommodating more than 1,000,000 people, were being planned in the False Bay area between Strandfontein and Macassar Beach.

Coloured people displaced from the south of the Peninsula are being rehoused at Slangkop on the Atlantic Coast. Transport costs to their work are high.

During 1969 the Institute of Race Relations published Suspended Sentence, a study of the Kalk Bay fishermen, by M. G. Whisson and R. M. Kaplinsky.

Paarl
Group areas for Paarl were described on page 163 of the 1961 Survey. The main area allocated to Coloured people was a largely undeveloped one across the Berg River; but they did retain the centrally situated School Street area, where many of the families have lived for generations. It was announced during August that the Group Areas Board was considering reallocating this area, to whites.

Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown
The great shortage of housing for Coloured people in Port Elizabeth is mentioned in an earlier chapter. Grahamstown has a similar problem.

East London
The group areas proclaimed in East London were described on page 201 of last year's Survey, where it was mentioned that

18 Argus, 8 March.
19 Star, 18 June.
20 Rand Daily Mail, 15 March.
21 Argus, 12 August.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969
the racially-mixed area of North End had not been zoned. Two parts of this area were proclaimed white areas on 8 August. The Daily Dispatch estimated on 9 August that about 500 Coloured and Indian families were affected.

King William's Town
There is reported to be great uncertainty and frustration among the Coloured people of King William's Town and other smaller towns in the Border area, who are on the "wrong" side of the Fish-Kat line, in an African labour preference area.

Other towns in the Cape
During the year under review group areas for white and Coloured people have been proclaimed in Albertinia, Bredasdorp, Great Brak River, Kareedouw, Niekerkshoop, Rietbron, and the Wilderness; and for whites only at Indwe, Petersburg, and Ugie. A new area was allocated to Coloured people at Swellendam.

Durban
According to a recent estimate" there are at least 11,000 Coloured people and 112,000 Indians in Durban on the waiting list for housing: many others have
probably not entered their names. The Coloured group area is stated to be too small.

The Minister of Community Development said on 4 February that during 1968 his department and the local authority provided 432 dwellings for whites, 245 for Coloured, 2,630 for Indians, and 944 for Africans.

The Group Areas Board convened a hearing on the desirability of zoning the Grey Street area for whites, but no decision has been announced. This is a wealthy business and residential area, with an Indian population estimated as well in excess of 15,000. About 50 Indian doctors practise there.

In its issue for May, The Black Sash carried a report of a poor shack settlement for Indians on Springfield Flats, started in 1957 as a temporary measure for families who had been evicted from other areas, but still there and growing.

Other parts of Natal

It was announced by the Minister of Planning on 27 November that no group areas for Coloured people or Indians will be proclaimed in Zululand. The Coloured residential area at Eshowe, with about 835 occupants, will be retained but not extended. The intention is that all Coloured and Indian residents of Zululand

22 Rand Daily Mail, 29 August.
23 Hansard I col. 94.
24 Natal Mercury, 10 March and Rand Daily Mail, 2 April.

HOUSING FOR AFRICANS

should gradually be resettled south of the Tugela River. In the meanwhile, their presence there will be controlled by permit.

An exception is apparently to be made in the case of the descendants of John Dunn who are domiciled at Mangete and Emoyeni: title deeds are to be issued to them in terms of the John Dunn Act of 1935.

The Government's decision as to the future of Coloured people in the smaller towns of Natal south of the Tugela River has not yet been announced.

During the year under review, Albert Falls, Dalton, Paddock, Wartburg and York were zoned for whites only. Group areas for whites and Indians were proclaimed in Kranskop and Stanger, and areas were allocated to Indians in Estcourt, Ladysmith, and Tugela. The Minister of Community Development stated that the local authority of Ladysmith had requested that the existing Indian area be deproclaimed, and land substituted for it on the far side of the river. This was done. The 56 Indian shopkeepers in the main street of the town have been told that they must move by the end of 1970.

Orange Free State

The Minister of Planning announced on 19 November that the Government had decided to concentrate as many as possible of the Coloured people of the Free State in a regional group area at Bloemfontein, which is one of the growth points to be developed for industry using Coloured labour (see page 100). Of the approximately 15,000 Coloured people who lived in the province in 1960, 6,000 were in and around Bloemfontein.
The Coloured group areas at Fauresmith, Welkom, Heilbron, Kroonstad, and Bethlehem would be retained, the Minister said, but would not be developed further than was necessary for local needs. The desirability of deproclaiming the Coloured group areas at Wepener, Springfontein, and Parys was being investigated.

SOME NOTES ON HOUSING FOR AFRICANS IN URBAN AREAS
(Townships in rural African areas are dealt with on page 143)

Johannesburg

According to the latest available report of the Johannesburg Non-European Affairs Department, for the year ended 30 June 1968, there were then 673,639 Africans living in Soweto, the Resettlement Board areas, and the city. Those on the mines are not included.

For years the Johannesburg City Council has been subsidizing its Bantu Revenue Account from the Rates Fund derived from white ratepayers' money, to the extent of about R500,000 a year. (Assembly, 18 April, Hansard 10 col. 4288. 173

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year. Most of the subsidy is used to provide cheaper housing for Africans. In terms of Government regulations, Africans earning R30 a month or less qualify for sub-economic rentals; but Johannesburg has increased the limit to R40 a month, making up the difference from its own funds. Nationalist councillors have objected to the use of "white" money to subsidize "black" projects. During June the Council requested the Administrator's approval of a decision to increase the city's rates from three to four cents in the Rand. The Administrator approved subject to the condition that the subsidization of the Bantu Revenue Account should cease. Acting on legal advice that the Administrator had no power to impose such a condition, however, the City Council rejected it. In his municipal budget speech Mr. Alf Widman, M.P.C., said that according to a report of the Transvaal local government auditor, no fewer than 19 city and town councils in the province had incurred deficits in their Bantu administration funds."

It was mentioned on page 167 of last year's Survey that in January 1968 the Government ruled that Africans would no longer be allowed to build their own homes on leasehold plots in urban townships, and that if those who already owned their homes wanted to sell them, they might do so to local authorities only. They could not bequeath them to their heirs.

The Johannesburg City Council is reported to have sent a memorandum to the Department of Bantu Administration and Development in August stating that it would absorb too much of the money available for housing to buy up all the houses owned by Africans who left Soweto or died. It was doubtful whether these dwellings could be let to others at economic rentals.

The Deputy Mayor, Mr. Sam Moss, has said that there are 11,404 African families, living as sub-tenants in Soweto, who are waiting for homes of their own. Further, about 2,000 dwellings are needed annually to provide for the natural
increase in the population. Yet, with the housing funds available, the municipality has in recent years been able to provide only 1,400 to 1,500 houses a year. During August, an African, who could not afterwards be traced, falsely represented himself as being the owner of City Council land adjoining Soweto, and "sold" plots there for R6 each. Hundreds of families of sub-tenants paid for plots and began erecting rough shanties, but were soon disillusioned: the City Council gave them free transport back to Soweto and the police demolished the shacks.

26 Rand Daily Mail, 3 June.
27 Ibid, 28 June.
28 Ibid, 21 August.
29 Star, 25 June and 26 August.

HOUSING FOR AFRICANS
Pretoria and the Southern Transvaal
In 1969 the Bureau of Market Research of the University of South Africa published its Research Report No. 21, by M. Loubser, entitled Market Potentials of Bantu Living in Pretoria/ the Witivatersrand/ and the Vaal Triangle, 1965. With the Bureau's permission, the Southern Transvaal Region of the Institute of Race Relations extracted data from this report on the number of Africans living under family conditions, average household sizes, the number living in other types of accommodation, and the number of economically active men and women.3"

Pretoria
On 26 March The World quoted Mr. J. C. Taljaard, assistant director of Pretoria's Non-European Affairs Department, as having said that there was a waiting list of 7,000 African families who qualified for houses in the City Council's townships. They could not obtain them because, over the past ten years, all the new houses built in Mamelodi and Atteridgeville had been allocated to families removed from areas zoned for whites, for example Lady Selborne and Eastwood. There were about 10,000 houses at Atteridgeville, it was stated, and nearly 14,000 in Mamelodi. It was Government policy that the family accommodation should not be increased, although hostels for migrant male workers could still be built. Families should live in the homelands to the north of Pretoria.

Cape Town
Questioned in the Assembly on 21 February,31 the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that the latest available figures indicated that in the three townships serving greater Cape Town there were 37,665 men and 15,121 women of the ages of sixteen years and over, and 36,515 children. Of the men, 25,258 (or 67 per cent) were accommodated in bachelor quarters.

Cape Midlands
The Cape Midlands (west of the Aliwal North/Fish/Kat line) has been zoned as a Coloured labour preference area. It would appear32 that some new housing for Africans may be permitted in the Veeplaas area adjoining Port Elizabeth, but that elsewhere in this region the position is deteriorating alarmingly.
Dr. T. R. H. Davenport, the chairman of the Grahamstown branch of the Institute of Race Relations, reported in July that
30 RR. 64/69.
31 Hansard 3 col. 1134.
32 Eastern Province Herald, 21 February.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969
no new dwellings for Africans had been built in that city since 1963-4, although each year the Medical Officer of Health had drawn attention to the growing number of dilapidated shacks that were springing up. Conditions were not conducive to healthy living: there was a high infantile mortality rate. It was estimated at the end of 1968 that some 9,000 Africans were living in the 1,260 rough shacks. There was serious overcrowding in the 2,220 municipal and private dwellings, which were accommodating about 16,000 people.
In 1967 the City Council applied to the Government for permission to raise a loan to build 100 dwellings, Dr. Davenport said. A reply was received in November 1968 to the effect that the application was refused on the ground that, as Grahamstown had been classified as a "border" area, future housing for African families would have to be situated in the homelands. Only hostels for "single" workers might be built. (But there is no homeland near at hand, and Dr. Davenport indicated that there was no demand for hostel accommodation.)
The plight of Africans in other Midlands towns was described by Mr. W. G. Kingwell (United Party) in the Assembly on 19 June.33 Local authorities in the Coloured labour preference areas, he said, could no longer get National Housing loans at low rates of interest for African housing. At Middelburg (Cape) no houses had been built since 1938. Squatters' camps of wood and iron "pondoks" had been established. Conditions were so bad that many of the Africans moved to the resettlement area of Mngqesha, only to find that the position was worse there. When some tried to return, they were arrested under influx control regulations. Efforts had been made to improve the situation at Mossel Bay, but the housing was nevertheless unsatisfactory, sanitation was poor, and there was only one timber school with three classrooms and two teachers. In the town were 1,136 children under the age of sixteen.
The situation at Humansdorp was "chaotic": attempts to control infectious diseases were seriously hampered. Some of the houses in Graaff Reinet were almost 200 years old, there were shacks in back yards, streets were rutted, and sanitation poor.

In reply, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said34 that the Department would do all it could to clear up the conditions mentioned, but it had to be practical and realistic. Housing loans could still be granted, but for hostel accommodation only, in Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Paarl, Colesberg, Hanover, Humansdorp, Upington, and Prieska. But the position was more difficult in Middelburg, Beaufort West, and Mossel Bay, where there were only small numbers of Africans. The solution probably was to
33 Hansard 19 cols. 8644-8. 34 Cols. 8757-8.
HOUSING FOR AFRICANS
build houses that could be occupied by Coloured people after the Africans had been moved out. It is understood that an "emergency camp" is to be established at Knysna, where there is no African township.

Cathcart
Cathcart is in the Border region of the Cape, which is an African labour preference zone; but here, as in East London and King William's Town, the Government's plan is that as many Africans as possible should live in homeland rather than municipal townships.

It was announced in September that, in terms of an agreement between the local authority and the Department, plans to develop a new municipal African township would be abandoned. Instead, about 2,300 of the town's 3,800 Africans would be moved to a township in the nearest homeland, including all the pensioners, children, and "won't works". The old municipal township would then be redesigned, providing hostel accommodation only for men and women employed in the town. There would be no school there.

However, the Daily Dispatch reported on 13 September that, following representations by residents, the Town Council would make further suggestions to the Department, to the effect that family units should not be disrupted, the wives and children of bona fide workers being allowed to remain.

Natal
It is mentioned elsewhere in this Survey that the Government plans to take over the Durban municipal township of Kwa Mashu, incorporating it into a homeland in the hinterland. Mr. P. H. Torlage, M.P., the deputy chairman of the Bantu Affairs Commission, said in the Assembly on May 26 that a new township called Ntuzuma was being planned, adjacent to Kwa Mashu.

The Africans employed in Estcourt and certain other towns are gradually being moved to new townships in the homelands. The housing situation for Africans in Natal is extremely serious. According to the Natal Mercury, there may be as many as 500,000 squatters in that province, mainly living in squalid shacks on the outskirts of towns. Exorbitant rents are charged by the private owners of the land. As no proper water supplies or sanitary facilities exist there is a high rate of illness. Most of the men are in employment, but there is no accommodation for them in established townships. The squatter families are not prosecuted because of lack of alternative accommodation, but from time to time are evicted. They then have little alternative but to set up new shack settlements elsewhere. The process may then be repeated.

In the speech quoted above, Mr. Torlage said that the drought had aggravated the situation. Peasant farmers forced off the land were seeking employment at white centres and were squatting nearby in homelands or on farms of whites.
The Natal Mercury reported on 9 April that there were some 150,000 squatters in the Port Natal area alone. It was stated by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration that about 2,300 of them were living at Shembe's Village near Kwa Mashu on privately-owned African land.

According to a Star report, more than 300 squatters were evicted in May from Indian-owned land at Masons Quarry, four miles from Pietermaritzburg. Others, evicted from Hammarsdale, rebuilt their shanties at Fredsville near Inchanga. As indicated in a previous chapter, the need for housing will become still more acute as labour tenants and squatters on "labour farms" are displaced from the farms of whites. Press reports state that in Northern Natal and the Midlands there are nearly 316,000 Africans on white farms in excess of labour requirements. When they are moved a serious problem will arise in connection with the disposal of their stock.

The Department is planning very large new housing schemes for the squatters and others. Some of these will be Ntuzuma, Dassenhoek near Clermont (Pinetown), Mpophomeni near Howick, and Vulendondo in the Ladysmith area. All of these new townships are in homeland areas. It seems clear that, as time goes by, most of the Africans working in the urban areas of Natal will be so accommodated. The Reserves of Natal are so widely dispersed that this is a more feasible arrangement than elsewhere.

TRANSPORT SERVICES FOR URBAN AFRICANS

According to the report for 1968 of the Railways and Harbours Board there were 488,660,862 rail passenger journeys that year. Calculating from the figures given in the report, it transpires that 94 per cent of these journeys were suburban ones, and 71 per cent were third class suburban journeys, the passengers on which would have been non-white, mainly Africans. Some nonwhites would have travelled second or first class. The Railways received R17,499,000 from third class suburban passengers, plus R11,164,000 in respect of the subsidy on rail facilities to Bantu residential areas. The combined amount represents 47 per cent of the total passenger revenue.

The Deputy Minister of Transport said in the Assembly on 13 May that the railways were then transporting 199,450 Africans daily in each direction between Soweto and Johannesburg city. The number was increasing steadily, and the service was continually being extended, he said. The trains continue to be very much overcrowded at peak hours, however.

In the official Government Estimates of Expenditure for 1969-70 3 a sum of R13,000,000 was allocated to cover the loss on the operation of railway passenger services to and from Bantu townships.
The introduction of a Bantu Transport Services Levy, payable by employers of African men who do not provide accommodation for them, was described on page 137 of the 1956-7 Survey. According to the report of the Controller and Auditor General for 1967-8, the subsidies to bus transport concerns that were paid that year from the levy account totalled R1,790,758, while another R157,938 was paid from various departmental votes. Of the total, R1,247,571 went to the Public Utility Transport Corporation (Putco) to subsidize the fares charged on its services in seven major urban areas.

It was mentioned on page 209 of last year's Survey that Putco had decided to discontinue its bus service between Soweto and Johannesburg because, as a result of representations by the Railways, the National Transport Commission had ruled that this service might operate during certain fixed hours only. Putco subsequently reversed its decision, however, and maintains the service.

The subsidized rail fares payable by African commuters were increased in October 1968 to a maximum of R2.20 a month for a ticket used on weekdays only and R2.50 a month for an unlimited ticket. These prices were raised by 30 cents as from 1 October 1969, and from 1 November Putco increased its bus fares by one cent per trip.

It was announced in October by Mr. S. F. Kingsley, then Director of Non-European Affairs for the Pretoria Municipality, that if the economic cost of bus fares from African townships to places of employment exceeded 7 cents per single trip, the tariff would be subsidized out of liquor profits paid by local authorities to the S.A. Bantu Trust in order that the maximum fare would be 7 cents.

It is not clear whether or not this arrangement will apply to Africans removed from black spots to resettlement villages.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969
APARTHEID ON BUS SERVICES IN THE CAPE PENINSULA

Until recently, the Cape Peninsula was one of the few areas of the Republic where there was no strict apartheid on bus services, although on some routes non-whites were not supposed to use the seats towards the front of the lower deck.

Early in 1969, however, the chairman of the National Transport Commission announced that apartheid was to be introduced progressively on the seven main bus routes in the Peninsula if the companies concerned could find the money needed to finance this. Some buses would be for whites only, some for non-whites only, while on others non-whites would be allowed on the upper deck. If the companies did this, the Department of Labour would relax the job reservation determination number 10, of 1962, which placed limitations on the number of Coloured drivers and conductors who could be employed.
The municipalities concerned had been asked to contribute towards the costs, it was stated, but had refused, and the Commission had no power to force them to do so.

It was subsequently announced, however, that the Cape Provincial Administration would help the companies to meet the cost of operating separate buses. Despite this contribution, the fares had to be increased on various routes.

The Cape Argus pointed out on 31 July that bus drivers and conductors had been given the unenviable task of deciding which would-be passengers were white and which were Coloured.

46 Star, 22 February. 47 Cape Times, 8 May.

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SCHOOL EDUCATION FOR AFRICAN PUPILS
CONFERENCE CONVENED BY THE S.A.
INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS
During January the Institute of Race Relations convened a national conference on Bantu education, which was held in Johannesburg. It was attended by nearly 400 people of all racial groups, representing more than 70 organizations from widespread parts of the country. Senior officials of the Bantu Education Department attended as observers.

The following theme papers were given:
Opening address: Dr. the Hon. W. W. M. Eiselen. RR. 12/69 Bantu School Education, 1955-68: a Review and Assessment:
Miss Muriel Horrell. RR. 143/68
The Main Needs for the Future in Bantu Education: Mr. J. W. Macquarrie. RR. 2/69
Bantu Manpower and Education: Dr. E. G. Malherbe. RR. 139/68
The School and the Community: Mr. F. S. M. Mncube. RR. 8/69

The introductory papers given at group discussions were:
School Curricula in Relation to Community Needs: Mr. F. E. Auerbach. RR. 5/69.
University Colleges for Non-Whites: Retrospect and Prospect: Dr. A. L. Behr. RR. 7/69
The Education of Teachers: Mr. A. N. Boyce. RR. 1/69
How Bantu High School Pupils see their Teachers: Prof. P. A. Duminy. RR. 141/68
Primary and Secondary Schools in African Education in South Africa: Prof. W. M. Kgware. RR. 4/69
Problems of Local School Administration: Dr. W. F. Nkomo. RR. 6/69
Mathematics and the Sciences in Bantu Education: Prof. F. K. Peters. RR. 13/69
Vocational and Technical Education for the Bantu: Mr. George W. Tabor. RR. 3/69
African Attitudes towards Education: Mr. R. Tunmer.
RR. 10/69
As background material the Institute published Bantu Education to 1968, by Muriel Horrell.
Brief summaries of these papers were given in the issue of Race Relations News for February.

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The findings of the conference were published by the Institute of Race Relations in the booklet The 1969 Conference on Bantu Education. Two of the most important resolutions, which were adopted unanimously, were:
"Conference pays tribute to the dedicated work of the officials of the Bantu Education Department, and expresses its regret that the framework within which Bantu Education is being compelled to operate has been determined by political considerations.
"The economic and social realities of our times demand that Africans, like other sections of the South African population, be educated so as to develop their innate potential to the full, to acquire the skills and assimilate the values of contemporary society, and to gain the fullest possible access to the common cultural heritage of mankind."

ADVISORY BOARD FOR BANTU EDUCATION
The five-year term of office of the first Advisory Board for Bantu Education came to an end early in 1969. Its chairman, Professor W. M. Kgware, asked not to be considered for reappointment. A new board was appointed by the Minister, with Mr. R. Cingo (an inspector of schools) as chairman.

CONTROL OF BANTU EDUCATION
The Department's plans for the decentralization of the administrative control of Bantu Education to Bantu Territorial Authorities was described on page 211 of last year's Survey, and is referred to in an earlier chapter of this edition. Work has been in progress during 1969 to put these plans into effect.

BANTU EDUCATION ACCOUNT
Amounts borrowed from Loan Account and deficits
The Bantu Education Account has become increasingly in debt to the country's Loan Account for capital sums advanced for buying mission properties, building Departmental schools, and erecting university college buildings. Each year a larger sum has been paid in the redemption of such loans, but far more is borrowed than is returned. So far as can be ascertained from available figures, the net debt by 31 March was close on R1,000,000.2
Besides this, since about 1965 the Bantu Education Account has shown an annual deficit. As mentioned in last year's Survey, it was provided in the Finance Act of 1968 that this deficit would be met by means of interest-free recoverable advances from the Loan Account. In the Assembly on 27 May3 the Deputy Minister I See 1963 Survey, page 219, for the constitution of this board.

2 Calculated from figures given in past Surveys.
3 Hansard 16 col. 6753.
BANTU EDUCATION

of Bantu Education stated that the anticipated adverse balance at 31 March 1970 would be R20,010,000. He said that he would not comment for the time being on how the advances would be redeemed: it was first necessary to see how the new basis of the taxation of Africans would work.

Revenue for 1969-70

According to the revised Estimates, the revenue of the Bantu Education Account for the 1969-70 financial year was anticipated as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Statutory appropriation from Consolidated Revenue R Account</td>
<td>13,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appropriation for university colleges</td>
<td>1,500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proceeds of African general tax</td>
<td>10,500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous receipts, including boarding fees</td>
<td>1,016,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest-free advance from Loan Account</td>
<td>13,510,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Revenue</strong></td>
<td><strong>R39,526,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The increase over the Estimates for 1968-9 is R13,426,000.

Expenditure in 1969-70 (excluding the Transkei)

The salaries of the Minister and Deputy Minister are not included in the estimates of expenditure from the Bantu Education Account: these are met from the vote of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development.

According to the revised Estimates, the expenditure for 1969-70 from the Bantu Education Account was anticipated as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Salaries, wages, and allowances: administrative staff</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General administration</td>
<td>2,746,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supplies, services, and maintenance of buildings</td>
<td>230,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bursaries and loans to pupils</td>
<td>22,313,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Examination expenses</td>
<td>5,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsidies to schools</td>
<td>230,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial assistance to community schools for capital expenses</td>
<td>720,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance of university colleges</td>
<td>934,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provision for retirement benefits</td>
<td>110,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redemption of loans from Loan Account</td>
<td>22,313,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grant-in-aid to the S.A. Bantu Trust Fund towards educational services by Territorial Authorities</td>
<td>5,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Expenditure</strong></td>
<td><strong>R39,506,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4 R.P. 4 and 7 of 1969.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969
Some of the money is recoverable: R61,200 represents loans to students, R341,000 will probably be paid in fees at the university colleges, and R100,000 represents housing loans to public servants.
The overall total is R7,126,000 more than in the previous financial year. The grant-in-aid to the S.A. Bantu Trust Fund is a new item, explained below. Because of this, the financial assistance to community schools is decreased.
Additional sources of revenue
In the speech referred to above, the Deputy Minister pointed out that a sum of R3,750,000 was mentioned in a footnote to the Estimates: this was not included in the total. It represented the salaries of white teachers, and was likely to be paid by the Treasury from other votes. If so, this would be an additional source of revenue for Bantu Education, and the amount would be deducted from the adverse balance.
Special education (for handicapped children) is financed from the Consolidated Revenue Fund. The estimated expenditure in 1969-70 is R515,000.6
Study loans to medical students are met by the Department of Higher Education: they were likely to amount to R25,000 in 1969-70.
Expenditure by Territorial Authorities
As mentioned earlier, R5,150,000 was allocated to the S.A. Bantu Trust Fund towards educational services by Territorial Authorities. This amount will be augmented from revenue derived by these Authorities from other sources.
The constitution, functions, and budgets of the Territorial Authorities have been described in an earlier chapter. Thus far, only the Ciskei and Tswana Territorial Authorities have framed budgets for 1969-70. They plan to spend R5,302,000 on educational and cultural services.
South-West Africa
Expenditure on educational services for Africans in SouthWest Africa (excluding the Caprivi Strip) is not included in the figures given earlier. According to the Estimates for the SouthWest Africa Account for 1969-70, a total of R2,300,000 is to be spent in that territory on Bantu Education (including a grant-in-aid to the Ovamboland Legislative Council). Further details are given in a subsequent chapter.
BANTU EDUCATION
FINANCING OF EDUCATIONAL SERVICES
IN THE TRANSKEI
The Transkei's educational budget is quite separate from the Bantu Education Account. The government of that territory voted R6,627,000 for educational services in 1969-70.
Its budget of expenditure was:

R
Salaries, wages, and allowances (including teachers) 5,940,100
General administration 99,700
Supplies and services 424,800
Bursaries for pupils 12,200
Financial assistance to State-aided special schools 104,200
Financial assistance for school hostels 37,000
Examination expenses 9,000

R6,627,000

PER CAPUT EXPENDITURE

Questioned in the Assembly on 7 March, the Minister of Bantu Education said that the approximate per caput expenditure on African pupils in the Republic was R13.55 a year in primary schools and R55.00 in secondary schools. The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development gave equivalent figures for the Transkei: R12.80 primary and R100.15 secondary. These amounts were slightly lower than figures given the previous year, he said, because capital expenditure was now omitted from the calculations.

THE PROVISION OF SCHOOL BUILDINGS IN URBAN AFRICAN TOWNSHIPS

As described in previous issues of this Survey, the Government decided in 1956 that the cost of building lower primary schools in urban African townships might be included in the loans obtained by local authorities from the Bantu Housing Board. One such school, of six classrooms, was to be provided for every 800 families in new housing schemes. The local authorities would be responsible for interest and capital redemption and the costs of external maintenance, and might meet these by adding an amount not exceeding 20 cents per month to the rentals paid by the household heads. School committees would be responsible for internal maintenance and cleaning. Local authorities must secure official approval of their applications for the teachers and equipment before the schools were erected.

Applications for the establishment of higher primary and post-primary schools must come from African school boards, it was ruled. The school boards would, in advance, have to raise half the capital costs, and they must undertake full responsibility for maintenance and cleaning. Local authorities were required to provide the sites, at a ratio of one higher primary school per 1,333 to 1,600 families, and one post-primary school per 4,000 families. African school boards have found much difficulty in raising their half-share of the capital costs, with the result that the provision of schools above the lower primary level has lagged in urban areas.

Early in 1969 the Department of Bantu Administration and Development sent a circular notifying local authorities that a new procedure had been decided upon. The R-for-R subsidy would be discontinued after 31 March, it was stated. Local
authorities were instructed to impose the school levy of not more than 20 cents per month payable by all heads of families "without delay".

In terms of the new arrangement, local authorities may, as before, borrow money from the Housing Board for the erection of lower primary schools if a housing scheme is in progress. If not, or if schools above the lower primary level are to be built, the local authority may borrow from the Department of Community Development or (with the Minister's approval) from any other source.

When sufficient lower primary schools have been built in a local authority's area, at the ratio of one classroom per 66 families, the fund may be used for the provision of more senior schools, at a ratio of one higher primary classroom per 100 families; and one junior secondary classroom per 320 families, with the addition of a laboratory, library, and, where necessary, a home industries and handicraft centre. The directive is silent regarding high schools, i.e. Forms IV and V.

In view of this decision, the suggestion by the Soweto Urban Bantu Council, described on page 217 of last year's Survey, fell away: it was that the education levy should be raised to 38 cents per tenant and lodger.

SCHOOL BUILDINGS IN THE RESERVES AND "WHITE" RURAL AREAS

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Education said in the Assembly on 15 April' that the R-for-R scheme was being dis11 Hansard 10 cols. 3954-5.

BANTU EDUCATION

continued in the African Reserves, too. The cost of erection of all schools there would be met from the S.A. Bantu Trust Fund.

There would be no change, he continued, in the method of financing farm school buildings (i.e. the costs must continue to be met by the owners of the farms or other private persons).

EXPENDITURE ON SCHOOL BUILDINGS

Questioned in the Assembly on 15 April and 13 June,'2 the Minister of Bantu Education said that in 1967-8, the Government spent R425,932 from Loan Account on the erection of school buildings for Africans. (He did not mention how much had been spent by the S.A. Bantu Trust in the Reserves.)

It was estimated that Africans in urban areas had paid R340,000 in 1968 in the form of additions to their rentals for the erection of lower primary schools. (No information was given about the amount spent by local authorities from these levies and from loan funds.)

Successful applications for R-for-R grants had been made by 52 school boards in respect of 102 schools in 1967-8, the Minister said, and R174,749 was paid to them. A further 131 applications had not been granted by the end of the financial year, either because of a shortage of Departmental funds or because the school boards had not by that time raised their full half-share of the costs.

EDUCATIONAL COSTS MET BY AFRICANS THEMSELVES

In addition to the sums they pay in taxation, Africans contribute very large sums of money towards the costs of education.
The Minister said it was estimated that in 1968 school boards and committees in the Republic (excluding the Transkei) raised about R535,000 towards the erection, maintenance, and running costs of schools. It was indicated on page 223 of last year's Survey that in 1968, about 18 per cent of the teachers at Government or aided schools (i.e. excluding private schools) were privately paid by school boards or parents, to help to overcome the shortage. No more recent figures have been published. The necessity for this may gradually be reduced as the Department is able to make funds available for more teaching posts; but Africans themselves continue to make large contributions in this way. The Minister said it was estimated that about R2,000,000 was raised in 1968 for the salaries of privately paid teachers.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969
As well as this, parents contribute to school funds, pay for materials required for handiwork classes, and, for children in secondary schools, pay examination fees and, in some cases, registration and sports fees. A high proportion of students from urban areas who want to continue their studies after Form III have to attend boarding schools, in which case boarding fees must be paid and equipment provided. The costs of some of these items were estimated on page 234 of the 1967 Survey.

Readers are supplied free of charge to pupils in lower primary schools, but apart from this African parents (unlike those of other racial groups) must provide the children with text books and writing materials. In June the Johannesburg municipal Non-European Affairs Department prepared revised minimum family budgets for African families at Soweto. It calculated that the minimum costs of school fees and books were R1.55 a year in the Sub-Standards, R1.05 a year in Standard III, and R13.40 in Standard VI. In an article featured in the Star on 21 January, Woody Manqupu estimated that the annual costs of school uniforms as well as text books, stationery, and school fees were R13.04 in Standard I, R15.93 in Standard II, and R19.58 in Standard IV.

A Johannesburg bookseller told the Star on 12 February that books and stationery alone cost R15 for a pupil in Form I, R20 in Form II, R12 in Form III, and R35 in Forms IV and V. A school principal pointed out that as the books were not available in the African townships, pupils had to travel to the city to buy them.

NUMBER OF SCHOOLS
In an article published in the May issue of the Bantu Education Journal Mr. A. N. P. Lubbe, the Department's Assistant Education Planner, analysed statistics relating to schools for Africans in the Republic and the Transkei. Of the total of 9,551 schools in 1968:

- 17.98 per cent were Government schools;
- 44.99 per cent were community schools;
- 29.82 per cent were farm schools;
- 1.97 per cent were mine, factory, hospital, or scheduled schools;
5.24 per cent were Roman Catholic or other private schools. The total for the number of categories of schools was the larger figure of 9,605, because some schools had more than one division. The categories were:

**BANTU EDUCATION**

No. of schools
- Lower primary (S.S.A.-Std. II) ............. 3,007
- Higher primary (Std. III-Std. VI) .......... 500
- Primary (S.S.A.-Std. VI) .................. 5,657
- Junior Secondary (Forms I-III) .......... 281
- Secondary (Forms I-V) ..................... 89
- Technical secondary and training .......... 7
- Vocational training ........................ 30
- Teacher training ............................ 34

9,605

Besides those in the Republic the Department was administering 32 schools (not included above) in the Caprivi Strip.

The September issue of the Bantu Education Journal gave a list of 30 State, Territorial, and community schools in the homelands that provide boarding facilities, with the particular object of guiding urban pupils who wish to go to boarding schools for their secondary education.

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 20 May, the Minister said that, during 1968, four private schools were closed by decision of their owners, two were reclassified as community schools, the pupils of one were transferred to a community school, and two schools (in black spots of Natal) were closed because of the resettlement of the community.

**DOUBLE SESSIONS**

It was stated in the April issue of the Bantu Education Journal that in June 1968 there were 740,931 pupils in double sessions, mainly in the Sub-Standards, although 18,629 of them were in Standards I and II. The total number had increased by 5.1 per cent since 1967.

The Minister said that double sessions were operating at 4,385 schools (i.e. 51 per cent of the total number of lower primary and primary schools).

**STATISTICS RELATING TO PUPILS**

According to the Minister, about 78 per cent of African children of school-going age were attending school in 1968. (The figure is misleading, however, because of the high drop-out rate.)

The April issue of the Bantu Education Journal gave detailed analyses of the distribution of pupils according to standards and categories of schools in June 1968. Extracts are as follows (relating to the Transkei as well as the Republic):
Primary pupils

Sub A Sub B Std. I Std. II
Total lower primary
Std. III Std. IV Std. V Std. VI
Total higher primary
607,340 435,232 374,778 275,784
1,693,134
213,738 154,323 121,171 106,955
596,187
Percentage
25.34 18.16 15.63 11.50
70.63
8.92 6.44 5.05
4.46
24.87

The total number of pupils 6.94 per cent since June 1967, it
Secondary pupils

No.
Form I .. 42,011
Form II .. 30,331
Form III 19,679
Form IV .. 4,269
Form V .. 2,380
Total Secondary 98,670
Percentage
1.75 1.27
0.82 0.18 0.10
4.12
Teacher training .. 6,281 0.26
Vocational training .. 2,267 0.09
Technical secondary 518 0.02
Technical training .. 95 0.01
Sub-total .. 9,161 0.38
Grand total.. 2,397,152 100.00

in all classes had increased by was stated. The increase in the
number in post-primary classes had been 14.61 per cent.

Questioned about the distribution of secondary pupils as between urban and rural
areas in June 1968, the Minister gave the following information:16
Forms I-III ......
Forms IV-V ......
Urban
34,816 2,490
Rural
41,861 3,072
In September the Bantu Education Journal indicated that 4.3 per cent of the
secondary school pupils were in private schools.
In its report for 1967'1 the Department provided statistics from which it is
calculated that for every 100 African pupils in Form I in 1963, there were 74.3 in
Form II in 1964, 49.8 in Form III in 1965, 14.9 in Form IV in 1966, and 8.8 in
Form V in 1967.
LENGTH OF SCHOOL COURSE
After the adoption of the Bantu Education system a Standard VI year was
introduced before primary school pupils proceeded
16 Hansard 19 col. 8219. 17 R.P. 44/69 page 37.

BANTU EDUCATION
to secondary courses: this does not apply to pupils of other racial groups.
At the beginning of 1969 an experiment was begun at the Orlando West High
School, Johannesburg, to determine whether this extra year of schooling can be
dispensed with. Forty-five bright pupils from Standard V in several Soweto
schools were selected to begin Form I studies: their progress will be watched.8

STANDARD VI EXAMINATION RESULTS
In the Republic, a student wishing to proceed to a secondary school must obtain a
minimum aggregate of 50 per cent in the Standard VI examination, with passes in
arithmetic and in both official languages. This is termed a continuation pass.
Pupils who gain an aggregate of between 40 and 49 per cent and do not fail more
than two subjects are awarded a school leaving certificate, equivalent to a third
class pass.
This school leaving certificate is not granted in the Transkei or South-West
Africa. A result is that, on paper, the Standard VI results appear to be better in the
Republic than in the other two territories.
According to the Minister,19 the results at the end of 1968 in the Republic and
South-West Africa were:
Republic South- West Africa
No. Percentage No. Percentage
Candidates ....... 82,777 100.0 1,952 100.0
Continuation pass 36,820 44"5 1,253 64"2
School leaving certificate 30,183 36"5 -
Failed ......... 15,774 19.0 699 35"8
The Secretary for Education in the Transkei states2" that the Standard VI results
in that territory at the end of 1968 were:
No. Percentage
Candidates ...... 13,763 100.0
Merit pass ...... 598 4.3
Ordinary pass ...... 7,583 55.1
Failed ......... 5,582 40.6
The Deputy Minister of Bantu Education said in the Senate on 25 May 2’ that an estimated 720,000 Africans in South Africa had passed Standard VI.  
18 Star, 21 February.  
19 Assembly Hansard 6 col. 2254.  
20 Letter 16/15/3 dated 23 July.  
21 Senate Hansard 12 cols. 2996-7.  

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969  
SOME NOTES ON THE SCHOOL COURSE  
Science and mathematics  
One of the greatest difficulties in the improvement of the standards in science and mathematics has been the lack of enough adequately trained teachers. The Department has given considerable attention to this problem. Excellent teachers’ guides, prepared by teams of experts, have been issued. Useful articles on teaching methods appear regularly in the Bantu Education Journal, and vacation courses for teachers are arranged.  
It was mentioned last year that during 1967 and 1968 the Department spent R135,000 on equipping laboratories in existing secondary and high schools, and set aside R35,000 a year for equipment in new schools. In 1969 about 2,200 higher primary schools received wooden cases containing items of science equipment for use in teaching pupils in Standards V and VI, and teachers were supplied with a guide for using the items in this kit.  
"B" courses in mathematics and science subjects are available at certain of the university colleges for student teachers who are taking non-graduate diplomas as well as for students who want to improve their knowledge of these subjects before taking normal B.Sc. courses.  
From 30 June to 4 July the Foundation for Education, Science, and Technology ran a national convention for about 100 senior African teachers of mathematics and science, which was held at the Dube Vocational Training Centre, Johannesburg. Three especially invited eminent educationalists from overseas joined South African experts in giving lectures and practical demonstrations, and arranging visits to places where the technological application of the sciences was shown.  
An article in the August issue of the Bantu Education Journal showed that there had been a considerable increase (in excess of the growth-rate of pupils) in the number of students studying biology and/or general science. The increase in the number taking physical science and/or mathematics was much smaller.  
School libraries  
With increasing revenue, the Department has been able to spend more on equipping school libraries: the allocation for 1969-70 was R9,300, as against R6,500 the previous year. A publication entitled Book Education, by Mrs. E. C. Groenewald, has been distributed to all post-primary schools, and copies were sent to circuit inspectors for use in primary schools.  
During the winter vacation the Bantu Library Association of S.A. sponsored a course at Fort Hare for teachers who are  
22 Bantu Education Journal, September.
**BANTU EDUCATION**

in charge of libraries. Each school was invited to send one teacher. Another course in library science was held in July at Edendale. An article on the running of school libraries was featured in the March issue of the Bantu Education Journal. Numbers of private individuals and organizations, among them the Institute of Race Relations, continue to collect suitable books and distribute them to African schools.

**JUNIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION RESULTS**

Questioned in the Assembly on 11 March, the Minister of Bantu Education gave the following statistics relating to the Junior Certificate (Form III) examination results in 1968:

| Republic Transkei South- Total Percentage |  
|----------------------------------------|---|
| Africa Candidates                      | 15,063 3,484 100 18,647 100.0 |
| Passed with distinction                | 39 2 1 42 0.3 |
| 1st class                              | 1,209 163 38 1,410 7-6 |
| . 2nd class                            | 4,893 992 50 5,935 31”8 |
| 3rd class                              | 4,052 1,001 10 5,063 27.1 |
| Failed                                 | 4,870 1,326 1 6,197 33”2 |

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Education told the Senate that about 135,000 Africans in South Africa have passed Standard VIII.

**MATRICULATION EXAMINATION RESULTS**

In the table on the next page, information given by the Minister in the Assembly on 11 March is combined with that contained in the March issue of the Bantu Education Journal. The results of the examinations conducted by the Joint Matriculation Board and the Department of Higher Education are combined. Excluded are the results of supplementary examinations and those attained by about 6,000 part-time candidates who wrote the examinations either fully or in part.

The percentage of passes was higher than in 1967 and nearly the same as in 1966. Of the candidates who obtained a university entrance pass, 181 passed in mathematics, 608 in biology, 150 in physical science, and 56 in Latin.

23 Eastern Province Herald, 26 April.
24 Hansard 6 col. 2254. Percentages calculated by the writer. 25 Senate Hansard 12 cols. 2996-7.
26 Hansard 6 col. 2254.

RI-G

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| Republic Transkei South- Total Percentage |  
|----------------------------------------|---|
| Africa Candidates                      | 1,941 334 14 2,289 100.0 |
| University entrance pass:              |  
| 1st class                              | 65 1 66 2.8 |
| 2nd class                              | 587 89 3 679 29-7 |
Until the end of 1968, candidates for the Joint Matriculation Board examination had to write all their subjects at one set of examinations. Those who did not take the subjects laid down for university entrance, but nevertheless passed, were awarded school leaving certificates. (The examinations of the Department of Higher Education can be written in two stages.) It has been decided that from 1969 J.M.B. candidates who are not intending to proceed to universities may accumulate individual credits at different examination sessions and, when they pass sufficient subjects, will be awarded senior certificates (instead of school leaving certificates).

The Association for the Educational and Cultural Advancement of the African People in South Africa (Asseca) has continued to arrange special tuition for urban pupils who have failed their matriculation, to help them to pass supplementary examinations, and has raised money to provide urban high schools with especially-needed equipment. Such help is particularly needed in the towns because of the shortage of high schools there and consequent overcrowding.

FARM SCHOOLS
In reply to a question in the Assembly, the Minister said that in June 1968 there were 2,857 farm schools in the Republic (excluding the Transkei), with 4,557 teachers, 670 of them privately paid. They catered for 223,417 pupils in lower primary classes, and 30,110 in higher primary classes. They provided no tuition above this level.

According to the Departmental report for 1967, during that year 151 new farm schools were opened, providing primary education for children from 800 farms, and 53 previously-existing schools were closed.

SPECIAL SCHOOLS
It was stated in the May issue of the Bantu Education Journal that there are ten special schools for handicapped children in the Republic and Transkei.

TEACHERS
In the following month the Journal reported that in 1968 there were 41,011 teachers in Bantu schools (including the Transkei). Of those in the Republic, 600 were white and 55 Coloured, and 61 per cent were women.

Assembled in the Assembly how many Africans were holding senior posts, the Minister replied that 50 were serving as inspectors of schools, 178 as assistant
inspectors, 5 as professors, 42 as lecturers, 7,430 as school principals (excluding private schools), and 164 in other senior educational capacities.

A detailed schedule of the qualifications of teachers in the Republic was given in the Departmental report for 1967. Information in respect of African teachers only has been extracted and summarized, and percentages calculated by the writer, as follows:

Qualifications
Degree and professional qualifications ...... Degree only
Some degree subjects plus professional qualifications in most cases
Secondary teacher's diploma Special qualifications
Matriculation plus primary teacher's qualifications Matriculation only. ................
J.C. plus professional qualifications Std. VI to Form II plus professional qualifications Technical qualifications. ..............
Other qualifications. .................
Std. VI to J.C. with no professional qualifications

A summary of the information relating in secondary, technical secondary, and teacher 1967 is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualifications</th>
<th>Degree and professional qualifications</th>
<th>Degree only</th>
<th>Some degree subjects plus professional qualifications in most cases</th>
<th>Secondary teacher's diploma</th>
<th>Special qualifications</th>
<th>Matriculation plus primary teacher's qualifications</th>
<th>Matriculation only</th>
<th>J.C. plus professional qualifications</th>
<th>Std. VI to Form II plus professional qualifications</th>
<th>Technical qualifications</th>
<th>Other qualifications</th>
<th>Std. VI to J.C. with no professional qualifications</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>593</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>2,214</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>9,452</td>
<td>12,364</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>5,711</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1060%</td>
<td>593</td>
<td>116%</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>2,214</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>9,452</td>
<td>12,364</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>5,711</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

African teachers training schools in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>383</td>
<td>17.46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>4.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>448</td>
<td>20.42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>4.42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,069</td>
<td>48.73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>3.14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>1.23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,194</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

30 Hansard 15 col. 6222. 3' R.P. 44/69 Table V.

Percentage
1.28 0.34 1.87 0.37
1.27 6.98 0.75
29.81 39.00 0.07 0.25
18.01
100.00
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A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969
The Journal stated in March that, in 1968, 235 pupil-teachers passed the Lower Primary and 2,335 the Higher Primary Certificates. The Lower Primary course (two years after Form I) was abolished in the Transkei in about 1963 and in the Republic from 1969. The lowest qualification for which Africans are now trained is the Primary Teacher's Certificate, involving two years of professional training after J.C. Other courses were described on page 225 of last year's Survey.
From 1 April all African teachers received a ten per cent increase in salary, based on notch increases on the existing key scale. From 1 April 1970 a further increase of five per cent will be granted to those with the qualification matriculation plus a professional certificate, or more senior qualifications.
The provisions of the Government Non-White Employees' Pension Act were outlined on page 224 of the 1966 Survey. Detailed information about the pensions payable to African teachers in terms of this Act was given in the May issue of the Bantu Education Journal.

NOTES ON ADULT EDUCATION
Replying to a question in the Assembly,32 the Minister said that in June 1968 there were 41 evening schools and continuation classes for Africans registered in "white" areas (including urban African townships), and 13 in Bantu areas. They had 197 teachers, 2,230 lower primary students, 1,191 higher primary students, and 315 secondary students.
The Johannesburg Branch of the National Council of Women of South Africa is conducting classes in basic and advanced letter writing for Africans. In Pietermaritzburg, the University of Natal has sponsored a pilot project to teach English to illiterate African factory workers.33
The work of the Bureau of Literacy and Literature, described in previous issues of this Survey,34 is being continued and extended. It provides literacy material in English and Afrikaans and a variety of African languages, trains instructors to use this material, and gives assistance to African authors.
"Operation Upgrade of Southern Africa", with headquarters in Durban, is using the Laubach method to teach literacy.

32 Hansard 14 col. 6024.
33 Natal Mercury, 19 April.
34 e.g. 1967, page 246.

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SCHOOL EDUCATION FOR COLOURED PUPILS
FINANCING
Unlike Bantu education, education for Coloured pupils is financed from the Consolidated Revenue Fund, and no separate account is maintained for it. Some items, extracted from the official estimates for 1969-70,1 are given below. They do not present a complete picture. The salaries of senior administrative personnel whose time is not entirely devoted to education are included in the general budget
of the Department of Coloured Affairs, as are certain substantial administrative expenses.

Item
Salaries of educational personnel at Head and Regional Offices. School buildings and additions to schools (Loan Account) Primary, secondary, and high schools and teacher training Departmental technical schools Assistance to State-aided vocational schools Assistance to State-aided special schools Assistance to continuation classes University College of the Western Cape Bursaries and loans to students Grants-in-aid to educational and sports organizations

Estimated expenditure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Estimated Expenditure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Salaries</td>
<td>R 687,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School buildings</td>
<td>6,637,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>32,382,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>193,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>476,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>802,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>706,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>70,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R 41,993,700</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SCHOOL BUILDING PROGRAMME**

Questioned in the Assembly on 16 May, the Minister of Coloured Affairs said that during 1968 his department spent R5,808,869 on the erection of six high schools, two secondary schools, 24 primary schools, and one other educational building, and on making extensions to eight secondary or high schools and 23 primary schools.

According to the Cape Argus of 12 February, the Minister announced that, in the hope of arresting a drift to the towns, his department would, at its own expense, build schools and houses for teachers on farms, or would pay rent for existing buildings. Agricultural unions were asked to let the Department know their needs.

2 Hansard 14 cols. 6014-5.

**A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969**

**ENROLMENT IN SCHOOLS**

Asked in the Assembly about the proportion of Coloured children who were attending school, the Minister replied that at the beginning of 1967 there were an estimated 594,594 children between the ages of 6 and 18 years. About 73.5 per cent of these were then enrolled in schools. (As with African children, the dropout rate is high, but not to the same extent.)

On 13 June he gave enrolment figures for the first quarter of 1969 (including Indian children in the Cape Province):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sub A</td>
<td>95,988</td>
<td>19.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub B</td>
<td>79,045</td>
<td>16.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. I 72.087</td>
<td>14.70</td>
<td>8,618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. II 62.082</td>
<td>12.66</td>
<td>3,554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. III 53,468</td>
<td>10.90</td>
<td>1,976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. IV 43,063</td>
<td>8.78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. V 31,689</td>
<td>6.46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Sub-total 53,020 10.81
Sub-total * 437,422 89 19 Combined Total 490,442 100.00

DOUBLE SESSIONS
The Minister said on 16 May that double sessions operated in 915 classes, mainly Sub-Standards A and B, but in a few instances in Standards I and II as well. Altogether, 915 teachers and 30,295 pupils were involved.
In reply to an inquiry, the Commissioner for Coloured Affairs intimated that the school hours per week are 22 hours in Sub. A, 24 hours in Sub. B, and 27 hours in Standards I to V. In classes where there are double sessions the children spend four hours a day in the classroom and the rest of the time outside, doing subjects that do not require writing, for example oral work, diction, and physical science.

SCHOOL BOOKS
From the beginning of 1969 all Coloured pupils were supplied with text-books free of charge. This had previously been the arrangement in the Transvaal only.

EXAMINATION RESULTS
On 16 May the Minister told the Assembly that the examination results in 1968 had been:
3 Hansard 2 col. 721.
4 Hansard 18 col. 7956. Percentages calculated by the writer.
5 Hansard 14 col. 6014.
6 Letter 7/11/12 of 4 September.
7 Hansard 14 col. 6016. Percentages calculated by the writer.

COLOURED EDUCATION
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Junior Certificate</th>
<th>Senior Certificate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Percen-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candidates ..</td>
<td>7,101   100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st class ..</td>
<td>387      5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd class</td>
<td>4,171    58.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failed</td>
<td>2,543    35.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* There appears to be an error, tentatively corrected here, in the Hansard record of the total number of candidates.

Of those who passed the Senior Certificate, he added, 358 obtained university entrance passes.

COLOURED TEACHERS
Questioned about the number of Coloured teachers and their qualifications the Minister gave the following information:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualifications</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Degree with professional qualifications ..</td>
<td>528</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree without professional qualifications</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional qualifications without a degree</td>
<td>14,787</td>
<td>90.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matriculation or equivalent without professional qualifications ...........</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specialist subject qualifications</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No matriculation and no professional qualifications</td>
<td>533</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16,328</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Of the 1,880 teachers in post-primary schools, he indicated, 22.9 per cent had degrees and professional qualifications, 2.3 per cent had degrees only, 71.1 per cent had professional qualifications without a degree, 3.5 per cent had matriculation or equivalent without professional qualifications, while 0.2 per cent had not matriculated and were not professionally trained.

The Minister said that 3 Coloured persons were serving as assistant education planners, 4 as inspectors or assistant inspectors of schools, 5 as special subject inspectors, 1,826 as principals, and 453 as vice-principals. There were 120 Coloured persons on the educational administrative staff.

Early in 1969 two leading Coloured educationalists, Dr. R. E. van der Ross and Mr. S. V. Petersen, toured England to see modem teaching methods.

In reply to a further question the Minister said that, during 1968, 360 Coloured teachers resigned for reasons other than superannuation or marriage.

He gave the following information about pupil-teachers:

8 Hansard 14 col. 6018. Percentages calculated by the writer.
9 Col. 6017.
10 Col. 6019.

**A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969**

**Course**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lower Primary Teachers' Certificate</th>
<th>Primary Teachers' Certificate</th>
<th>Specialist course for trained teachers</th>
<th>Teachers' Diploma</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enrolled in 1969</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,166</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>612 148 91 136</td>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Qualified in 1968

399 224 150

24 19 13

These courses were described on page 255 of the 1966 Survey. In order to help to overcome the shortage of teachers, it has been decided that married women may attend training courses.

A national convention of teachers of science and mathematics was held during 1969.12

Salaries of teachers were increased by 10 per cent as from 1 April, while in 1970 those with the higher qualifications will receive a further increase of 5 per cent. The Cape Teachers' Professional Association stated that, in spite of these increases, the gap between the salaries of white and Coloured teachers had widened. A Coloured assistant teacher in a high school, for example, earned only 53.6 per cent of the salary of a white teacher with similar qualifications, in a similar post.

**PART-TIME CLASSES FOR COLOURED ADULTS**

The Minister said that, during the fourth quarter of 1968, 3,824 Coloured adults were attending part-time primary classes, and 2,843 were enrolled in part-time secondary classes.
SCHOOL EDUCATION FOR INDIAN PUPILS
EDUCATION ADVISORY COUNCIL
As provided for in the Indians Education Act of 1965, an Education Advisory Council for Indians is to be appointed by the Minister of Indian Affairs. It will act in an advisory capacity to the South African Indian Council.'

FINANCING OF EDUCATION
Some items of anticipated expenditure in 1969-70, extracted from the official estimates of expenditure from Revenue and Loan Accounts,2 are given below. They do not present a complete picture because the Cape is excluded, as are the salaries of the Minister, Secretary, and other administrative personnel who do not devote all their time to education, general administrative costs, contributions to pension funds, and certain other costs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Estimated expenditure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Erection of school buildings</td>
<td>R 420,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance of nursery, primary, high, and teacher training schools</td>
<td>R 10,865,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistance to M. L. Sultan Technical College</td>
<td>R 2,099,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistance to State-aided special schools University College: capital costs</td>
<td>R 539,500 37,500 3,510,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative costs</td>
<td>R 1,360,000 1,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bursaries for students</td>
<td>R 600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibles for schools</td>
<td>R 20,348,100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Included in the budget is about R40,000 for modem scientific equipment for high schools where physical science is taught to the matriculation level.

Unit costs in 1967-8 are stated to be:

1 G.N. R3674 of 7 November.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969

Primary classes .... ....... ....
Secondary and high school classes Colleges of Education ...... University College ..........
Cost per student
R 51 R 90
... R364 ... R644

EDUCATIONAL BUILDINGS
The Minister of Public Works said in the Assembly on 27 May 4th at, during 1968, R2,650,872 was spent on erecting 8 high schools, 12 primary schools, and 4 vocational and other schools for Indians, and in making extensions to 1 teacher training college, 16 high schools, and 15 primary schools.

ENROLMENT OF PUPILS
Questioned on 14 February and 27 May, the Minister of Indian Affairs said that no statistics were available as to the potential Indian school population, but that all those children in Natal and the Transvaal who reached the required age and applied for admission to school were accepted in 1968. The enrolment in these two provinces in 1968 was:

Class
Class 1 Class 2 Std. I Std. II Std. III Std. IV Std. V
Total primary
No. Percentage
15,708 10.1 14,156 9.1
19,692 12.7 19,211 12.4 19,922 12.8 16,403 10.5 14,612 9.4
119,704 77.0

Class
Std. VI Std. VII Std. VIII Std. IX Std. X
Total post-primary
Grand total
No. Percentage
12,518 8.1 9,876 6.3
6,683 4.3 3,989 2.6 2,692 1.7
35,758 23.0
155,462 100.0

Besides these pupils, the Minister said, 1,021 in secondary classes at the M.L. Sultan Technical College were enrolled.

DOUBLE SESSIONS
The number of classes in which double sessions are held is being reduced. The Minister stated on 11 March 7 that they were still operating in 598 classes of 90 schools, from Class 1 to Std. VI, and that 22,469 pupils were involved.

4 Hansard 16 col. 6692.
5 Hansard 2 col. 720, Hansard 16 col. 6692. Percentages calculated by the writer.
6 Indian children in the Cape attend schools controlled by the Department of Coloured Affairs.
INDIAN EDUCATION
EXAMINATION RESULTS

Examination results for Indians in 1968 are available only in respect of those who wrote the Natal Senior Certificate. They may write this examination on the "A" grade or the "0" grade. Those who choose the former, but fail to obtain an "A" grade pass, may be credited with an "0" grade pass if their marks warrant this. The preliminary combined results of the two examinations, as kindly supplied by the South African Indian Teachers' Association, were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of candidates</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;A&quot; grade pass</td>
<td>768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;0&quot; grade pass</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failures</td>
<td>998</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Full-time candidates only are included. Of those who passed the "A" grade, 250 qualified for university entrance.

INDIAN TEACHERS

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 13 June,0 the Minister of Indian Affairs said that there were 4,910 Indian teachers in Natal and 792 in the Transvaal. (There is a discrepancy of 30 as compared with the figures given below.) Their qualifications were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualifications</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Degree with professional qualifications</td>
<td>642</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree without professional qualifications</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional qualifications without a degree</td>
<td>4,172</td>
<td>72.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matriculation or equivalent without professional qualifications</td>
<td>387</td>
<td>6-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special subject qualifications</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No matriculation and no professional qualifications</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5,732 100.0

Of the 1,579 teachers who were in post-primary schools and teacher training colleges, 30.4 per cent had a degree and professional qualifications, 4.6 per cent a degree only, 57.0 per cent professional qualifications without a degree, and 8.0 per cent were untrained (2.1 per cent below the matriculation level).

Asked how many Indians were serving in senior educational capacities, the Minister said" that there was one education

8 Corresponding to the "A" and "B" streams in the Transvaal.

9 Percentages calculated by the writer.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969
planner, one professor, 14 senior lecturers, 43 lecturers, two heads of departments, 11 inspectors of schools, 303 school principals, 288 vice-principals, while 122 Indians were serving on the administrative staff of the Department's Education Section.

Questioned about student-teachers, the Minister replied12 that the following qualified at the end of 1968:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualification</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Post-graduate U.E.D.</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-graduate U.E.D.</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior Secondary Teachers' Diploma</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Secondary Education Diploma</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Primary Teachers' Diploma</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education diploma with specialization</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Teachers' Diploma in Commerce</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Teachers' Diploma in Home Economics</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Teachers' Certificate</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Education Diploma</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| There were 382 students enrolled for training as primary school teachers, he added, and 949 for training as secondary school teachers. A further 107 were doing a preliminary course.

Orientation courses for teachers of science, mathematics, Latin, infant teaching, and other subjects have been held during the year. During July there was a convention for teachers of science and mathematics. They receive further guidance through articles published in the periodical Fiat Lux.

ADULT EDUCATION

The Minister stated13 that early in 1969, 22 Indian adults were attending academic part-time primary classes, and 1,489 part-time secondary classes.

12 Col. 6691. 13 Hansard 6 col. 2527.

SCHOOL EDUCATION FOR WHITE PUPILS

FINANCING

It has not proved feasible to obtain figures indicating the expenditure on education for white pupils, since this is financed partly by the State, partly by the four provincial administrations, and partly from private sources. Unit costs at primary and academic high schools are not available, either; but according to the report of the Controller and Auditor-General for 1967-8, 1 per capita costs that year were R276 in commercial high schools, R408 in technical high schools, R574 in domestic science high schools, and R1,113 in teacher training colleges.

ENROLMENT OF PUPILS
According to a Department of Statistics news release on 4 August, the enrolment of white pupils at the end of 1968 was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of school</th>
<th>No. of schools</th>
<th>No. of pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Provincial</td>
<td>2,365</td>
<td>741,295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincial-aided</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>18,202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>50,993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,671</strong></td>
<td><strong>810,490</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Throughout the Republic, school attendance is compulsory from the beginning of the year in which a child attains the age of 7 years to the end of the year in which he attains the age of 16 years. A child may be admitted to school from the beginning of the year in which he will become 6 years of age if his birthday falls before 1 July.2

SOME NOTES ON THE SCHOOL COURSE

Government Notice R809 of 16 May rendered mother-tongue instruction compulsory for all pupils admitted from 1970 to Government and Government-subsidized schools, up to and including Standard VIII. After that, the choice lies with the parents. This had previously been the position in three of the provinces, but there was more latitude in Natal.

I R.P. 55168 vase 152. 2 G.N. 612 of 18 April.

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No Republic-wide information is available on the drop-out rate for white pupils; but the Transvaal Director of Education, Dr. A. L. Kotzee, said on 1 April3 that, of the approximately 140,000 pupils in Transvaal schools, 1,000 left at the end of Standard VI, 6,000 after Standard VII, 6,000 after Standard VIII, 4,000 after Standard IX, and 13,000 after Standard X. Another 5,000 pupils from commercial and technical high schools entered the labour market annually.

The "no-matriculation" experiment introduced in twenty Transvaal "project" schools was described on page 257 of the 1965 Survey. Pupils at these schools write internal examinations, and their progress afterwards will be compared with that of pupils from carefully selected control schools where an official external examination is written. As the first students in the project schools reached Standard X in 1967 it is too soon to judge the results of the experiment; but it is of interest that, of the 21 pupils in the Transvaal who obtained six or more distinctions in 1968, 16 were from project schools.4

The latest available comprehensive matriculation results for white pupils, for the year 1967 (including the results of supplementary examinations) have kindly been supplied by the Human Sciences Research Council. They include the results of examinations conducted by the Joint Matriculation Board, the Department of Higher Education, and the provincial education departments, and were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of candidates</td>
<td>39,637</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matriculation exemption pass:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st class</td>
<td>4,626</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd class</td>
<td>7,767</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

School leaving certificate:
1st class ... ... ... 1,642 4.1
2nd class ............ 16,242 41.0
Failures ... ... ... ... 9,360 23.6

WHITE TEACHERS
The National Education Policy Amendment Act, No. 73 of 1969, contained provisions for the regulation of the training of white teachers. For many years there has been a regulation in the Transvaal Education Department that teachers may not criticise in public any action taken by this Department. During 1969 the Provincial Council passed an ordinance to this effect, broadening the provisions to prohibit public criticism of any State Department.

3 Star, 31 March.
4 Star, 10 January.

TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING
AFRICANS
The various courses available to Africans were described in some detail on pages 242 et seq of last year's Survey. There are now thirteen Departmental trade schools (two of them in the Transkei), the Dube Vocational Training School run by the Johannesburg Municipality, and nine technical secondary schools (including one in the Transkei). Five of these secondary schools also provide trade school courses (thus are included also in the total of thirteen trade schools). From 1970, the Umlazi Trade School is to commence technical secondary training.

The latest available enrolment figures at the trade schools are at 30 June 1968. There were then 1,508 boys attending Departmental schools in the Republic, 192 at the Dube school, and 38 at schools in the Transkei. The courses being taken were one of the following: concreting, bricklaying and plastering; electricians and house wiring; tailoring; leatherwork and upholstery; plumbing and sheet metal work; cabinet-making and joinery; general mechanics; or brickmaking.

At the technical secondary schools, besides training in a technical subject the boys study three languages, arithmetic or mathematics, social studies during the first year, and workshop calculations. They then write a Technical Junior Certificate, and can progress to the Senior Certificate level. (Eleven boys were in Form IV in 1968 but none, as yet, in Form V). The enrolment as at 30 June 1968 was 501 at schools in the Republic and 185 in the Transkei.

In a speech made on 9 May, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Education said that a commercial subject may be taken as part of the curriculum at 56 schools, 19 of which offer such subjects to the Senior Certificate level. About 800 students were following this senior course, he said. Besides this, a commercial Junior or Senior Certificate is available at certain of the technical schools.

The September issue of Bantu gave the following enrolment figures in June 1968 for other types of Courses:
Technical training for young men

Engineering technicians ............ 17
Health educators .......... .......  24
Health inspectors ............ ....  50
Surveying assistants ... ... ... ... 4
Trade instructors ............ ....  27

'Information from Bantu, September; the Transkeian Education Department; and the principal of the Dube school.
2 State Information Office News Release.

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Vocational training for girls

Home management ................. 29
Dressmaking .................... 352
Spinning and weaving .......... .... 23
Arts and crafts ................ 23

A technical college is to be opened at Umtata in the Transkei during 1970.

As an interim measure, pending the establishment of full engineering training facilities for Africans, those who have a B.Sc. in physics and mathematics may be admitted to the engineering faculty of the University of the Witwatersrand. Four were taking this course in 1969.

The latest available information about the numbers passing the various courses was given in last year's Survey.

The proposed apprenticeship training for Africans, to be available in the homelands only, is described in the chapter dealing with the African Reserves.

COLOURED STUDENTS

Information about Coloured students was given by the Minister of Coloured Affairs in the Assembly on 13 and 16 May. 'There were 68 full-time and 320 part-time students attending the Peninsula Technical College, he said.

State technical and vocational schools, at Bellville, Athlone, Port Elizabeth, Kimberley, Johannesburg, and Durban, had a combined enrolment of 1,198 full-time and 713 part-time students. Then there were State-aided schools at Stellenbosch, Wittebome, Kirkwood, Aliwal North, Cradock, Flagstaff, and Port Elizabeth, with 1,035 full-time students. Four passed a technical Senior Certificate in 1968.

Part-time technical classes were administered by continuation class committees in Grahamstown and Pietermaritzburg: they were catering for 134 students.

The examinations passed by Coloured students in 1968 were:

N.T.C. 14 .................... 366
N.T.C. II .................... 184
N.T.C. III ...... ...... ...... 39
N.T.C. IV ...... ...... ...... .... 6
N.T.C. V .... .............. 1
National Technical Diploma ...... .... 1
Elementary technical certificates 85
Printing certificates .............. 67
Public Health Nursing Diploma ...... 11
TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING
INDIANS
The courses available at the M. L. Sultan Technical College, Durban, were described on page 250 of last year's Survey. New courses since introduced are those leading to National Diplomas in Accounting and Auditing and in Public Administration.
The Minister of Indian Affairs said in the Assembly that a high school was to be built at Lenasia, Johannesburg, at which the emphasis would be on technical education. The question of establishing a technical college for Indians in the Transvaal would be decided later: it would depend upon the extent to which Indians established industrial undertakings there and the need thus created for technical training.
No more recent figures than those given in last year's Survey are available relating to overall enrolment and examinations passed.
On 13 May the Minister of National Education said in the Assembly that the numbers of whites who passed N.T.C. examinations during 1968 were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.T.C. I</td>
<td>2,351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.T.C. II</td>
<td>3,378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.T.C. III</td>
<td>2,399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.T.C. IV</td>
<td>1,018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.T.C. V</td>
<td>640</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION
COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO UNIVERSITY AFFAIRS
The report of the Commission of Inquiry into University Affairs has not been published at the time of writing.

ENROLMENT AT UNIVERSITIES
The Registrars or other officials of the universities and university colleges have kindly furnished enrolment figures as at the beginning of the second semester of 1969. Full-time and part-time students are included.

University of:
- Cape Town
- Natal
- Orange Free State
- Port Elizabeth
- Potchefstroom
- Pretoria
- Rand Afrikaans
- Rhodes
Stellenbosch ... 
South Africa’ ... 
Witwatersrand ... University College of: 
Western Cape 
Durban ...... 
Fort Hare ...... 
The North ...... 
Zululand ...... 
Totals 
Whites Coloured 
... 7,218 282 
... 5,538 44 
... 3,858 ... 962 
... 3,701 ... 11,900 ... 916 
... 1,791 ... 7,526 ... 16,557 478 ... 8,583 20 
- 774 
... 68,549 1,598

The number of medical students included is the chapter on health services. dealt with in

DEGREES AND DIPLOMAS AWARDED

Questioned in the Assembly, the responsible Ministers gave the following information about the degrees and diplomas that were awarded at the end of 1968 or early in 1969:

2 Correspondence courses only. Of the total, 1,058 are from outside South Africa.
3 Hansard 14 cols. 5834, 5835, 6024. Hansard 16 col. 6689.

Asians
126 328
44
996 239
1,621
3,354
Africans
2
175
2,144
5
486 671 428
3,911
Total
7,628 6,085 3,858 962 3,701 11,900
915 1,835 7,526 20,175 8,847
774 1,621 486 671 428
77,412

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION
Whites .... .... .... ....
Coloured
University examinations 4 College examinations ... Asians
University examinations College examinations ... Africans
University examinations College examinations ....
Degrees
Post- Bachelors' graduate
2,296 6,245
Diplomas
Post- Non. graduate graduate
931 1.268
85 208 172
UNIT COSTS
The annual per capita costs of university education were given in the Report of
the Controller and Auditor-General for 1967-8.1 They exclude the fees paid by
students and, in the case of Fort Hare, the farm revenue.
Whites ... Coloured ... Indians ... Africans:
Fort Hare The North
Zululand
R 577 R 976 R 644
R1,490 R1,096 R1,418
STAFF SALARY SCALES
Details regarding salary scales were provided by the responsible Ministers in the
Assembly on 9 May. Some extracts are given here, relating to salaries after a 10
per cent increase had been granted as from 1 April. There is to be a further
increase as from 1 April 1970. The universities are permitted to supplement the
scales paid to whites by two notches, up to a total amount not exceeding 10 per
cent of the total expenditure on the standard scales. Salaries for junior and senior
lecturers are not quoted in the table below.
Lecturers
Whites:
Coloured Africans: Professors
Whites:
Coloured Africans: and Indians: and Indians:
R3,300 x 150--4,785 R2,790-2,880 x 120-3,840 R2,610 x 90-2,880 x 120-3,480
R5,280 x 300-R7,260 R4,800 x 120-R5,880 R4,200 x 120-R5,280
4 Students of the university colleges taking degree and certain diploma courses
write examinations conducted by the University of South Africa.
5 R.P. 55/68 pages 152, 251, 280, 308.
6 Hansard 13 cols. 5623-7.

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UNIVERSITIES AMENDMENT ACT, No. 67 OF 1969
The Universities Amendment Act provided that for most of the purposes of the principal Act of 1955, the term "university" will not include the universities serving the Coloured, Indian, and African groups.

As previously, representatives of the Departments of Bantu Education, Coloured Affairs, and Indian Affairs serve on the Matriculation Board. There will also be representatives of the Coloured and Indian universities, appointed by the university councils concerned, and of the African universities, appointed by the Minister of Bantu Education from panels of names submitted by the respective university councils.

During the Parliamentary debate Mrs. Helen Suzman (Progressive Party) pointed out that the non-white universities would be excluded from the Committee of University Principals and from making joint representations to the Government, together with delegations from white universities, in terms of powers granted by the principal Act.

UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE ACT, No. 50 OF 1969 UNIVERSITY OF DURBAN-WESTVILLE ACT, No. 49 OF 1969

These measures provide that as from the date of the commencement of the Acts, as determined by the State President, the university colleges for Coloured persons and Indians will become universities.

They will still have Advisory (non-white) Councils as well as (white) Councils, and may have Advisory Senates as well as Senates. (Discussing similar provisions in respect of the African colleges, described below, the Minister of Bantu Education said that the establishment of Advisory Senates would be permissive, because so far there were not enough non-white senior lecturers and professors to make the system effective. Advisory Councils, he said, were doing useful work in dealing with the interests of non-white staff, student discipline, study loans and bursaries and other matters.)

The Acts provide that the Rector and Vice-Chancellor of each college will be appointed, respectively, by the Minister of Coloured Affairs and the Minister of Indian Affairs. The Council will consist of the Rector, not less than eight persons appointed by the State President, and two members of the Senate elected by the Senate. The Advisory Council will have not less than eight members, also appointed by the State President. It will advise the Council in regard to any matter referred to it by the Council or any other matter affecting the affairs or interests of the University.

7 Hansard 6 col. 2476.
8 Hansard 5 col. 2051.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

The Senate will consist of the Rector, as chairman, two members of the Council elected by the Council, and such professors and lecturers of the University as the Council may decide. Until the Minister otherwise provides there will be additional members to participate in proceedings when the Senate is considering syllabuses, the standard of examinations, or the functions of external examiners and moderators. They will be one or more professors from other universities in respect
of each faculty of the University, appointed by the Council after consultation with
the Minister and the other university concerned. The Senate will control the
instruction given and the curricula and examinations.
If he deems it expedient the Minister may establish an Advisory Senate.
The Minister will determine the staff establishment, after consultation with the
Council. Subject in each case to the Minister's approval, the Council will control
appointments, promotions, and discharges of members of staff, salary scales, and
conditions of service. The Minister is empowered to take action if the Council
fails to do so in cases where serious allegations are made against a member of
staff: any such action by the Minister must be reported to Parliament. Existing
members of staff will be transferred to the service of the University.
No white person may register as a student. Other persons who are not classified as
belonging to the Coloured or Indian groups, respectively, and are not Africans,
from South Africa or beyond, may be admitted if the Minister approves. The
Council will not be obliged to disclose reasons for refusal to register anyone as a
student. Students may be required to live in residence. Fees payable will be
decided by the Government.
Until the Minister otherwise determines, the services of external examiners or
moderators will be utilized in such manner as the Senate may decide: they will be
appointed by the Senate subject to the Council's approval.
Regulations made by the Council require the Minister's approval: if this is
forthcoming, they will be published in the Gazette.
Annual grants will be made by the Minister from the country's general revenue
account out of moneys appropriated by Parliament for the purpose, or from the
Loan Account in respect of capital expenditure, on such terms and conditions as
the Minister may, in consultation with the Minister of Finance, determine.
UNIVERSITY OF FORT HARE ACT, No. 40 OF 1969 UNIVERSITY OF THE
NORTH ACT, No. 47 OF 1969 UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND ACT, No. 43
OF 1969
These Acts are similar to those described above except that they will be
administered by the Minister of Bantu Education,
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969
and that current expenditure will be financed from the Bantu Education Account
instead of from the country's general revenue. Fort Hare will cater for the Xhosa-
speaking people, the University of Zululand for the Zulu and Swazi, and the
University of the North for the Northern and Southern Sotho, Tsonga, Tswana,
and Venda groups. Again, non-white people who do not belong to these "national
units", from South Africa and beyond its borders, may be admitted if the Council
so decides and the Minister approves.
These Acts are to come into operation at the beginning of 1970.
DEBATE ON THESE BILLS
There were prolonged debates on the five Bills in the Assembly and Senate.
Introducing the Fort Hare Bill, the Minister of Bantu Education said9 that because
the State would have to bear the financial responsibility for the non-white universities for a long time it must retain a measure of control over their affairs. Senior members of staff of the university colleges, he stated, had for a number of years been working with members of other universities in drawing up syllabuses and acting as examiners, and had gained a wealth of experience. The Minister pointed out that the previous system of having Government and Council posts was being abolished: all members of staff would be employees of the university.

On behalf of the United Party, Mr. P. A. Moorei moved that the Bills be referred to a Select Committee before their second reading. All universities, he maintained, should fall under the Minister of National Education. The powers to be granted to the Ministers of Coloured Affairs, Indian Affairs, and Bantu Education were far too wide. Whites and non-whites should serve together on the same Councils and Senates: the system of nonwhite advisory bodies was rejected by the United Party. So was the provision for exclusive ethnic divisions. The composition of the Councils should be broadened. The revenue for the African colleges should be drawn from the country's general revenue, Mr. Moore maintained.

Other members of the United Party deplored the omission of a conscience clause, and pointed out that there would be little opportunity for exchange of ideas between the various universities at the campus level. Mrs. Helen Suzman opposed the Bills, and supported the motion that they be referred to a Select Committee before their second reading. The tight ministerial control they provided for

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

would mean that the proposed universities would not have autonomy, she said. She was not against the principle of granting higher status to the existing colleges when they were ready for this, but a searching inquiry should first be conducted by independent experts as to whether or not they had yet reached the necessary stage of development. There was a real danger, otherwise, that the degrees conferred would not be recognised in other countries for post-graduate studies.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF THE WESTERN CAPE

The Minister of Coloured Affairs told Members of the Assembly on 24 March that, by then, the University College of the Western Cape had hostels for 80 men and 20 women. Two more hostels were in the planning stage. There was a gymnasium, a modern swimming pool, four tennis courts, two rugby fields, a soccer field, and a netball court. Thus far, 197 degrees (including several Masters' degrees) and 247 diplomas had been awarded.

Later, the Minister said that land adjoining the college had been bought for the establishment of a medical school.
Questioned on 28 February,"4 he said that, of the 618 students enrolled at the end of the 1968 financial year, 416 had a matriculation or equivalent certificate, and 266 were in receipt of State bursaries. The staff early in 1969 was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teaching staff</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative staff</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF DURBAN

Work is progressing on the provision of permanent buildings for the University for Indians at Chiltern Hills.

Asked in the Assembly for information about the university college,5 the Minister of Indian Affairs said that, of the 1,325 students enrolled at the end of 1968, 1,143 had a matriculation or equivalent certificate, and 281 were in receipt of State bursaries. Early in 1969 the staff was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teaching staff</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative staff</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12 Hansard 8 cols. 3124-7.
13 Hansard 15 col. 6456.
14 Hansard 4 cols. 1578-9, 1594-5.
15 Hansard 4 col. 1594; Hansard 5 col. 1776; Hansard 8 cal. 3363.
215

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At the end of 1968, when there were 27 Indians on the teaching staff, one was a professor, four were senior lecturers, the rest being lecturers.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGES FOR AFRICANS

When similar questions were put to the Minister of Bantu Education,6 he or his Deputy Minister said that at the end of 1968, of the 1,378 students then enrolled, 1,012 had a matriculation or equivalent certificate. The bursaries that had been made available by the Department included 28 grants and 417 loans. (Further information about bursaries for students is given on page 227.) The staff in 1968 was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Africans</th>
<th>Whites</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teaching staff</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative staff</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12 Hansard 8 cols. 3124-7.
13 Hansard 15 col. 6456.
14 Hansard 4 cols. 1578-9, 1594-5.
15 Hansard 4 col. 1594; Hansard 5 col. 1776; Hansard 8 cal. 3363.

15 Hansard 4 col. 1594; Hansard 5 col. 1776; Hansard 8 cal. 3363.

 questioned in the Senate,7 the Deputy Minister said it was estimated that there were 3,300 African graduates in South Africa (including graduates from the previously open universities). A course in personnel management was introduced at Fort Hare in 1969.

The examination fees charged at the university colleges were revised during August.8 They are now R9 per course per year for bachelors' degrees or diploma courses (other than the U.E.D.), R35 for the U.E.D., R40 for honours' degrees, R30 for masters' degrees, and R60 for doctors' degrees. The laboratory fees per course per year are R5 for under-graduate and R20 for postgraduate students.

Dr. P. F. Mohanoe, a lecturer at the University College of the North, was awarded a Doctorate in Education in May.
STUDENT ATTITUDES AND ORGANIZATIONS
PROPOSED "ACTION FRONT"

Student unrest and demonstrations during 1968 were described on pages 258-68 of last year's Survey. It was mentioned that some student leaders were banned, or deported, or denied passports; that students had been interrogated by the police; that there were reports of police attempts to recruit student "spies"; and that the Prime Minister had issued several stern warnings to students who created disturbances.

Towards the end of 1968 Mr. Duncan Innes, then president of the National Union of S.A. Students (NUSAS) announced that at the start of the new university term there would be protest demonstrations against the action taken by the Government against certain student leaders. An "Action Front" would be formed within NUSAS; affiliated S.R.C.'s at the various universities would co-ordinate protests on a national scale whenever these were considered necessary in reaction to any further Government attacks.

The then deputy vice-president of NUSAS, Mr. Neville Curtis, again called for a judicial inquiry into the affairs of the organization. He maintained that its actions had consistently been within the bounds of the law.

RENEWED WARNING BY THE PRIME MINISTER

In his New Year message to the nation the Prime Minister warned that planned nation-wide student demonstrations would not be tolerated. He blamed the 1968 events on a minority group which, he said, would do well to reconsider its plans.

DISCUSSIONS WITH THE MINISTER OF POLICE AND OF THE INTERIOR

After giving considerable thought to the situation, NUSAS leaders decided to seek an interview with the Minister of Police and of the Interior, Mr. S. L. Muller, in an attempt to resolve misunderstandings. They wished to discuss the action taken against students, which had had an intimidatory effect, and to plead that if any of them had committed crimes or threatened the security of the State they should be tried in an open court of law. They wanted to reaffirm the democratic right of protest against actions with which they disagreed, but to emphasize that such protests would not be subversive of law and order.

1 Star, 4 December 1968.

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On 12 February Mr. Muller met Mr. Duncan Innes, Mr. Clive Nettleton (the NUSAS vice-president), and Mr. Neville Curtis. Afterwards the students issued Press statements in which they said they felt that the talks had been both
constructive and beneficial. While there were wide differences on principle, there had been no breakdown in communication: frank discussions had taken place. If difficulties occurred in future, negotiations would be conducted with the authorities, and only if these broke down irretrievably would protest demonstrations be organized.

A few days later renewed warnings to students were issued by two Cabinet Ministers, Dr. C. de Wet and Mr. B. Coetzee. Then, on 28 February, Mr. Muller made a Press statement about his talks with the student leaders. He had again told them, he said, that irresponsible actions would not be tolerated. He had said that NUSAS had "strange bedfellows" overseas, and had maintained that it was being used by communist organizations. He had given no assurances that decisions regarding the denial of passports would be reversed.

Mr. Duncan Innes then stated that the Minister's allegations about "strange bedfellows" had been based on an article and a pamphlet that had been published overseas. The Minister had assured the delegation, he said, that he did not believe the actions of NUSAS itself were subversive. He had confirmed that there were student spies on the campuses.

Two Rhodesian students who took part in demonstrations at the University of Rhodes during 1968 had been deported. Early in 1969 the Minister refused their requests to be allowed to resume their studies in South Africa. However, the passport of a South African student leader, Mr. Peter Behr, which had been withdrawn, was returned to him.

REAFFIRMATION OF OPPOSITION TO UNIVERSITY APARTHEID

The tenth anniversary of the passing of the "Extension of University Education" Act, in terms of which the previously open universities were closed to non-whites unless with special Ministerial approval, took place during April. Students at the white English-medium universities and colleges of education planned a week of demonstrations, public meetings and lectures to reaffirm their universities' pledge to work for the restoration of their right to determine who should teach and who should be taught. Twenty Sunday Express, 2 February.

3 Star, 12 and 14 February; Rand Daily Mail, 13 February.
4 Rand Daily Mail, 1 March.
5 Ibid, 14 March.

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four-hour vigils were held, the students bearing placards and torches to symbolise the principles of academic freedom and university autonomy.

Pamphlets were distributed to members of the public, who were invited to join students and numerous members of staff in signing petitions calling upon the Government to allow the universities again to accept staff and students without regard to race or colour. At the end of the week these petitions were handed in at the office of the Minister of National Education by student leaders from the universities concerned.
The Black Sash held silent poster demonstrations against university apartheid. A group of students and lecturers from the Universities of South Africa and of Pretoria handed to students of the University of the Witwatersrand a statement affirming the democratic right of peaceful protest and repudiating Government attempts to equate student disagreement on policy with disloyalty to the State.

It was mentioned on page 253 of the 1961 Survey that the University of the Witwatersrand inaugurated a "Chancellor's Lecture" to commemorate its stand against the curtailment of university autonomy. This lecture in 1969 was given by Lord Butler, former British Chancellor of the Exchequer and the then Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. He maintained that a free Press and free universities were safety-valves for the steam generated by modern society, and were vital to the well-being of a nation.

Many people had attempted to link the student demonstrations in South Africa with those that had occurred, over different issues, at universities overseas. The incoming Vice-Chancellor and Principal of the University of the Witwatersrand, Dr. G. R. Bozzoli, had shortly before visited a large number of educational institutions in Europe and the United States. He said, in a Press statement, that he found "no similarity nor any connection between our student attitudes and those in the countries I visited".

The Johannesburg Town Clerk gave permission for fifteen Witwatersrand students at a time to stand on a traffic island opposite the university entrance bearing posters with approved lettering. It was reported that a few students moved beyond this island and displayed slogans that had not received official approval. About thirty policemen arrived, seized the posters, and arrested six students, including the president and vice-president of the S.R.C. These students were released after they paid admissions of guilt.

Meanwhile, in anger over the arrests, other students moved out of the prescribed area, but were driven back when some 200 policemen armed with batons and accompanied by dogs arrived in troop carriers.

A few days later nineteen students, again including the S.R.C. president, were arrested for allegedly contravening railway regulations by distributing pamphlets on railway property. Their photographs and fingerprints were taken. After spending more than seven hours in custody they were allowed out on bail or on their own recognisances. Six paid admission of guilt fines. The other thirteen appeared in court during September, and were acquitted, the magistrate stating that in view of the unsatisfactory State evidence there was no justification for their conviction.

Throughout the week Witwatersrand students, bearing placards, stood just inside the university property, along a main road. It was widely reported that members of the police drove past frequently, on occasion shouting abuse. Members of the
public threw some black paint and a tear gas canister at the students. One night a large group of men, some claiming to be from the Air Force School of Technical Training, arrived, manhandled the students, snatched posters and piles of petitions, and set these alight with torches seized from the students. It was reported that after three telephone calls had been made asking for police protection, a policeman and a reservist arrived and took the names of men who had attacked the students. Subsequently, 26 Air Force trainees paid admission of guilt fines, while charges against 13 others of violence, or alternatively, disturbing the peace, were withdrawn."

The demonstrations went off more peaceably in other centres. It was reported that two thunder flashes were flung from passing cars at students in Cape Town, and that several groups of men, believed to be naval trainees, threatened to break up a vigil, but were deterred by police officers.

It was mentioned in an earlier chapter that the American Congressman Ogden Reid was invited by Witwatersrand students to give a Day of Affirmation speech during August, but was granted a visa to enter the country only on condition that he refrained from addressing public meetings. He then cancelled his application, but a tape-recording of the speech he had intended making was played to the gathering in his absence.

At the end of 1968 a plaque was erected at the University of Cape Town to record the "restriction on the exercise of our autonomy" that occurred when the Government forced the University Council to abandon its decision to appoint an African, Mr. Archie Mafeje, as a senior lecturer in the Department of Social Anthropology.

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NUSAS CONGRESS IN JULY
At the annual congress of NUSAS, held in Cape Town during July, the feeling was expressed that protests had achieved little, and that other methods might have to be adopted if the aims of the students were to be achieved. Attempts were made to define more clearly the spheres in which NUSAS was competent to act, and there was considerable discussion of a report that had been presented on suggestions for educational reform. A commission was appointed to consider this matter.

The congress decided that in 1970 the structure and function of NUSAS would be reviewed, and that meanwhile a wide opinionsurvey would be conducted among Afrikaans-speaking as well as English-speaking students."

Mr. Neville Curtis was elected president for the forth-coming year.

AFRIKAANSE STUDENTEBOND
The Afrikaanse Studentebond (ASB), which the Afrikaanslanguage universities support, also held its annual congress in July, in Pretoria. It was reported5 that
more than 90 per cent of the discussions were devoted to theoretical and philosophical matters such as Calvinism and Christian Nationalism, and were concerned with the identity, ethos, and direction of Nationalist Afrikanerdom. A standing ovation was given to Dr. Piet Meyer, Chairman of the S.A. Broadcasting Corporation, who was reported to have said that it was "traitorous" for Afrikaners to allow themselves to become diluted in a "broad South Africanism". There were attacks on newspapers such as the Beeld and Burger.16 The congress decided to make a study of what was required of a Christian National government. After a delegate said that the negative tone of discussions might have given a wrong impression, a vote of thanks was passed to the Prime Minister for his "positive leadership".

Mr. Johan Fick of the University of Pretoria succeeded Mr. Danie Strauss of the University of the Orange Free State as president. The views subsequently expressed by the ASB Executive on the question of contact with non-white students are given later.

THE QUESTION OF CONTACT BETWEEN
AFRIKAANS-SPEAKING AND COLOURED STUDENTS
As described in previous issues of this Survey, NUSAS is in favour of the affiliation to it of the S.R.C.'s of the non-white university colleges, and has invited non-white students to attend its meetings. The ASB has consistently declined invitations to hold mutual discussions with NUSAS if non-white students are to be present.

During 1968 the S.R.C. of the University of Stellenbosch dis-affiliated from the ASB. Many of the students who disagreed with this decision formed an Afrikaanse Studentevereniging at the university, the committee of which became affiliated to the ASB.17

The Stellenbosch S.R.C. set up a commission to consider the question of establishing some form of contact with Coloured student leaders at the University College of the Western Cape. After receiving the commission's report the S.R.C. decided that such contact would be undesirable. Its chairman, Mr. Pieter van Huyssteen, stated in a Press interview that personal contact, if established, would have to be broken off after university days. Continued contact would probably lead to integration, or at least would be regarded as an integrationary process. Within hours of the S.R.C.'s decision, 326 students are reported to have signed a petition calling for a mass meeting to consider the matter. The S.R.C. then suggested another solution: it declared its good intentions to the University College and proposed contact by way of correspondence. More than 2,000 students are said to have attended the meeting that had been called for, which was held on 6 August. There was wide applause for Mr. Dirk Hertzog, who suggested responsible personal contact on an official basis between the S.R.C.'s. A resolution was passed calling on a new S.R.C., shortly to be elected, to investigate the desirability of this proposal.18
It was reported on 13 September 19 that the ASB Executive declared itself in favour of personal contact with non-white students on an official level; but the president, Mr. Johan Fick, added that any contact should take place "in a spirit of segregation", and should be sought only when the whites and non-whites had to consult one another on specific issues.

A Nasionale Jeugbond congress held in September 1968 resolved that contract should not be established with Coloured people themselves, but with the Department of Coloured Affairs. Otherwise, a precedent would be established that could be exploited by "liberal elements". Through the Department, and books, members could gain all the knowledge they needed about the Coloured people, it was stated.

REATIONS AT THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF THE WESTERN CAPE

When the Stellenbosch S.R.C. announced its first decision that contact would be undesirable, the S.R.C. of the University 17 See 1968 Survey, page 261.
18 Compiled from numerous Press reports between 28 July and 7 August. 19 Rand Daily Mail of that date.
20 A youth organization affiliated to the National Party. 21 Star. 3 September.

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College of the Western Cape (U.C.W.C.) passed a unanimous motion expressing its regret at this decision, which was insulting and denied the opportunity for "two groups of people who have to live together to share in the social development of their time and place". A few days later the S.R.C. issued a statement in which it said, "Contact between any two bodies which have the slightest common interest is valuable. But contact between responsible institutions, the aims of which are entirely involved in the development, social and otherwise, of their time and place is not only valuable, but absolutely essential ... As a matter of course, this S.R.C. feels itself open to contact with any university or institution of higher learning on the basis of equality of dialogue".

There was, however, much resentment among the students. A mass meeting was held at which a motion was passed regretting the attitude of the Stellenbosch students because of the impression it created that the U.C.W.C. students anxiously desired contact irrespective of the nature of such contact. In fact, they were opposed to any contact on the terms offered by the Stellenbosch S.R.C.

In the following week, just after the mass meeting of Stellenbosch students, the S.R.C. of the U.C.W.C. issued a statement in which it said that, while making it clear that the S.R.C. was not opposed to contact between white and Coloured students, for any steps aimed at promoting a closer bond between people should be welcomed, it nevertheless rejected contact with the Stellenbosch student body in the way then envisaged by the latter. It had become increasingly clear from Press reports, it was stated, that "the motives for contact with this university college are totally unacceptable. We cannot accept contact if it is to degenerate into political missionary work on the part of Stellenbosch. Neither can we accept..."
contact within any specified framework. To us, contact means the exchange of ideas on social and political matters".22

EVENTS AT THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF FORT HARE
As described on pages 266 et seq of last year's Survey, there was serious unrest among the Fort Hare students in 1968, culminating in a "sit-in", after which 21 students were suspended for the rest of the year, and seven were convicted in court on charges of malicious damage to property, after they had been found guilty of painting slogans on the walls of college buildings.
The Rector, Professor J. M. de Wet, stated in April23 that 22 students who had played a leading role in the student unrest were refused readmission in 1969. A deputation from the Association for the Educational and Cultural Advancement of the African
22 Compiled from numerous Press reports between 5 and 14 August. 23 Cape Times, 14 April.

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People went to Fort Hare for discussions with the Rector about the future of these students. It was decided that those who applied would be granted certificates which would enable them to register as external students of the University of South Africa.2'
In the statement quoted earlier, Professor de Wet said that early in 1969, nine students admitted guilt on charges varying from serious assault to drunkenness and pregnancy. Eight of them had been suspended for varying periods, while the ninth elected to leave the college.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF THE NORTH
During February, the Secretary for Bantu Education refused the S.R.C. of the University College of the North (commonly known as Turfloop) permission to meet the S.R.C. of the (white) Johannesburg College of Education to discuss common student problems.
It was mentioned on page 262 of last year's Survey that several African students, including ones from Turfloop, attended a NUSAS conference in July 1968 on the role of the student in a modern university. Subsequently, the Turfloop University College Council refused the S.R.C.'s request for permission to affiliate to NUSAS.
A number of the Turfloop students planned to issue a statement in September 1968 associating themselves with the "sit-in" at Fort Hare, but the College Senate forbade this. In any case, according to the Minister of Bantu Education," the Turfloop S.R.C. itself decided that such a statement should not be issued.
Early in May a mass meeting of students was held at Turfloop, at which anger was expressed at the suspension of two students for the rest of the academic year. It was decided that a petition should be drawn up listing the students' grievances, which was reported2" to be that the S.R.C. had no meaningful status and little contact with the Senate, that it had been refused permission to affiliate to NUSAS, that students who had attended the NUSAS conference the previous July had been
forbidden to read their reports at a meeting of Turfloop students, and that the University Christian Movement had been banned on the campus. It was reported that this petition was signed by 354 students. About 400 students then marched past the Acting Rector's office while a deputation handed the petition to him. During these days the College campus was surrounded by policemen, who prevented any unauthorized person from entering. It was reported that this petition was signed by 354 students. About 400 students then marched past the Acting Rector's office while a deputation handed the petition to him. During these days the College campus was surrounded by policemen, who prevented any unauthorized person from entering. In the speech referred to earlier, made on 16 May, the Minister of Bantu Education stated that he was not prepared to allow 24 Rand Daily Mail, 18 March. 25 Assembly 16 May. Hansard 14 col. 6027. 26 Rand Daily Mail, 8 and 15 May. 224

STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS
the Turfloop S.R.C. to affiliate to "a controversial white students' organization such as NUSAS".

The Acting Rector, Professor F. G. Engelbrecht, is reported7 to have called a meeting of students and to have said that he was always prepared to meet any of them who might have grievances. He advised them to form an African students' organization. Mr. Duncan Innes, the then president of NUSAS, had previously been denied permission to address a meeting of Turfloop students. During the period of unrest in May he visited the college and had an interview with Professor Engelbrecht. On attempting to return the next day, he was stopped by the police, and was then served with an order debarring him from entering any Bantu Trust area in the Pietersburg area (where Turfloop is situated).

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF ZULULAND
The Deputy Minister of Bantu Education said in the Assembly on 15 April8 that twelve previous students of the University College of Zululand were not readmitted in 1969 because of misconduct during the previous year.

UNIVERSITY CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT
The formation of the University Christian Movement (UCM) and its aims, were described on page 261 of last year's Survey. Although it has been banned on the campuses of the African university colleges, it has a considerable number of African members, as well as students from the white and other non-white groups. The president elected in 1969 is Mr. Justice Moloto. Various conferences, missions, formation schools, and training courses have been held during the year, the basic aim being to try to work out meaningful Christian attitudes to social and theological issues.

The general secretary, Father Colin Collins, reported in May29 that a concerted process of intimidation was being conducted by the police against members of the UCM, "which is purely a Christian, non-violent organization of young people with basically the same aims as those of the six founding Churches". Many members had been interrogated by the police, and some had been approached to become paid agents.
In June, ten white students from Johannesburg were arrested during a service in a church at Sovenga, near the University College of the North, which was being attended, too, by African students. The whites were charged with entering a Bantu Trust area without permission. Admission of guilt fines were paid.

27 Rand Daily Mail, 15 May.
28 Hansard 10 col. 3959.
29 Sunday Times, 4 May.

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Faked pamphlets, purporting to have been issued by the UCM, were distributed on the campus of the University of the Witwatersrand in March, with the apparent object of bring the organization into disrepute.

OTHER STUDENT GROUPS
During January a new organization called the South African Student Contact International was formed, with an office in Stellenbosch. Its stated purpose is to contribute to mutual understanding among world students by a representation of South Africa as it is.

The Conservative Students' Association and the Independent Students' Union continue in being, as "non-political" organizations.

At a meeting of students from the non-white universities and seminaries that was held in December 1968 it was decided that they would form a South African Students' Organization (S.A.S.O.). The constitution states that, while believing that there should be but one national student organization in the country, representative of all the students, the members of the S.A.S.O. realize that owing to circumstances beyond their control it is impossible for them to participate in such an organization. Their main aim is to promote inter-student contact.

BURSARY FUNDS
STATE BURSARIES AVAILABLE TO AFRICANS
Questioned in the Assembly,' the Minister of Bantu Education said that during 1968 his Department granted non-repayable bursaries to 100 promising matriculation pupils, 251 students at teacher training institutions, and 28 university college students, to a total value of R34,700. Loan bursaries, totalling R41,734, were made available to 417 students at university colleges and to 25 student-teachers.

Bursaries granted to Africans by Government Departments were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Total amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Department of Bantu Administration and Development ......</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Health</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Higher Education</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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The Transkeian Government plans to spend R12,200 on bursaries during the 1969-70 financial year. Further study grants of R200 each are offered by the
Xhosa Development Corporation to Xhosa-speaking people who wish to take commerce or science degree courses at Fort Hare, including specified major subjects.'
The bursaries granted by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development are in the forms of loans to enable matriculated Africans in the service of the State or a territorial authority to qualify for more senior posts. They continue to receive their full salaries while doing full-time study at one of the university colleges. A description of this scheme was given in the November issue of Bantu.

BURSARIES AWARDED BY DEPARTMENT OF COLOURED AFFAIRS
The Minister of Coloured Affairs said on 16 May that during 1968 his Department awarded 1,021 non-repayable bursaries and 1,003 loans to Coloured students at teacher-training institutions, and 10 bursaries and 3 loans to other Coloured students. The bursaries totalled R100,675, and loans R109,735. As mentioned in a previous chapter, 266 students at the University College of the Western Cape were also in receipt of bursaries: the source of these was not indicated.

BURSARIES AWARDED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS
According to the Minister of Indian Affairs, the number of bursaries awarded by his Department in 1968 were:
Non-repayable Loans
School pupils .................. 2,105
Pupil teachers .............. 823 251
University College students5 ... 294 78
Other students .............. 104 21
Total value ... R192,046 R48,458

EDUCATION INFORMATION CENTRE
The Education Information Centre, with its office in the Institute of Race Relations' building in Johannesburg, continues to advise non-white students about available bursary funds and how to make application. Efforts are being made to encourage the establishment of bursary funds in outlying areas, where there is great need for this. Wherever possible, assistance is given to ex-students in finding suitable employment.

PRIVATE BURSARIES AWARDED TO AFRICANS
Questioned on 18 May,' the Minister of Bantu Education said that in 1968 3,424 bursaries were awarded to Africans by private organizations and individuals, to a total value of R169,445.

ISAACSON FOUNDATION BURSARY FUND
The Isaacson Foundation Bursary Fund, which is administered by the Institute of Race Relations, makes outright grants to promising Africans, resident in Johannesburg or within a radius of 40 miles, who have passed the Junior Certificate and wish to matriculate. Interest-free loans are awarded to Africans resident anywhere in the Republic who are taking degree courses other than medicine. From time to time awards are made to students at vocational training schools. Further, the secretary administers certain privately-sponsored university bursaries that are not repayable.

4 Hansard 16 col. 6691.
5 Lower figures, quoted in a previous chapter, were given by the Minister on an earlier occasion.
6 Hansard 10 col. 4273.

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BURSARY FUNDS
In 1969, 28 new loan bursaries, worth about R4,153, were granted to university students, while approximately R4,862 was spent on students who were continuing studies commenced with the aid of previously-awarded bursaries. New bursaries granted to matriculation students totalled 54, the approximate cost of these being R3,352, while about R3,141 was spent on continuing bursaries granted to 51 pupils in 1968. Seven bursaries, worth R500, were being administered for students taking technical or other special courses. The Fund was also administering 4 privately sponsored university bursaries, to a value of R875 in 1969, and 5 private school bursaries, worth R125. A contingency fund is maintained to assist students encountering unexpected financial difficulties.

RACE RELATIONS EDUCATION TRUST, NATAL
The Durban office of the Institute of Race Relations administers an Education Trust fund for Africans. During 1969, 70 bursaries were renewed and 60 new ones granted, the total cost being about R8,000. These are available to students taking matriculation or teacher-training courses.

OTHER BURSARY FUNDS ADMINISTERED BY
THE INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS
Bantu Welfare Trust
For some years the Bantu Welfare Trust has given an annual grant to the Isaacson Foundation Bursary Fund for school bursaries, for use as a contingency fund, and has awarded bursaries for nurses wishing to do post-graduate study overseas. From 1970 the Trust will itself award Donaldson Bursaries in fields not already adequately covered by other funds or official sources, for example trade and technical courses, or degree courses in pharmacy, engineering, agriculture, or dentistry. It also proposes to award scholarships for post-graduate study overseas.

Robert Shapiro Trust
The Robert Shapiro Trust gives loan bursaries for different forms of health training, for example the Diploma in Public Health, school bursaries for girls wanting to become nurses, and a bursary for medical training.

Gert and Irmgard Brusseau Bursary Trust
This Trust awards school bursaries for girls who want to do medical training afterwards, and a Brusseau Bursary to take a girl through the medical course.

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RAND BURSARY FUND
The Rand Bursary Fund, run by African teachers and sponsored by the Rand Daily Mail, assists Africans from the Witwatersrand, Pretoria, and the Vaal Triangle who are taking secondary school, teacher-training, or university courses. It administers an "Adopt a Child" scheme. In most cases small grants of between R20 and R40 are made to young people who, without this aid, would have to discontinue their studies.
Early in 1969 the Fund was assisting 1,127 students, while about 700 new grants were made during the year.7

SOUTH AFRICAN COLOURED ADVANCEMENT TRUST
The S.A. Coloured Advancement Trust is administered by leading members of the Coloured community in Cape Town. On 20 June a spokesman said that, in the four years of its existence, it had given financial assistance to more than 120 Coloured, Indian, and African students.8

HAJEE SULIMAN EBRACKIM MEMORIAL TRUST
It was announced in April9 that the Hajee Suliman Ebrahim Memorial Trust, administered by Indians in Pretoria, had awarded bursaries to eleven Indians to study medicine, one studying pharmacy, one doing public health training, and one preparing for a doctorate in philosophy.

ALIGARH OLD BOYS' ASSOCIATION
A fairly recently established trust fund in South Africa is one set up by graduates of the Aligarh Moslem University in India. Its primary object is to help Indians to obtain university education, but applications are considered from students of any racial group.

OTHER FUNDS
Comprehensive lists of the bursaries that are available to non-white students are available from the Education Information Centre, P.O. Box 97, Johannesburg.

HEALTH
MALNUTRITION AMONG AFRICANS
Various reports on malnutrition in the African Reserves were quoted on page 272 of last year's Survey, including one by Dr. Donald Mackenzie, the medical superintendent of St. Michael's (Anglican) Mission Hospital at Bathlaros near Kuruman in the north-western Cape. The malnutrition existing at Limehill is mentioned on page 121 of this Survey, where it is stated that visiting medical practitioners said that a serious health situation existed in many parts of rural South Africa. Among the causes were poverty, ignorance of food values and hygiene, and the use of incorrect methods in trying to cure illnesses.
On 10 May the Star reported Professor John Reid, head of the Department of Physiology at the Durban Medical School, as having said that a survey conducted in 1966 had indicated that almost half of the children born in a typical African Reserve in South Africa died before reaching the age of five years. Subsequently, on 15 July, the Star quoted a report by the Nessie Knight Hospital in the Transkei in which it was stated that 40 per cent of the African children in the districts of Qumbu, Tsolo, Mount Frere, Mount Fletcher, and Libode died before reaching the age of ten years, as a direct or indirect result of malnutrition. The Rand Daily Mail featured an article on 2 September by a reporter who had visited mission hospitals in Nqutu and Nongoma, in Zululand. The Charles Johnston Memorial Hospital (Anglican) at Nqutu, he said, served a population of 45,000 scattered over an area of 700 square miles, in which only about 1,000 people earned cash wages locally, half of these being employed by the hospital itself, in medical work or in the hospital's farming activities, butchery, bakery, and dairy. The Superintendent, Dr. Anthony Barker, talked of the widespread malnutrition. The population of the area was increasing because of the Government's resettlement schemes, but the land could by no means support its previous population. Preventive medicine was practised, but became fairly academic in such a poverty-stricken area. Doctors told the reporter that many of the child patients were products of broken homes resulting from the migratory labour system. The land was uncultivated, and the women left on their own formed loose relationships. Many men away at work in the

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969
white areas found new wives there and stopped sending money home. Malnourished people contracted tuberculosis easily, it was said. Malnutrition lowered intelligence, diminished initiative, and militated against ambition. It might cause permanent mental retardation or even mental disorders. A report in the Rand Daily Mail on 11 November highlighted another annual report by Dr. Donald Mackenzie of St. Michael's Mission Hospital in the Tswana area of the north-western Cape, fourteen miles from Kuruman. It served more than 120,000 people. It had 255 beds, shortly to be increased to 310, but seldom had fewer than 350 in-patients. There were just over 100 nurses, auxiliaries, and student nurses, but the only two doctors, Dr. Mackenzie and his wife, were leaving for personal reasons and no full-time replacement was available: a doctor from another hospital would visit St. Michael's when he could. In his report and in interviews Dr. Mackenzie stressed that the hospital was subsidized by the State and the Provincial Administration, and that the Department of Bantu Administration and Development was spending large sums of money on improving and extending the hospital and providing equipment. A new hospital was planned, to be sited near Kuruman.
But buildings and equipment were not enough. Resettlement schemes were bringing more and more people into an already depressed area, where there were
thousands of near-destitute families, widespread malnutrition, and actual starvation. Twenty-two small children died in the hospital over a 73-day period commencing in March: in 13 of these cases malnutrition or starvation was either the direct or a contributory cause.

The Government authorities had carried out an immunisation campaign against smallpox, Dr. Mackenzie said, and had immunised many people against poliomyelitis. But there had been no large-scale preventive work against diphtheria or tuberculosis: the latter was rife in the area.

Mr. H. S. van der Riet, the Director of the Department of Medical Missions of the Anglican Church, sent a letter to the Rand Daily Mail that was published on 18 November. He commented that the report on St. Michael's Hospital made appalling reading but was nothing new. "Our mission doctors in the Transkei, Zululand, the Transvaal, and South-West Africa, as well as Lesotho and Mozambique, have all said the same things times out of number. They have, inter alia, pointed out that while the conditions referred to are largely ascribed to poverty, periodic droughts, and, to some extent, to the system of migrant labour, much is due to ignorance, tribal traditions and taboos and prejudices among the African peoples themselves."

One of the main difficulties, he emphasized, was the lack of qualified people to staff hospitals and to carry the message of proper feeding habits and health education into the remote areas.

In a Press report published on 6 June, the mission secretary of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Church, the Rev. J. J. Siberhagen, stated that his church, as well as the others, was experiencing increasing difficulty in finding doctors to staff its mission hospitals.

During November, the division of Christian Social Action of the Witwatersrand Council of Churches planned to try to organize a flying doctor service to assist St. Michael's Mission until a permanent doctor could be found to serve there.

TUBERCULOSIS

In its annual report for the year ended 31 March, the S.A. National Tuberculosis Association stated that during 1968 there were 921 cases of tuberculosis notified among whites, 7,481 among Coloured, and 990 among Asians, all being lower figures than in the previous year. But the figure for Africans had grown by 2,500, to a total of 61,292.

HEALTH AND HOSPITAL SERVICES IN BANTU AREAS

It is mentioned on page 144 that the Department of Bantu Administration and Development is to become responsible for the control of all health and hospital services in Bantu rural areas, although the executive authority will be the Department of Health.

In a speech made on 9 May the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said that in the Republic as a whole there were then 75,871 hospital beds for non-whites. Of the total of 717 hospitals in the country, 76 were mission hospitals.
There were 50 hospitals in the African homelands, with 17,715 beds for African patients. An extensive building programme was planned for the next few years. Questioned in the Assembly on 14 March,2 the Deputy Minister said that during 1968 his Department completed two new hospitals in Bantu areas, with 2,100 beds, while four more, providing about 1,300 beds, were nearing completion. Over the past year alterations, improvements, and extensions had been carried out by the Department at 61 mission hospitals, making a further 1,000 beds available.

MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS

The Minister of Health said in the Assembly on 8 April3 that there were then 7,677 general practitioners and 2,344 specialists registered by the S.A. Medical and Dental Council, including some who were not practising. Their racial groups were not recorded. At the end of 1968, those employed in a full-time capacity by the State and the Provincial Administrations were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial Group</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Provinces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>1,662</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister added on 16 May4 that the Department of Health was employing 435 whites, 1 Indian, and 7 Africans as full-time or part-time district surgeons.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969

The following numbers of persons obtained the degrees of M.B., Ch.B. at the end of 1968 or early in 1969:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cape Town</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>117</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stellenbosch</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witwatersrand</td>
<td>86</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>332</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Natal Medical School reports that since 1957, when its first students graduated, 120 Africans, 131 Indians, and 17 Coloured (including one or two Chinese) had by 1969 obtained the degrees of M.B., Ch. B., while seven Indians and one Coloured had qualified at this School for post-graduate medical degrees. The Acting Minister of National Education said that in mid1969 the numbers of medical students were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cape Town</td>
<td>792</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>1,352</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stellenbosch</td>
<td>396</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(The figures for the University of Pretoria are inflated because applicants for the full course are finally selected at the end of the first-year B.Sc. course.)

The Department of National Education provides 120 loan bursaries a year for students at the Natal Medical School, worth

MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS
R350 for the preliminary year, and thereafter, R450 a year. All are for Africans except that, if there are insufficient suitable applicants, one may go annually to an Indian and one to a Coloured student. Consideration is being given to increasing the number of bursaries to 140 a year. Repayment of half of the total sum advanced is remitted if a student successfully completes the full course.

Until recently, Africans have not been permitted to attend medical schools other than that of the University of Natal; but it was announced on 18 November that those wishing to do specialist training that was not available in Natal might be admitted to the University of the Witwatersrand.

Two African specialists, Doctors M. J. Mphahlele and P. Mokhobo, and a Coloured man, Dr. E. Johnson, have left South Africa to take up senior posts in other countries because of the difficulty that, if appointed to such posts in the Republic, they might not be allowed to give instructions to white members of staff.

It was mentioned on page 278 of last year's Survey that much ill-feeling was caused when the salaries of white doctors employed by the State and Provincial Administrations were raised as from 1 April 1968, while no increases were granted to nonwhites. In protest, the non-white doctors at the King Edward VIII Hospital in Durban "worked to the rule" for a few days.

The Federal Council of the Medical Association supported their submission that doctors with equal qualifications, employed in equivalent posts, should receive the same salaries, irrespective of race or sex. The matter was raised at a meeting of the S.A. Medical and Dental Council; but the president ruled incompetent a motion that the Ministers of Health and of the Interior should be requested to receive a deputation.

It was announced during April that as an interim measure, pending the report of a committee that was investigating the salaries of professional persons in the public service, non-white doctors in State or provincial posts would receive 15 per cent salary increases as from 1 April. As from the same date, white doctors would receive a pensionable allowance of 6 per cent of their basic salaries, with a further 4 per cent allowance promised for 1970. The Minister of Health said in the Assembly that the Government had no intention of abandoning the three-tier structure of salary scales payable to whites, Coloured and Asians, and Africans, respectively. This applied not only to doctors, but also to nurses and other professional persons.

Before these announcements were made the non-white doctors at the King Edward VIII Hospital in Durban and the Living Assembly Hansard 13 col. 5353.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969

stone Hospital in Port Elizabeth held further short "work-to-therule" protests against the differentiation in salary scales. Messages of support were sent by non-white doctors in other centres.

Then, early in April, all the 156 non-white doctors at the King Edward VIII and Clairwood Hospitals in Durban and the Edendale Hospital in Pietermaritzburg announced that they intended resigning unless substantial salary increases were granted, the qualified doctors as from the end of May, and the interns as soon as they had become fully qualified. Similar action was threatened in other centres.1 Alarmed at the dire effects this would have on medical services and training for non-whites, various medical authorities made urgent representations to the Government, and asked the non-white doctors to defer their resignations for the time being.

Some of the doctors withdrew their resignations after receiving an "ultimatum" from the Natal Provincial Administration, and the others applied to withdraw them, or to be reinstated, after the interim salary improvements had been announced. It was reported" that the Administration reinstated all of them except for nine Durban men.

Revised salary scales were published in August, backdated to 1 April. Some examples of the top notches of the old and the new scales are:2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Indians and Coloured Africans</th>
<th>Whites</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Old Scale</td>
<td>New Scale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interns</td>
<td>R2,640</td>
<td>R1,380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical officers</td>
<td>R6,000</td>
<td>R4,320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interns</td>
<td>R3,840</td>
<td>R2,760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical officers</td>
<td>R7,200</td>
<td>R5,700</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The restrictions placed on African doctors in regard to practising in urban African townships are described on page 113.

DENTISTS

No recent information is available about the number of dentists in South Africa. In the course of replying to the questions referred to earlier, the Acting Minister of National Education said that at the end of 1968, fifteen white students qualified at the University of Pretoria, and fifteen whites and two Asians at the University of the Witwatersrand. Those in training early in 1969 were:

10 Rand Daily Mail, 2 and 6 April.

11 Star, 13 June.

12 From an information sheet published by the Natal Region of the Institute of Race Relations.

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FEEDING SCHEMES
University Whites Asians
Pretoria ... ... ... ... ... 294
Witwatersrand .......... 215 7

NURSES
White nurses in government and provincial employment received substantial salary increases in October, said to range from 20 per cent to 60 per cent according to qualifications and posts occupied, but no reference was made to the salaries of nonwhite nurses. Some of their salary scales were quoted on page 280 of last year's Survey.

The South African Nursing Association stated on 4 November3 that there was grave discontent among the non-white nurses, and it was to make urgent representations to the appropriate authorities on the question of salaries in general. In a Press statement14 the Director of the Institute of Race Relations, Mr. Quintin Whyte, said he was glad to learn that the Public Service Commission was giving top priority to the consideration of salary increases for non-white nurses and paramedical personnel. Continuing discrimination was a constant source of resentment and impaired racial relationships. The Government should proceed without delay to eliminate the gap in salaries for comparable work, responsibility, and qualifications. Mr. Whyte noted that non-white nurses had frequently distinguished themselves in South Africa and overseas, achieving high marks in specialized courses.

This year, for the first time, an African (who tied with a white nurse in the marks achieved) won the South African Nursing Council gold medal and the Kenneth Gloag medal. She was Miss Hellen Mthombeni of Durban.

SOME NOTES ON FEEDING SCHEMES
Some of the subsidies on foodstuffs made available by the Government were described on page 273 of last year's Survey.

One of its schemes is to subsidize the price of skimmed milk powder if local authorities are willing to organize schemes for distributing this to needy pre-school children. It was stated on behalf of the Minister of Health in the Assembly on 14 March15 that the Government spent R58,029 on this scheme in 1968: 1,160,583 lb. of the powder was supplied to 182 urban local authorities and 24 Bantu authorities.

The Government of the Transkei, where there had been a particularly severe drought, undertook a feeding scheme during
13 Star of that date.
14 RR. 151/69.
15 Hansard 6 col. 2523.
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A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969
the winter months. Fortified magou powder, which is mixed with water and drunk, was supplied every weekday, including school holidays, to more than 280,000 pre-school and school children in the worst-hit districts.'6
According to the Controller and Auditor-General during the 1967-8 financial year Bantu authorities in the Reserves of the Republic spent R51,274 on feeding schemes in their areas.
The Minister of Coloured Affairs said in the Assembly that needy Coloured school children are supplied with vitamin tablets. During 1968, about 4,500,000 tablets were distributed to some 44,500 children, at a cost of R3,984.
The Star reported on 24 March that Miss E. Mzazi of Queenstown, who is president of the National Council of African Women, is encouraging women to grow vegetables by a special method that an expert had taught her, designed to yield maximum results in a small area. Use is made of wood shavings, weeds, and grass to make compost.

According to its latest annual report, for the year ended 28 February, the African Children's Feeding Scheme (which is centred in Johannesburg) was then reaching 36,000 children daily in and around the city and along the Witwatersrand. It has established African committees in the various townships. It maintains 18 feeding centres and assists or runs schemes at 16 urban and 34 farm schools, and 16 creches. Nine vans tour the region, stopping at various places in especially needy areas to sell powdered milk and other protein foodstuffs at cost.
At the feeding centres and schools brown bread with peanut butter and milk are supplied at subsidized prices, but needy children are given tickets entitling them to free food. Organizers visit lower primary schools to obtain the names of such children, home visits are paid (13,879 in 1968), and the health of children who are queuing for food is watched.

Nutritional experts organize mothers' groups, seminars, exhibitions, and nutrition clinics. Nearly 700 food parcels were distributed to the poorest families at Christmas time.
All the necessary money (R198,958 in 1968) is raised from the public.

Kupugani is another voluntary organization which aims at teaching people of all races, but mainly Africans, what foodstuffs are essential for health, and then supplying them with fortified foods at subsidized prices. It is non-profit-making. Each year, protein-rich food worth about R500,000 is sold at centres throughout the country. Nutritious meals are supplied to various factories for their workers.19

16 Star, 8 April, and Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Assembly Hansard
12 col. 5158.
17 R.P. 56/68 page 599.
1 Hansard 12 col. 5162.
19 Star, report, 31 May.
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FEEDING SCHEMES

Descriptions have been given in previous issues of this Survey of the work of other organizations that provide feeding schemes, for example the Red Cross, the S.A. Council of Churches, the Save the Children Fund, the Congregational and other individual Churches, the Grahamstown Areas Distress Fund, and voluntary committees in large numbers of towns.
WELFARE

SOME NOTES ON HOMES FOR AGED COLOURED PEOPLE

According to the Minister of Coloured Affairs, there are two State homes for aged Coloured people, at Faure and Kraaifontein in the Cape, together accommodating 255. Four Stateaided homes, catering for 228, exist at Athlone, Oudtshoorn, Kuils River, and Johannesburg.

The Cape Peninsula Welfare Organization for the Aged is planning a home for frail Coloured aged people, at Bonteheuvel.

NOTES ON WELFARE SERVICES FOR INDIANS

There are no State homes for aged Indians, but two Stateaided ones exist, in Durban and Pietermaritzburg.

A first school for deaf Indian children has been established in Durban by the Natal Indian Blind Society.

Another "first" is a day care centre for mentally handicapped Indian children, opened in Fordsburg, Johannesburg, during April by the Johannesburg Indian Social Welfare Association (Jiswa), the secretarial work for which organization is carried out by the Institute of Race Relations. Its chairman is the Institute's Director, Mr. Quintin Whyte.

During June, Jiswa convened a widely-representative conference, attended by delegates from many parts of the country, on the extension of social welfare work among Indians. The organization has raised funds to provide the Indian township of Lenasia with its first ambulance.

NOTES ON WELFARE SERVICES FOR AFRICANS

As mentioned in earlier chapters, the Government's plan is that Africans in urban areas who are too old or disabled to work should return to the homelands.

The report of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development for 1967/68 listed eleven settlements that had been especially established in the homelands to cater for such people: at the end of that year they were accommodating 667 aged and 577 physically handicapped people. A few other such settlements have been established since. Most of them are administered by mission churches.

A description of a typical one was given on page 282 of last year's Survey. They cater for Africans who have no homes or relatives in the Reserves. Wherever feasible, aged or disabled people are sent to live with relatives in rural areas, being provided with pensions if they qualify for these. If there are no relatives who can take them in, they may be allocated rent-free dwellings in a homeland township.

1 Assembly Hansard 6 col. 2525.
2 Cape Times, 12 March.
3 Natal Mercury, 30 July.
Besides these settlements and townships, there are apparently some "transit camps". One has existed for some years adjoining the Mount Coke (Methodist) Mission Hospital in the King William's Town district of the Ciskei. Conditions there were originally primitive, but, according to the hospital's Medical Superintendent, have improved considerably. The inmates receive pensions and rations, and there is a clinic with a full-time nurse.

Considerable numbers of children are sent by their parents to live with elderly relatives in these settlements.

In 1962 the Mental Health Society of the Witwatersrand opened the Pumla day care centre, at Soweto, for mentally retarded African children. A second such centre has now been established, in the same area.

During 1940 the Margaret Ballinger Home for convalescent African children was started near Roodepoort on the West Rand. Over the years it grew into a mainly orthopaedic hospital catering for a hundred children. But in 1956 the area where it was situated was declared a group area for whites. Appeals by the voluntary organizers for an alternative site in Soweto or elsewhere proved fruitless. Eventually, the home was closed in April, the patients being transferred to their parents' homes or dispersed among various hospitals in the Reserves.

With the help of the African Self-Help Association, the organizers planned to start a day-care centre for handicapped children in Soweto.

**SHELTERED EMPLOYMENT**

Questioned in the Assembly,' the Minister of Labour said that State sheltered employment schemes were, in March, catering for 1,381 whites, 407 Coloured persons, 12 Asians, and 18 Africans.

The Department of Bantu Administration and Development conducts a training centre for disabled Africans at Elandsdoorn in the Groblersdal district. According to the Deputy Minister,' 77 persons were in training there during March. Further, there were 328 Africans in workshops for the blind at New Brighton (Port Elizabeth), Kimberley, Westville (Durban), Ga-Rankuwa (near Pretoria), and King William's Town.

**WELFARE SERVICES BY BANTU AUTHORITIES IN BANTU AREAS**

In 1959 the Government decided that, instead of then raising the rates of African social 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. Until and including the 1968-9 financial year Parliament voted amounts annually to be paid into this fund.

According to the report of the Controller and Auditor-General for 1967-8,1 at the end of that year there was a balance of R1,307,580 in the fund. During the year it had received R545,000 from the General Revenue Account, while R636,505 had been spent, mainly on feeding schemes, subsidies to welfare institutions, and clothing and blankets for needy Africans.
As mentioned in an earlier chapter, this method of financing is to be discontinued. Instead, in 1969-70, Parliament voted R5,000,000 for general services to be provided by Bantu authorities.

SOCIAL PENSIONS

Amounts voted

The amounts allocated for social pensions in the Republic's Estimates and Supplementary Estimates and the Transkeian Estimates, were:

Whites .......... R59,014,000
Coloured .......... R15,490,000
Asians .......... R 2,966,000
Africans .......... R16,372,400

No recent information is available as to the number of persons who are in receipt of pensions.

Whites

In his Budget Speech on 26 March, the Minister of Finance announced that as from 1 October the maximum basic pension payable to whites would remain R336 a year, but that the bonus would be increased from R48 to R60 annually. The means test would be relaxed. Earnings would not be taken into account in the cases of persons who had reached the age of 70 years. Below

7 R.P. 56/68 pages 589-90, 599.

SOCIAL PENSIONS

that age (from 65 years for men and 60 years for women), the first R240 a year earned would be deducted from the total earnings before the means test was applied in the case of old age pensions. In effect, then, the maximum free income permitted (provided that other assets do not exceed certain amounts) was raised from R192 to R432 a year for a single person if the full pension is to be payable. As the free income rises above this amount the pension is progressively reduced. As the calculation of pensions is a complicated matter, the Department of Social Welfare and Pensions has issued a leaflet clarifying the questions of assets, means, etc. (W.P. 581).

Coloured and Asians

Previously, single Coloured and Asian persons were permitted a free income of R96 a year if the full basic pension, of R72 a year, was to be payable. Provided that the free income and basic pension did not exceed the combined total of R168, an extra allowance of R108 was payable. But as soon as the total of R168 was exceeded, the extra allowance as well as the basic pension fell away. This abrupt drop did not take place for whites since, in their case, the extra allowance had been consolidated with the pension.

As from 1 October, however, a similar consolidation has been made in the cases of social pensions for Coloured and Asian people, too, and the combined annual amount (previously R180, i.e. R72 plus R108) has been increased to R186. The free income permitted if the full pension is payable remains R96. The effect is that Coloured and Asian people who qualify for social pensions will continue to
receive them at progressively reduced rates until their free income plus pension exceeds R282 (instead of R168, as formerly).

Questioned on 13 May, the Minister of Coloured Affairs said that, during 1968, social pensions were withdrawn from 106 Coloured persons on the grounds that the money was being misused, but were subsequently reinstated in 45 cases.

Africans
The means test for Africans remains unchanged, too, but as from 1 October the maximum pension payable was increased by R3 a year.

As described on page 285 of last year's Survey, an African's circumstances as well as his means are taken into account when the rates of social pensions are determined.

Details of the rates were published in Government Notice R3398 of 26 September. An African whose private income (allowing for means and circumstances) ranges from nil to R21 a year may be granted the maximum pension of R54 a year. This rate is progressively decreased as the income rises, until an income of more than R54 is reached, when no pension is payable.

The South African Legion has continued to press for pensions for African war veterans: at present, only old age pensions are paid to such persons, or ex-gratia grants to those who do not qualify for pensions but are in need. The Government maintains that Africans were not in combatant units, but a spokesman for the Legion said, "We who were there know what they did as stretcher-bearers, cooks, and ammunition carriers, and we also know the casualties they suffered and the awards they won."

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION
During the year under review, four further lists have been gazetted of names of persons to whom sums of money had been owing for more than a year under the Workmen's Compensation Act. They contained about 11,700 names, approximately 80 per cent Africans.

An explanation of some of the reasons why people do not claim money owing to them, and steps taken to trace such persons, was given on page 287 of last year's Survey.

In an issue of its weekly journal published at the end of April, the Garment Workers' Union of S.A. pointed out that excellent rehabilitation centres had been established for injured white workmen, but there was nothing equivalent for non-whites.

RECREATION
SOME NOTES ABOUT ARTISTS AND WRITERS
The 1969 "Art: South Africa: To-day" exhibition, organized by the Natal Region of the Institute of Race Relations in conjunction with the Durban Art Gallery and the Natal Society of Arts, was held in Durban during July. The artists whose works were selected for awards were Chris Bestall, Stephen Kass, Ulrich Louw, Louis Maqhubela, Sylvester Mubayi, Patrick O'Connor, Harold Rubin, and Andrew Verster.

During May an exhibition of ceramics made at the Art and Craft Centre for Africans at Rorke's Drift was held at the African Art Centre at the offices of the Institute of Race Relations in Durban.

Also in May, the Council for Culture and Recreation set up by the Department of Coloured Affairs arranged an exhibition of works by Coloured artists from the Western Cape.

During the year there have been two exhibitions in London of ink drawings by Dumile, and exhibitions in Johannesburg of black and white drawings by Enoch Tshabalala and Winston Saoli, and studies in conti and charcoal by Cousin Walaza.

Mr. E. E. Mkize won first prize in a Republic Festival bookwriting contest for his Inhliziyo Ingugu Wami (My Heart is my Guide). A recently-published book by Fatima Meer entitled Portrait of Indian South Africans received excellent reviews. Marcus Ngani has sold to the well-known actor, Ken Gampu, the film rights to his Xhosa detective novel Umqo L' Umphandle (You Stand Exposed).

Welcome Msomi of Durban, who writes and produces plays, is translating works by Shakespeare into Zulu.

THE PERFORMING ARTS

Under the directorship of Joseph Manca, the Eoan Group of Cape Town presented three operas in Italian in 1969: II Trovatore, The Barber of Seville, and La Traviata. The members of this "much-loved" Group are all Coloured amateurs.

One of their stars, the soprano Vera Gow, sang with the full S.A. Broadcasting Corporation's Symphony Orchestra at a recital in Coronationville, Johannesburg, during June.

The (Coloured) Witwatersrand Co-ordinating Cultural Council sponsored a production, in August, of John van Druten's I Remember Mama. A few weeks earlier a second play by Basil Somhlahlo, entitled Thembile, was produced in Soweto.

The Will Carr Theatre (named in honour of Mr. W. J. P. Carr, the retiring Johannesburg Manager of Non-European Affairs) is being built in Soweto. Its stage will be able to take a full-sized symphony orchestra, while the auditorium will accommodate 1,500 people.

It was mentioned on page 292 of last year's Survey that the (white) Johannesburg Operatic and Dramatic Society (Jods) had applied to the copyright tribunal for a licence to stage three American musicals without the consent of their authors. It was the first organization in the country to invoke the "piracy" provisions of the Copyright Act of 1965 in an attempt to circumvent a ban placed by an author on
the production of his plays, and the Association of Theatrical Managements
dissociated itself from this action. (The authors had objected to their works being
presented to racially segregated audiences.) The application made by Jods
succeeded: the judge found that, in the South African context, it would have been
unreasonable to refuse a licence.'
The playwright Peter Weiss refused permission for the touring Dryden Players
from Cambridge to stage his play Marat Sade before segregated audiences in
South Africa.
Explaining Government policy in regard to cinema audiences, the Minister of
Community Development said in the Assembly on 18 February that permits
were necessary for racially disqualified persons to attend cinemas in group areas.
If cinemas existed in Coloured or Indian group areas, persons of these groups
were not permitted to attend cinema shows in white areas. In country towns,
however, where no such facilities as yet existed for Coloured and Indian people,
and where they had traditionally attended white cinemas, applications for permits
were sympathetically considered provided that there was separate seating and
other facilities.
The strict censorship of films that may be shown to Africans was mentioned on
page 292 of last year's Survey. It was announced in August that Andre Pieterse
and Jans Rautenbach were founding a company called Film Trust (Pty.) Ltd.
which would produce films especially for Africans, using African actors and
scriptwriters, and training African directors and technicians. It would also handle
"acceptable" overseas films dubbed into African languages.
The Johannesburg municipal Non-European Affairs Department has sponsored
the formation of an 80-member symphony orchestra at Soweto, under the leadership of Michael Masoti. An African Music Society has been founded in Port Elizabeth.

HOLIDAY FACILITIES
The establishment of the Manyeleti Game Reserve for Africans, near the Kruger National Park, has been described in a previous issue of this Survey. The Sonop Game Reserve, also especially for Africans, has been opened since, on the Trust farm Rockcliff, near Dundee.
The Bantu Investment Corporation is developing a holiday resort for Africans at Umgababa on the South Coast of Natal, which will open during 1970. There is to be an hotel, chalets for families, dormitories for groups of young people, facilities for caravans and campers, a modern restaurant, and a wide variety of sporting and recreational amenities.
Another seaside holiday resort for Africans is to be developed in the Transkei by the Xhosa Development Corporation at a place yet to be decided; and there is to be a third in the Ciskei, near the mouth of the Keiskamma River.'
During April the Cape Western Region of the Institute of Race Relations produced a report on the beaches allocated to non-white people in the Greater Cape Town area. (It was pointed out that the whites constituted 37 per cent of the population of the area, yet had been allocated 75 per cent of the beaches, including the developed and more accessible ones.)

Since then, the Institute of Race Relations has published a booklet prepared by this Regional Office, entitled A Guide to Cape Town for Coloured People. Beach apartheid has now been enforced in East London: beaches for non-whites are some distance out of town, to the south.

It is mentioned in an earlier chapter that the S.A. Bantu Trust, the Xhosa Development Corporation, the Coloured Development Corporation, and individual non-white people have been buying hotels from whites in predominantly non-white areas, or building new ones. Increasing numbers of local authorities are building hotels in non-white group areas. It is reported that Morgan Savage Holdings of Durban is planning a national chain of economy-priced motels for non-white travellers.

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The South African Games
As mentioned on page 301 of last year's Survey, after South Africa's exclusion from the Olympic Games in Mexico City it was decided that Games would be held in the Republic, for whites from 15 March to 19 April, and for non-whites possibly in October. (Those for non-whites were later postponed, probably until Easter of 1970.) Athletics associations from overseas countries would be invited to send teams.

The venue selected for the white Games was Bloemfontein, where non-whites have for years been debarred from watching sporting events held in stadia or fields under municipal control. For some time there was doubt as to whether this rule would be relaxed for the Games: the organizing committee urged that this be done. Eventually the City Council agreed that non-whites would be admitted to those venues where temporary separate seating, toilets, and refreshment facilities could be arranged in time.

Some athletes from overseas did participate in the Games; but a number of athletics associations declined the invitation to send teams, among them the United States, Australia, and France. Only one person came from Britain. Teams from West Germany and Holland did arrive in South Africa but then withdrew.

The organizing committee made use of the five-ring Olympic symbol, and the Government issued a special stamp bearing the five rings. Strong objection to this was voiced by the International Olympic Committee's executive board at a meeting in Lausanne during March, for the reason that the Games were segregated and thus contrary to Olympic principles and ideals. The president of the South African Olympic and National Games Association, Mr. Frank Braun,
said that this association had used the symbol since 1960, to foster the Olympic spirit. There had never before been complaints.7

Cricket in South Africa

It was announced in May that the (white) S.A. Cricket Association was to set aside a sum of R50,000 to assist the development of non-white cricket in South Africa, but the (non-white) S.A. Cricket Board of Control was not officially notified of this until November. A notarial trust deed was, meanwhile, being prepared.

Mr. Arthur Coy, convenor of the (white) selection panel told a reporter on 9 November8 that one of the selectors would attend the non-white inter-provincial tournament in December to assess the standard of play. There was no question of any non-whites being selected for a Springbok team, but the possibility had been raised that a non-white team might be sent on an overseas tour, or that a team from Britain made up of West Indian, Indian, or Pakistani players might be invited to South Africa.

On 15 November, however, Mr. Hassan Howa, vice-president of the non-white Board of Control, told a Star reporter that his Board had not been officially told about the R50,000 trust fund, but in any case would reject the offer. Money was certainly needed, but the Board felt that this had been offered "as a bribe to keep us quiet on the real issue, which is our drive to have our cricketers recognized and given a chance of selection for a Springbok side".

Mr. Jack Cheetham, president of the Cricket Association, stated that he felt the Board had gained a wrong impression, due to an inaccurate Press report of a remark by a member of the Association. The trust deed had now been executed, and copies would be sent to both controlling bodies. He hoped that joint discussions might thereafter be arranged.

Tennis in South Africa

It was announced in June9 that the S.A. National Lawn Tennis Union, representing non-white players, had become a federal member of the (white) S.A. Lawn Tennis Union and would have full voting powers on the latter's council, and, through it, would become affiliated to the International Lawn Tennis Federation.

In July, the president of the white body, Mr. Alf Chalmers, said10 the Government had agreed that any non-white player who was good enough could be included in a Springbok Davis Cup team. An overseas team that included non-whites would be welcome to compete in any Davis Cup matches that might be played in South Africa. It was not clear as yet what the Government's attitude would be if an individual non-white player from abroad wished to compete in South African championships.

In mid-1969 a team of six non-white tennis players from the Republic toured Britain and several West European countries to play in various fixtures.
The attitude of the International Lawn Tennis Federation to these arrangements has not been made known. It decided at Mexico City that before the question of South Africa's continued membership was decided it would investigate what efforts were being made to encourage tennis among the non-white citizens. Its further consideration of this matter is mentioned later.

At the time of going to press the question of the participation of the leading American player, Mr. Arthur Ashe, in the South African tennis championships in March 1970 had not been decided. He is a Negro. Leading white players in the Republic formed a South African Tennis Players' Association which passed a resolution expressing the wish that he should participate. In a Press statement issued early in December, South Africa's Minister of Sport, Mr. Frank W. Waring, indicated that if Mr. Ashe applied for a visa to enter the Republic this would be refused because, by his previous statements and actions, he had shown an unfriendly and threatening attitude towards South Africa, and was likely, if he came, to engage in political activities. The legal representative of Mr. Ashe commented that his client had stated several times that he wished to go to South Africa solely to play tennis. It was disclosed on 11 December that the S.A. Lawn Tennis Union had officially accepted Mr. Ashe's entry for its championships, and as early as 10 November had made the strongest possible representations to the Government that he should be granted a visa if and when his application was received.

Inter-racial soccer and boxing in Swaziland

The prominent white soccer team, Highlands Park, arranged to play a match against the (African) Orlando Pirates team in Swaziland at the end of August; but the Minister of the Interior announced that the Government would prevent this by refusing or withdrawing passports. Several boxing tournaments have been held in Swaziland including both white and non-white competitors from the Republic; but on 23 August the Minister of Sport and Recreation announced that if promoters persisted in arranging mixed tournaments, in contravention of the Government's policy, travel documents would be refused.

Olympic Games

As recorded in previous Surveys, various African and Communist countries have for years been urging that South Africa be expelled from the Olympic movement. The International Olympic Committee (I.O.C.) has reached no decision on this question; but South Africa was not permitted to participate in the Games in Tokyo in 1964 or in Mexico City in 1968. The question of South Africa's continued membership was again raised at I.O.C. meetings in Warsaw and in Yugoslavia during 1969. It was reported that at the latter meeting the African delegates threatened a walk-out unless the South African and Rhodesian representatives were barred from the meeting, but that these representatives solved the matter by stepping down to the role of observers.
The I.O.C. decided by majority vote to defer a final decision until its meeting to be held in Amsterdam during May 1970.

Renewed policy statement by the Prime Minister
In the Assembly on 21 April the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, said, "If any other country, or the representatives of any sport, want to put it to us as a condition that they will only maintain sports relations with us provided we allow mixed sport here in South Africa among our own people, then these sports relations will immediately be broken off."

Mounting opposition overseas to South Africa's racial policy in sport
Following the "D'Oliveira affair" (over which there continued to be controversy in Britain and the assertion of different versions), a motion was put to a meeting of members of the M.C.C. in December 1968 that no further tours to or from South Africa be undertaken until evidence could be shown of progress in the Republic towards non-racial cricket. This motion was defeated by 4,664 votes to 1,214."

During January, the All-England Netball Association cancelled an invitation to tour Britain that had previously been extended to the S.A. Women's Netball Association. They sent a letter stating that "we know that it is not possible for you to select a team from all sections of your community".

At a meeting of the International Lawn Tennis Federation held in Prague during July, Sweden, backed by African, Communist, and certain other countries, moved that it be incorporated in the rules that countries with racial, religious, or politically discriminatory laws be excluded from I.L.T.F.-sanctioned tournaments. But a compromise motion was eventually adopted, leaving it to the I.L.T.F. committee, by a two-thirds vote, to suspend any tennis association which in the committee's opinion did not adequately represent the game in its country or practised discrimination. During December, the committee decided to introduce a rule permitting the refusal of entries in Davis Cup tournaments.

Shortly afterwards, anti-apartheid demonstrators in Bristol halted play for a time in a Davis Cup match between Robert Maud of South Africa and Graham Stilwell of Britain by throwing flour on to the court.

At about the same time the South African Wilfred Isaacs Cricket XI was touring Britain. Anti-apartheid demonstrations took place at a number of fixtures. Demonstrators rushed on to the field at a match at Oxford and sat down on the pitch. There was a similar occurrence during a match at The Oval, when stones were flung over the pitch. Smoke-bombs were thrown at
13 Hansard 11 cols. 4405-6.
15 Rand Daily Mail, 6 December 1968.
16 Ibid, 10 July, and Sunday Times, 20 July.

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the wicket in the course of a match at Dublin. In each case the police, sometimes after summoning reinforcements, ejected the demonstrators, enabling play to be resumed.'7

World modern Pentathlon championships were held in Budapest in September. Although the International Pentathlon Association had informed Hungary that all affiliated memberorganizations, including South Africa, must be invited, the Hungarian Government refused to grant visas to the South Africans. Australia withdrew in protest against this violation of the Association's rules.18

At a meeting held in Warsaw, also in September, the World Weightlifting Federation decided, by 27 votes to 8, with 2 abstentions, to suspend South Africa's membership until such time as it was able to comply with this Federation's rules forbidding racial discrimination. As a result, South African weightlifters (like its soccer and judo players, fencers, boxers, and in effect, table tennis players) are precluded from participation in international competitions under the auspices of the bodies controlling the sports concerned.19

Both Australia and New Zealand have applied to act as hosts for the Commonwealth Games to be held in 1974. It was announced in December that the New Zealand Amateur Athletics Association had decided not to proceed with plans to invite a South African athletics team to tour its country in January 1970, for this might prejudice New Zealand's chances of having the Games staged in Christchurch. The report stated that the Secretary of the Commonwealth Games Federation had warned Australia that its application to have the Games held in Melbourne might be refused if proposals for a swimming tour of South Africa were not abandoned.

Stop the 'Seventy Tour Committee (S.T.S.T.)

In September, eight anti-apartheid groups in Britain jointly formed a "Stop the Seventy Tour Committee" to try to induce the M.C.C. to cancel its invitation to South Africa to send a touring team in 1970. The groups concerned were the Anti-Apartheid Movement, the Movement for Colonial Freedom, the National Union of Students, Sanroc,20 Peace and Equality Among the Races, the Young Liberals, the United Nations Student Association, and the Reading Anti-Apartheid Movement."

It was reported22 that support might be forthcoming, too, from a West Indian Human Rights Association that had recently been formed in Britain.

17 Various Press reports, 10 to 20 July.
18 Sunday Express, 7 September.
19 Rand Daily Mail, 20 September.
20 The S.A. Non-Racial Open Committee.
21 Ibid, 11 September.
22 Sunday Express, 7 September.
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Speaking in his personal capacity Mr. Denis Howell, the British Minister of Sport, said he thought that the Springbok cricketers should not come in 1970. His main objection was South Africa's ban on Basil D'Oliveira in 1968. He had no time for any sport based on racial considerations, he said. There would be a lot of trouble if the Springboks came.3

Following a tour by Denis Brutus of Sanroc, "Care" in New Zealand (the Citizens' Association for Racial Equality) has extended its activities; "Hart" has been formed in that country (Halt all Racist Tours); and "Caris" established in Australia (Council Against Racialism in Sport).

Springbok Rugby tour in 1969

A Springbok rugby team arrived in Britain during October, and, from the start, there were serious disturbances at every match. A new venue had to be found for the first one as it was feared that the ground originally chosen could not be adequately protected by the police.

At the start of the tour the S.T.S.T. issued a warning that large numbers of people who did not belong to its constituent organizations might join in the demonstrations, and that it might not be able to contain the situation.

Various tactics were employed. Demonstrators dodged strong forces of policemen to rush on to the fields (it was reported that, at various times during a match at Twickenham on 22 November, 191 demonstrators were removed from the field). "Pitched battles" are said to have taken place between policemen and demonstrators. The latter threw smoke bombs, blew whistles to distract the players, and scattered broken glass over a ground where Scottish trials were to be held. It was reported24 that after the Twickenham match against London Counties, more than a thousand demonstrators, joined by Mao Communists, marched on the police station to protest against police action. High praise for the police was, however, expressed by many people. (It is said25 that 92 per cent of the British public disapproved of demonstrations that interfere with play.)

The London Daily Mail estimated on 10 November that police protection throughout the Springbok tour might cost the British ratepayers some R426,000. Some British Members of Parliament asked the Government to consider terminating the tour. Speaking in the House of Commons, however, the Home Secretary, Mr. James Callaghan, said that any decision was a matter for the rugby unions. He announced that he had ordered a conference of police chiefs from areas where the Springboks had still to play to discuss ways of best handling demonstrations. "If I may express a personal view," he added, "I would not go to see them (the Springboks) because I object to South Africa sending a totally white team to this country."
A Springbok match against Ulster in Belfast was cancelled. Violent demonstrations took place outside the White City stadium near Manchester on 26 November, when, it was reported, extremists led many hundreds of people in repeated charges against police lines.
There were further demonstrations at subsequent matches: in the main the police, present in strength, confined these to areas outside the stadia, but play was on occasion interrupted when demonstrators managed to evade the police and rush on to the field. A match to be played at Bournemouth was cancelled because the police could not guarantee adequate protection. During December, trade unionists in Eire made plans for obstructing a visit by the Springboks in January.
Decision by the M.C.C.
It was announced on 12 December that the M.C.C. had decided that the Springbok cricket tour in 1970 should not be cancelled.
Golf
There was again difficulty in finding a venue for the annual non-white South African golf championships, held in December. So far, none of the three or four courses being constructed in nonwhite group areas is of adequate standard.
The organizers of the (white) Kimberley Golf Club offered the use of their course, but members objected when it transpired that a condition of the Government permit was that during the championships they would not be allowed to enter their clubhouse, although the non-white competitors were not proposing to ask to use it.
Eventually members of the Benoni and the Ohenimuri Country Clubs agreed to forego the use of their clubhouses as well as their courses for two days each while the non-white championships were in progress.
Possible All Black tour of South Africa in 1970
The Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, has adhered to the statement he made in April 1967 that he would not prescribe to New Zealand rugby administrators what the composition of their teams should be, but would leave the matter to their own sound judgment. Maoris had, in the past, been included in touring teams, and no problems had arisen. He had advised rugby officials in

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South Africa to word the invitations for a 1970 tour precisely as it had done in the past.
In a statement made on 2 September, South Africa's Minister of Sport, Mr. F. W. Waring, said that if a 1970 All Black team included Maori players this would be acceptable "because our sports relations with New Zealand have been on this basis in the past". Any Maori players selected would be welcome in South Africa. The question then arose of New Zealand tourists who might come to the Republic to watch the matches. The South African Consul-General in Wellington, Mr. H. Phillip, assured the New Zealand Maori Council that he had been officially authorized to state that all members of supporting groups, after having obtained the necessary visas, would be treated on exactly the same basis."
But the matter was somewhat complicated by statements by other Cabinet Ministers. When addressing a National Party meeting on 21 November the Minister of Information and of Immigration, Dr. C. P. Mulder, said that the Prime Minister had imposed three conditions for the tour:

(a) politics should be kept out of sport and the team selection should not be politically influenced;

(b) sport should not be used as the thin edge of the wedge for other motives;

(c) the side selected by New Zealand should not create any internal difficulties for the Government in South Africa.

At another political meeting the Minister of Police and of the Interior, Mr. S. L. Muller, said that South Africa could not make herself look ridiculous in the eyes of the world by refusing to admit "a certain number of New Zealanders with Maori blood" as All Black rugby supporters. But the Government would have full control of the situation because all visitors would require visas. It would have to take action against "a massive influx of foreign non-white spectators". But he did not believe that this would be necessary.

It is widely reported that there is a growing feeling in New Zealand that the tour should not be undertaken. The powerful Federation of Labour has expressed its opposition.

26 Rand Daily Mail, 15 March.
27 Ibid, 22 November.
28 Ibid, 26 September.

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ACTION BY THE UNITED NATIONS

The plan by the United Nations Secretary-General, U Thant, to send a personal representative to South-West Africa to obtain information, and the conditions stipulated by South Africa, were mentioned on page 304 of last year's Survey. It was announced in the Republic's House of Assembly on 28 February that U Thant's plan had not been pursued.

On 17 December 1968, by 96 votes to 2 (South Africa and Portugal), with 16 abstentions, the United Nations' General Assembly reiterated its condemnation of South Africa for refusing to relinquish control of South-West Africa, and asked the Security Council to "take all effective measures" to oust the Republic. Among those abstaining were Britain and Canada. The British representative, Lord Caradon, again advised against proposals that were beyond the capacity of the United Nations, since, he said, they not only raised false hopes among the people of South-West Africa, but by their ineffectiveness encouraged the South African Government to pursue "the oppressive and objectionable measures which we all condemn". The Canadian delegate maintained that approaches adopted by the United Nations had often "shown little recognition of the realities".2

During January the U.N. eleven-nation Council on Namibia appointed a three-man delegation to go to Africa to arrange for the issue of special international travel documents for citizens of South-West Africa.
A meeting of the Security Council had been called for 20 March. A few hours beforehand, South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Hilgard Muller, was given leave to make a special statement in the South African Senate. He attacked the Security Council for its concern with South-West African affairs at a time "when international situations of really dangerous dimensions abound". There was no legal basis, he maintained, for the activities of the "so-called Council for South-West Africa", nor for Security Council intervention. Such actions were not only illegal, but totally unrealistic.

South Africa had furnished full information about progress
1 Hansard 4 col. 1584.
2 Star, 17 November 1968.
3 Senate Hansard 5 cots. 1052-61.

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made in the territory, Dr. Muller continued. Yet the United Nations took no interest in facts favourable to South Africa, while "automatically accepting as gospel" allegations of tyranny. He reaffirmed his Government's determination not to abdicate its responsibility towards the peoples entrusted to its care.

The issue of special travel documents would "not only be illegal but patently ridiculous", Dr. Muller said. These were obviously intended mainly for "terrorists and agitators," most of whom had left the country illegally, and the documents would not be recognized in the Republic nor in South-West Africa.

With the support of 13 of its 15 members, the Security Council condemned South Africa for maintaining illegal control over South-West Africa in defiance of the United Nations, and resolved that if South Africa still refused to withdraw the Council would meet again to consider further action. By abstaining from voting, Britain and France indicated that they would not endorse "further action" that might call for mandatory sanctions or military intervention under Article Seven of the U.N. Charter. The United States' representative, Mr. Charles W. Yost, although supporting the condemnation of South Africa, said that sanctions would most likely be ineffective and could worsen the situation for the South-West Africans themselves.4

Another meeting of the Security Council to consider the question took place on 12 August. Eleven members, including the African, Asian and Latin American countries, voted for a resolution setting 4 October as the deadline for the withdrawal of the South African administration from the territory. Failing withdrawal, the Council would meet again to decide upon "effective measures" as provided for in the United Nations Charter. The United States, Britain, France, and Finland abstained from voting.

On 2 October, Dr. Hilgard Muller handed to U Thant the reply by South Africa, together with a detailed report on the administration of the territory and the attitudes of people there. The statement concluded, "On no account will we abandon the people of South-West Africa, who for half a century have placed their trust in us to lead them on the path of progress, peace and stability".5

The question was again considered by the General Assembly on 1 December, when once more it asked the Security Council to take "appropriate measures" to
effect the withdrawal of South Africa from the territory. The vote was 92 to 2 (South Africa and Portugal), with 10 abstentions, among those abstaining being the United States, Britain and France. The president of the Security Council stated that he hoped that the Council would consider this resolution before the end of the month.

4 Star, 21 March.
S Rand Daily Mail, 13 August.
6 [bid, 3 October.

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SOUTH-WEST AFRICA AFFAIRS ACT, No. 25 OF 1969
This measure was practically the same as one introduced in 1968 but not then taken further than its first reading. Certain matters had previously been reserved to the Government of the Republic: these included defence and security, police, foreign affairs, Native affairs, transport, the Interior, information, immigration, customs and excise, currency and banking, and audit.

In terms of the new Act, the South African Government took over a large number of other matters, including Coloured affairs, the administration of justice (except for contraventions of Legislative Assembly Ordinances), prisons, the control of arms and explosives, labour affairs, water affairs, posts, telegraphs, telephones, and radio services, mining, agriculture and forestry, fishing, the control of publications and entertainments, taxation of companies (but not of white individuals), matters relating to riotous assemblies and the engendering of feelings of hostility between persons of different racial groups, social welfare, and numbers of other matters.

The Legislative Assembly continues to be responsible for the 'education of whites and, in the white area only, for local authorities, roads and works, health services, licensing, and other matters not expressly taken over by the Republic. Major revenues from the territory such as company tax and diamond royalties and other mining revenues are now payable to the Central Government. When introducing the Bill', the Minister of the Interior said that all taxes derived from South-West Africa would be kept in a separate account and utilized solely for the benefit of the territory.

The Act empowers the State President by proclamation to make laws for the territory in regard to any matters which the Government controls. As originally published, the Bill also empowered the State President, if he considered it to be necessary, to declare by proclamation that any law of the Republic applied in the territory to the extent stated, subject to such amendments, additions, modifications, exceptions, or conditions as he might deem fit. During the debate, the Minister of the Interior moved an amendment, which was carried, providing that the State President's powers to make proclamations applying laws of the Republic to the territory will lapse on 30 June 1971. Proclamations made before that date will remain in force, however. All proclamations will have to be tabled in Parliament. The Minister emphasized that the object was to ensure smooth running during the period of transition.
On behalf of the United Party, Sir de Villiers Graaff said that the Republic had every right in international law to act as it was proposing to do. He, nevertheless, questioned the wisdom of taking this action, particularly at that time, in view of the climate of international opinion. He queried the "enormous powers" to be given to the Cabinet to act by proclamation.

The United Party would prefer a formula for the administration of South-West Africa that was based on the federal concept, Sir de Villiers said. He described how this would operate.

In an editorial published on 14 February, the Star pointed out that while the Executive has always had the power to make proclamations and regulations within the scope of Acts passed by Parliament, it had never previously been able to alter the Acts themselves.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF OVAMBOLAND

The Development of Self-Government for Native Nations of South-West Africa Act, and the creation of the Ovamboland Legislative Council, were described on page 307 et seq. of last year's Survey. When opening the second session of this Council the Commissioner-General for Bantu Administration in South-West Africa, Dr. M. J. Olivier, said that its members, as designated by the seven tribal authorities, consisted of 22 traditional tribal leaders and 20 commoners. He urged the Council to appoint administrative officials "who were loyal to their country and not to the United Nations, Tanzania, or Russia". South Africa, he said, was the only country which promised and guaranteed to help them towards independence.1"

The Republic's Proclamation 65 of 1969 empowered the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development to direct that any moneys accruing to the S.A. Bantu Trust Fund in the area of the Ovamboland Legislative Council shall accrue to the revenue fund of the Legislative Council or of tribal authorities in the area.

The Legislative Council's Enactment No. 1 of 1969 constituted its budget for the year ended 31 March 1970, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Authority</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Affairs and Finance</td>
<td>104,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Affairs</td>
<td>56,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Works</td>
<td>1,116,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education and Culture</td>
<td>919,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Affairs</td>
<td>8,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justice</td>
<td>12,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>207,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R2,425,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Star. 18 February.
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Besides this, the Republic's Department of Bantu Administration and Development will spend R137,000 on the salaries of seconded personnel: two senior Bantu Affairs Commissioners, an administrative control officer, a senior accountant, and 50 other personnel. As described later, further sums will be spent by the Bantu Investment Corporation and other agencies.

In terms of Proclamation 70 of 1969, the administration of social pensions within its area (but not the power to make regulations in connection therewith) was transferred to the Ovamboland Legislative Council. The Council may, however, request the Department of Bantu Administration and Development to continue to exercise certain functions for the time being.

THE REHOBOTH GEBLET

The Rehoboth Basters (or Rehobothers) are mainly descendants of unions between Afrikaner trekkers and Nama women. They moved to South-West Africa in 1868 and, two years later, settled in the Rehoboth Gebiet by agreement with a Nama group then in occupation of the area. Traditionally, they were governed by a Kaptein and an elected Raad (Council). Later, under German administration of the territory, they considered themselves to be an independent community. The Germans granted them jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases, and they had individual title to land.

In 1923 the South African Government offered to recognize the Raad as one of its administrative organs. The then existing Raad agreed; but a number of people objected, pressing for complete independence. After a prolonged dispute the Administrator suspended the 1923 agreement, and, by proclamation, vested local government in the magistrate of Rehoboth, assisted by an advisory board of elected members.

The Rehobothers at present number approximately 14,000. Their Gebiet, to the south of Windhoek, at present measures about 5,066 square miles or 131,209 hectares. The Minister of Rehoboth Affairs said in the Assembly on 9 June that 73,808 hectares of land within the area, previously owned by whites, were to be added to the Gebiet: the South-West African Administration had already bought up 62,705 hectares of this land. It would be divided into economic units and disposed of to Rehobother farmers.

In view of continued dissension within the community, the Odendaal Commission of Enquiry into South-West African Affairs (1962-3) reached no clarity on the type of local self-government that the people wanted.

During a visit to the territory in January the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, accompanied by the Administrator of South-West


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Africa and the magistrate of Rehoboth, visited the Gebiet for discussions with the Basterraad. According to various reports, 3 members of the Raad said they would co-operate with the authorities provided that their grievances were eliminated. They demanded that the Government should move swiftly towards granting them
full independence, with greater powers than the Transkeian Government possessed. They wanted their own Cabinet with control, among other things, of internal affairs, justice, commerce, and immigration, but conceded that for the time being foreign affairs and defence should remain with the South African Government. They wanted to preserve their own identity, and objected to falling under the Republic's Department of Coloured Affairs. The Prime Minister promised that a Division of Rehoboth Affairs would be created within this Department.

He suggested that, within a year, the Rehobothers should draw up constitutional proposals for the Government's consideration. The free services of Government legal advisers were offered. If such action was not taken within the period specified, the Government would itself prepare a draft constitution for the Raad to consider.

It appeared that the minutes of this meeting were not sent to the Raad for some weeks, and that certain members of the Raad suspected that the Government had not been sincere in any offers made. Early in February the Raad decided to brief counsel to bring the question of the Rehobothers' status and relationships with the South African Government before the International Court of Justice.

As from 1 April the control of Coloured Affairs in the territory was taken over by the South African Government. The Minister of Coloured Affairs also became Minister of Rehoboth Affairs.

REHOBOTH INVESTMENT AND DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION ACT, No. 84 OF 1969

This Act, first debated in the Republic's House of Assembly during June, provided for the establishment of a Rehoboth Investment and Development Corporation to encourage and promote the advancement of the community in the fields of agriculture, mining, trade, industry, and finance, until such time as the community is itself able to effect such advancement without assistance. The Corporation will have an initial share capital of R500,000, divided into ordinary shares of R1, all held by the State.

The Corporation's affairs will be managed by a Board of Directors, all appointed by the State President, who will designate one of them as chairman. The Minister of Rehoboth Affairs will appoint a managing director from among the members. This Board may establish committees for various purposes. (During the debate the Minister said that all the directors would be white, but that Rehoboth citizens might be appointed to serve on committees.) The Board may, inter alia, acquire immovable property in the Gebiet, but may not dispose of it to anyone other than a member of the Rehoboth community. It may not perform any act whereby an individual member of the community becomes the owner of more than 14,000 hectares of land. (The Minister said that such a limitation was existing practice.)
When introducing the Bill, the Minister said that, while the measure was opposed by the Basterraad, it had been welcomed by a large number of members of the community. The Government felt that the suspicion of its motives and those of the South-West African Administration, which had existed for so long, could be wiped out only by positive action and deeds.

The Gebiet had excellent pasturage, he said, but no fencing or enclosed paddocks. The present income of the inhabitants was about R660,000 a year; but an investigation in 1968 had shown that its agricultural potential was some R1,500,000 annually. Many of the farmers needed help urgently. The Corporation would make loans available, and would decide on other forms of assistance in consultation with the Raad. Assistance could, for example, be given with housing. Good rams and bulls could be bred for sale. and an agricultural school might be established.

Mr. J. M. Connan said that the United Party would not oppose the second reading, but suggested that, in view of the Raad's suspicions, it might be advisable to have further discussions with its members before the measure was implemented. He and Mr. J. D. du P. Basson moved that at least one of the directors of the Corporation should be appointed from a panel of three names recommended by the Raad.

REACTIONS TO THIS MEASURE IN THE GEBIET

Many Rehobothers voiced the strongest opposition to the Development Corporation Bill. Their constitutional future should have been settled first, it was stated. They did not want assistance from the South African Government in the development of their area. The Corporation would be a Government-appointed, allwhite affair. It was insulting that no Rehobothers were considered suitable to serve as directors. There was no guarantee that land acquired by the Corporation would be made available to members of the community.

On 26 May, more than 1,000 Rehobothers are reported to have staged a protest march. The Basterraad sent a telegram to the Prime Minister calling for a referendum before the Bill was introduced. Further telegrams were sent to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and to the British and American Ambassadors in South Africa asking them to intervene. According to the Minister of Rehoboth Affairs, Councillor C. A. Olivier of the Raad and 350 Rehoboth citizens sent a message through the magistrate asking that the legislation be dropped: failing this, the Minister would have to accept responsibility for what might happen.

The Minister replied that the legislation was intended exclusively to promote the progress of the Rehoboth people, and the Government would proceed with it in the interests of citizens who needed help for the development of their farms and business interests. He trusted that Councillor Olivier would not encourage some
people to irresponsible actions. Should any unpleasantness occur as a result of the Councillor's conduct, he would be held responsible for it.

Another public statement of protest by the Basterraad was published in the Rand Daily Mail and various other papers on 30 June. On 3 December the Minister of Rehoboth Affairs addressed a public meeting in Rehoboth and distributed pamphlets giving further details of the Government's plans for the development of the Gebiet. But a senior member of the Raad is reported to have said, "We do not trust you".

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CORPORATION
The establishment of the Rehoboth Investment and Development Corporation was announced on 3 September. Its chairman is Mr. J. G. N. Lombard, a retired member of the Legislative Assembly of South-West Africa, farmer, and businessman. The six other directors include the Secretary for Rehoboth Affairs and the magistrate of Rehoboth.

THE NAMA GROUP
The Nama people now fall under the Republic's Department of Coloured Affairs. At present they are scattered over a number of Reserves, but are to be moved to a "homeland" to the south of the Gebiet, with Gibeon as its capital. Four previously-existing Reserves there, where many of the Nama people already lived, are being consolidated by the purchase of white-owned land.

As mentioned in last year's Survey, by May 1968 some 244 Nama families had voluntarily moved to the new homeland from the Neuhof Reserve in the west of the territory. The Government has been providing transport to move others from two small Reserves in the extreme south, Warmbad and Bondels. It is reported that there has been some opposition in the latter area.

"Rand Daily Mail. 21 April and 27 May; Star, 29 May. 18 Assembly, 6 June, Hansard 17 col. 7380. 19 Daily Dispatch, 17 April.

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A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969
THE BUSHIMEN
Official plans are in hand for persuading the nomadic Bushmen to move to their "homeland" at Tsumkwe, between the Okavango and Herero areas. The object is to cut down stock losses experienced by white farmers in the remoter parts of the Southern Sector. Food, tobacco, and other supplies will be made available at various points: they will have to be purchased, and it is hoped that the nomads will accept employment in order to be able to pay for them.2"

LAND PURCHASE
Questioned in the Assembly on 27 May21, the Prime Minister said that the Government had thus far acquired 3,165,358 hectares of land from whites in South Africa, at a cost of R25,632,073. Of the farms bought, 183 had been placed at the disposal of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. The remaining 236 farms would be handed over, too, as soon as they were required for African resettlement schemes: for the time being 178 of them had been leased to white tenants.
ESTIMATES OF EXPENDITURE ON NON-WHITE AFFAIRS

According to the Estimates of Expenditure from the South West Africa Account for 1969-70, "R10,257,000 is to be paid as a grant-in-aid to the S.A. Bantu Trust Fund, R1,890,000 is to be spent on health services in African areas, and R527,000 spent on general African administration.

It appears that, of the grant-in-aid to the Trust, R1,515,000 will go to help to finance the services to be provided by the Ovamboland Legislative Council (see page 259). The Trust itself plans to spend up to R9,737,000 (partly derived from its accumulated funds) on the establishment of townships, hospitals and other buildings, roads, bridges, water supplies, and irrigation.

Another R5,225,050 will be spent by the Republic's Department of Bantu Administration and Development, as follows:

- Development of the Eastern Caprivi Zipvel: R4,971,000
- Development of the Bushman Reserve: R20,000
- Pauper relief and social pensions: R182,500
- Stipends, etc., for chiefs and headmen: R26,550
- Administrative buildings and official quarters: R25,000

20 Star, 10 November.
21 Hansard 16 col. 6688.
23 Estimates of Expenditure from Revenue Account, R.P. 2/69, pages 173 et seq. 264

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

Some of the African tribes impose levies on their members to finance additional development works. In 1967-8 there were 40 such levies in force: the amount they are expected to raise in the current financial year has not been announced.

The Republic's Department of Bantu Education finances the services it provides in South-West Africa from money derived from the South-West Africa Account. Its anticipated expenditure in 1969-70 is:

- Salaries, wages, and allowances (including teachers): R1,028,000
- Administration and miscellaneous: R122,000
- Supplies and services: R180,000
- Loans and subsidies to missions, tribal councils, and farmers for school buildings and equipment: R930,000
- Grant-in-aid to the S.A. Bantu Trust for educational services by African authorities: R2,300,000

Included under "miscellaneous" is R6,000 for bursaries, R57,500 for the maintenance of children from farms in boarding schools, and R500 for the maintenance of handicapped children in institutions in the Republic.
Coloured groups
The Estimates of Expenditure to be defrayed from the SouthWest Africa Account in 1969-70 include the following sums for Coloured Affairs (Vote 13):
Salaries, wages, allowances of teachers, health and social wort
Administration and miscellaneous Grants-in-aid, bursaries, loans ... Running costs of schools ...... Loans for erection of hostels ... Health services ... ...
Settlement areas .........
Welfare services .........
Social pensions .........
Public works: schools
...... 1 hospital and clinic
......
adminin
strators,
k ... ....... 1,174,700 ...... 63,300
... ...... 73,900
... ...... 253,000
... ...... 50,000
... ...... 1,340,000
... ...... 39,700
... ...... 58,200
... ...... 247,200
... ...... 398,050
... ...... 1,050
R3,699,100

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1969
ACTIVITIES OF THE BANTU INVESTMENT CORPORATION
Questioned about the activities of the Bantu Investment Corporation in South-West Africa, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said on 23 May26 that it had established three filling stations, two butcheries, two bottle stores, a general dealer's business, a furniture factory, a sawmill, and two mechanical workshops, and it was setting up a wholesale business. It had erected seven shops and three restaurants for letting, and had granted two loans, totalling R3,050, for general dealers' businesses.

Asked about the concerns that had been established in Ovamboland in 1967 and 1968 and the numbers employed, the Minister gave the following information:27

Employees
White African
Mechanical workshop ...... 13 31
Garage ...... ...... 2 6
Butchery ...... ...... 2 8
EDUCATIONAL SERVICES FOR AFRICANS

An educational complex is being developed near Oshakati, the capital of Ovamboland. There will be a teachers' training college, a high school, a trades school, a primary school, and hostel accommodation for more than 1,000 students.2

Educational statistics are included with those for Africans in the Republic, in an earlier chapter.

HYDRO-ELECTRIC SCHEME

It was announced in January that final agreement had been reached with Portugal in regard to a joint scheme with South Africa for harnessing the Kunene River for a hydro-electric scheme that will provide water and electric power for South-West Africa.29 By August the first contracts had been awarded for the construction of a dam and a pumping station.

26 Assembly Hansard 15 col. 6482.
27 Hansard 2 col. 738.
28 South African Digest, 7 November.
Agriculture—see Farm, and Farming Anglican Church—see Church of the Province Angola: guerrillas—74 Apprentices—95, 208, 209 Apprenticeship for Africans—95 Arendse, Mr M. D.—6, 7, 8 Artists—245 Asians—see Indians Association for the Educational and Cultural Advancement of the African People—194, 223 B Bakubung tribe—66, 125 Bakwena-ba-Mokgopa tribe—66, 69, 125 Banishment of Africans—40, 48 Banks in urban African townships—108 Banning of publications—38 Also see Press orders on persons—40 et seq .. .... .. prosecutions for failure to obey—42 Bantu Administration Boards Bill—145 Y, Authorities—see Territorial

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