### A survey of race relations in South Africa: 1970

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NOTE
This Survey is stated to be for the year 1970. As it was wished to have it published early in the new year, however, it was impossible to include mention of events that took place during the closing weeks of December. This will be done in the next issue.
All dates mentioned refer to the year 1970 unless otherwise stated.
It has proved difficult, in certain passages, to avoid use of the terms "white" and "non-white". It is recognized that the latter word is hurtful, and the writer much hopes that a more acceptable term will be found.

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POLITICAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS

PREPARATIONS FOR THE ELECTIONS During 1970 the political scene has been much influenced by the general elections on 22 April and the provincial elections on 28 October. Much of what was said publicly by leaders was, consequently, intended for party political advantage. Two fairly short sessions of Parliament were held, before and after the general elections, and it is possible that the government shelved some contentious legislation.
For the first time the National Party was fighting on two fronts: the breakaway of the Herstigte Nasionale Party (Reconstituted National Party) was described on page 5 of last year's Survey. It became clear, however, that a large number of prominent verkramptes remained members of the National Party, preferring to try to influence policies from within. Tensions within this party are described later.
On 26 October the Prime Minister, Mr. B. J. Vorster, announced that, in future, parliamentary and provincial elections would be held on the same day. (The Star commented on 30 October that this would blur the lines between national and provincial issues.)
The general elections were held a year in advance of the normal time. As reported last year, Mr. Vorster said the reason was that "we cannot let the world get the idea that South Africa has an unstable government". Earlier, the Minister of
Transport and Transvaal leader of the National Party, Mr. B. J. Schoeman, had told his constituents that the purpose was to act before the Herstigtes had had time to set up an adequate election organization. ELECTION PLATFORMS

The National Party
The National Party gave the assurance that it would put its country's interests irrevocably first, tolerating no interference from outside in domestic affairs. It acknowledged the supreme guidance of God in the affairs of countries and peoples, and believed that a powerful sense of unity must be promoted among the white people by the positive preservation of the equality of rights of the two language groups. It believed in planned and selective immigration. The party aimed at removing racial tension between white and non-white by creating ever more opportunities for parallel development. It pledged itself to defend the country's security by, among other things, promoting a strong defence force, co-operating with friendly states, and maintaining scrupulous vigilance against communism and other forms of subversion. The party outlined measures it intended taking to promote economic growth and stability, and to ensure that the white worker would not be supplanted by undesirable competition from nonwhites. The N.P. believed in the preservation of international sporting relationships, it stated, but would not deviate from the traditional policy of separate sporting activities within South Africa as between the white and non-white groups.

The United Party
The United Party, led by Sir de Villiers Graaff, stated that its policy was to reconcile the races by fair dealing and respect for the dignity of every South African. This could best be achieved under enlightened white leadership, which was qualified by education and experience to develop the nation's resources in the interests of all its peoples. As it believed that all the country's peoples were interdependent and shared a common destiny, the U.P. would maintain South Africa as one economy. Points of unnecessary racial friction would be avoided by means of separate social and residential facilities. The party's policy envisaged a federal system of government based on a federation of racial communities. Communal councils would be established for each non-white group, to administer the internal affairs of the groups concerned. Statutory standing committees would serve as links between Parliament and these councils. There would be defined representation for all in Parliament, with separate voters' rolls for each race group. No change would be made in the representation of any non-white group without the approval of the white electorate in a special election or referendum.

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The party believed that the country's greatest need was a continuously rising standard of living. A supply of well-trained labour, both white and ilon-white, should be ensured, for the development of natural resources to their full extent. Various other "bread and butter" proposals were outlined.

The Progressive Party

The Progressive Party, led by Dr. Jan Steytler, based its policy on the belief that South Africa was, and would remain, a multiracial country whose citizens were interdependent. Its philosophy was that in any society, the individual human being was of paramount importance. Each citizen must be treated with equal dignity and each must be equal before the law and have full opportunity to develop and use his talents. Merit, and not colour, must be the measure of individual worth. Laws that restricted the country's development must be repealed, and all human resources harnessed. The wasteful migrant

POLITICAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS

labour system must be scrapped, and a settled labour force created. Compulsory integration, as well as compulsory segregation, was opposed. Social relationships should be regulated by the conventions of society and the attitude of individuals.

The party favoured political co-operation within a single, multi-racial country. The constitution should be a rigid one that could not be altered by an engineered majority. The common roll franchise should be extended to all citizens who had passed Standard VIII, or had a Standard VI qualification with the regular income of at least a semi-skilled worker. The Senate should be so elected that it would be able to reject legislation detrimental to any racial group. There should be a Bill of Rights, guaranteeing to all freedom of speech, worship, and assembly; freedom from arbitrary arrest; equal access to the court; equal protection under the law; and the independence of the judiciary.

The Herstigte Nasionale Party

The Herstigte Nasionale Party, led by Dr. Albert Hertzog, stood for national unity around the core of Afrikanerdom. Englishspeakers were regarded as Afrikaners in the making. Afrikaans should be the national language. International forces making for racial integration must be resisted. The party regarded the maintenance of separate identities by the whites and non-whites as paramount: the latter must not be given expectations of social equality with whites.

Economic forces militating against separate development must be bent to ensure peaceful progress in which the separate development of the white and non-whites would be strengthened. Industrialization must be checked if it were over-stimulated by foreign capital and labour.

The National Alliance Party

The National Alliance Party, led by Mr. Blyth Thompson, made no distinction between the whites, whatever their origin. Separate development of whites and non-whites was the only realistic approach, it considered, but should be applied with humanity and flexibility. Differences of language, religion, and tradition
should be respected, no one group being allowed to impose its beliefs and customs on others.
Free enterprise should be fostered, interference in business minimized, and greater use made of non-white labour without harming white workers. The standard of the public services should be improved. A better standard of education was needed, parents being free to choose the language medium. More should be done for those in need. The Government should avoid actions or statements which unnecessarily put the country in a bad light overseas.

4 A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970
RESULT OF THE GENERAL ELECTIONS
The overall average percentage poll was 74.35. In one Transvaal constituency the N.P. candidate died shortly before the election; this seat was retained by the N.P. at a subsequent by-election, but with a reduced majority. This result is included in those given below.
The number of seats obtained by the various parties was:

1966 elections
Progressive Party 1...
H.N. Party .......... 1...
Others (including independents) -
At dissolution of the Assembly
123 38
1
4
166 166 166
(For the first time since Union, this House of Assembly included no representatives of the Cape Coloured people.)
Analysis by province of the 1970 results is:
Transvaal ...... Cape ......
Natal ......
Free State ...... South West Africa
N.P.
... ... 58
... ... 36
3
... ... 15
6
U.P.
14 18 15
P.P.
1
118 47 1 166
Excluding the result total vote gained was:
of the by-election, the percentage of the
### POLITICAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS

The number of seats contested in 1970, and the average number of votes gained in all of these, were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Seats contested</th>
<th>Average number of votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.P.</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>5 864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.P.</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>3 928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.P.</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2724</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.N.P.</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>689</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A.P.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>565</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All but three of the H.N.P. candidates, and all of those of the N.A.P., lost their deposits.

Mrs. Helen Suzman of the Progressives increased her majority in Houghton from 711 in 1966 to 2049. There was a swing to the Progressives in some constituencies where there had been a direct confrontation with U.P. candidates, but where there were N.P. or allied candidates too, the P.P. appeared to have lost ground.

According to a study by Dr. H. Lever of the University of the Witwatersrand, in the 107 seats that were contested by the N.P. and the U.P. in both 1966 and 1970, there was a swing of 4.3 per cent to the U.P. Dr. Lever found, in a detailed analysis of two Johannesburg constituencies, that those who had changed their allegiance were mainly English-speaking. The floating vote seemed to consist of English-speaking people. It appeared that a number of Afrikaners, particularly the younger urban ones, had not registered, or had refrained from voting.

This opinion was confirmed by the Afrikaans writer Chris Barnard, after a study conducted among Pretoria University students, and to some extent by members of the Department of Political Science at the University of South Africa, whose analysis was published in the periodical New Nation. The general view appeared
to be that many traditional Nationalist voters, particularly those in the cities, had been re-thinking their own positions. For historical and emotional reasons the verligtes who disapproved of current N.P. policies would not transfer their allegiance to the U.P., but instead, preferred not to vote at all. Dr. Denis Worrall of the University of South Africa commented3 that these people appeared to have been repelled by the N.P. rather than attracted by the U.P. Afrikaans-English divisions were accentuated.

During the months that followed, there were two further byelections. In each case the Nationalists retained these seats, but with smaller majorities than in 1966.

- Die Beeld, 10 May.
- 3 Rand Daily Mail. 18 July.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970
THE NATIONAL PARTY BETWEEN THE ELECTIONS

In statements made in the Assembly on 20 July and 15 September' the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, made it clear once again that he regarded South Africa as a multi-national, rather than a multi-racial country, each of the main Bantu ethnic groups constituting a nation, too.

Separate development, he said, was not a denial of human dignity. "I do not base my policy on the premise that I think I am better than another person is . . or for the moment ... more learned than he is, for in the long run he may become ... perhaps more learned than I am."

He believed, Mr. Vorster said, that the Afrikaans and the English-speaking whites, and each of the non-white groups, had the right to preserve its identity. The non-whites were being educated along the road to self-determination. "I want to create chances and opportunities for people of a different skin colour... which I believe cannot be created under any other policy."

During June Mr. Vorster visited Rhodesia, Malawi, France, Spain, and Portugal, where he had discussions with the Presidents and/or Prime Ministers, with the apparent object of explaining his policy, and establishing a pragmatic working relationship with national leaders who were not openly hostile to South Africa.'

Mr. Vorster went to Geneva too, where he and the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs called a meeting of South African Ambassadors. General elections were in progress in Britain at the time.

Further important statements in regard to relationships with other independent states in Southern Africa are described in a subsequent chapter. In brief, they were invited to enter into nonaggression pacts with South Africa. But Mr. Vorster made it clear' that his government would "fight terrorism, not only in our own country, but also in any other country in Africa where the government requests us to do so".

Major issues in South Africa during the year have been the mounting shortage of skilled labour; the artificial shortages of even unskilled labour, particularly in the western and central Cape and on the Witwatersrand, caused by the Physical Planning Act and influx control; unemployment, poverty, and malnutrition in the African homelands; the question of whether the border industry policy is the best method of dealing with these problems; the increasing disenchantment of many
Coloured people with the future offered to them; and ever-rising hostility to racialism overseas,
Hansard 1 col. 51: Hansard 9 cols. 4209-4212.
Article by John Worrall. a correspondent who followed the tour: Rand Daily Mail.
20 June.
Assembly. 15 September. Hansard 9 col. 4208.

POLITICAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS
which has started to "bite", most particularly in the cherished sphere of sport.
Positive steps, from the point of view of race relations, have been the increased
amounts spent on the education of all racial groups; an apparent slight decrease in
the number of arrests of Africans for purely statutory offences; and the official
acceptance, for the first time, of an African who has been openly critical of
separate development as the leader of his people (in Zululand).
There has, clearly, been dissension within the National Party on a number of these
issues. Verkrampte members, whose views are often expressed by Dr. Andries
Treurnicht, editor of Hoofstad, remain strong critics of verligte members.
But Mr. Allister Sparks, the Deputy Editor of the Rand Daily Mail, has expressed
the view that, in the long run, a more fundamental difference will be that between
the urban businessmen on the one hand, and the intellectuals and churchmen on
the other, who might all be termed verlig. Modern-minded urban Nationalists, he
considers, are growing impatient with the "economic absurdities" of apartheid,
and object to proposals that the manpower shortage should be met by labour
restrictions and a slowing down of the country's growth-rate.
The views of the intellectuals and churchmen find expression in Woord en Daad,
issued by the Afrikaanse Calvinistiese Beweging which has its headquarters in
Potchefstroom, and in articles by Mr. Schalk Pienaar of Die Beeld and Mr. Dirk
Richard of Dagbreek en Landstem. (Later in the year, these two papers merged.)
The consciences of these people are troubled by race discrimination, it was said,
and they want a speeding up of the "positive" side of separate development to
bring an end to this.
But, as Mr. Sparks pointed out, any move to meet the manpower shortage by
relaxing restrictions on the use of non-white labour must make separate
development "more unattainable than ever". And any move to implement separate
development must aggravate the manpower shortage, with serious economic
consequences.
Differences of opinion within the National Party have arisen in regard to the
future of the Coloured community.
THE PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS
A provincial council normally has the same number of members as are elected in
that province for the House of Assembly, except that there must be a minimum of
25 members. For the first time, in 1970, there was no representation of the Cape
Coloured people.
At the provincial elections in 1965. the National Party gained 116 seats, and the
United Party 55. One went to an independent. Since then, there has been a new
delimitation of constituencies.
The Rand Daily Mail pointed out on 30 October that these elections were held just
before the National Party reached the peak
7 e.g. Issue of 8 August.

8 A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970
of its strength, the following year. There were fractional drops in Nationalist
At the elections held on 28 October, there were 68 unopposed candidates, 45
Nationalists and 23 United Party. Including these, the number of seats obtained by
the various parties was:
National Party United Party,
Transvaal .... ... .... 54 19
Cape .... ... .... ... 36 18
Natal .... ... .... .... 3 22
Free State .... ... .... 25 -
Total .... ... .... ... 118 59
The Progressive Party and Herstigte Nasionale Party candidates were
unsuccessful. The National Alliance Party did not contest the election.
The average percentage poll was 63.88.
The number of seats contested, average number of votes gained in all of these,
and percentage of the total votes that were cast for each party were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parties</th>
<th>Seats</th>
<th>Average No.</th>
<th>Percentage of votes of total vote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.P.</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>4,733</td>
<td>53.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.P.</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>3,759</td>
<td>41.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.N.P.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2,116</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indep. Liberal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>94</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Deposits were lost by all but one of the H.N.P. candidates, two Nationalists, two
Progressives, and the Independent candidate.
According to the analysis in the Rand Daily Mail on 30 October, the general
election showed a drop of 3.8 per cent in the National Party's share of the poll
between 1966 and 1970. The provincial elections showed a further fall of 1.56 per
cent.

THE COLOURED PERSONS' REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL
This Act provided for the Council to elect from among its members a chairman, a
deputy chairman who would also be chairman of committees, and a vice-chairman
of committees. They would hold office for the duration of each Council, unless
they ceased to be members, resigned from these positions, or were removed from
office by resolution of the Council.

COLOURED PERSONS" REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL
The Minister of Coloured Affairs was empowered to appoint such times for the
holding of sessions as he deemed fit, and to prorogue the Council, provided that
there must be at least one session per year. Both the United and the Progressive Parties maintained that powers to adjourn or reassemble the Council should be vested in the chairman of the Council, and not the Minister.
Powers and Privileges of the Coloured Persons’ Representative Council Act, No. 91 of 1970
The main provisions of this second Act dealing with the Council were as described below.

1. Reports and proceedings of the Council will be privileged documents in criminal and civil proceedings in courts of law. The publication of extracts or abstracts from the Council’s proceedings will be protected, provided that a court is satisfied that this was done bona fide and without malice.

2. No member or officer of the Council will be required to attend court proceedings during a session in a place away from where the Council is sitting.

3. The Council, or a duly authorized committee of it, may enquire into any matter relating to the functions of the Council, and may call any Coloured persons as witnesses at such an enquiry.

(On behalf of the United Party Mr. L. G. Murray moved8 that the word “Coloured” be deleted, thus entitling the Council to call witnesses of any racial group, but his motion was ruled out of order.)

4. A number of offences against or by members of the Council were defined, e.g. bribery and corruption; assaults upon, threats to, or interference with any member or officer of the Council pursuing his lawful duties; and disruption or disturbance of the Council’s proceedings. Members are precluded from voting upon any issue if their direct pecuniary interests are involved. Members may not publish any false or scandalous libel on any member touching his conduct as a member.

Council chambers, staff, and expenditure
According to the Government’s Estimates of Expenditure from Loan Account,9 a total sum of R480 000 is to be spent on the Council Chambers, which are situated near the University of the Western Cape. It is estimated that about R379 000 will have been spent by the end of March 1971.

An Administration of Coloured Affairs has been created to administer matters assigned to the Council (i.e. education, community development, local government, rural settlements, and the financing of these matters). For the time being, most of its senior officials are white persons seconded by the Department of Coloured 24 September, Hansard 10 col. 4915.


A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970
Relations, which budgeted R3 826 000 for their salaries during 1970-1.1° Coloured personnel, including teachers, who were employed in the services mentioned have been transferred to the Council’s staff.
In the country's main and supplementary estimates of expenditure for 1970-1," a sum of R67 515 000 was voted for the Council's expenditure. Further amounts will be spent from Loan Account on the erection of public buildings, including schools.

In terms of the principal Act, the Council appropriates moneys for specific services within the limits of the sum voted by Parliament.

The allocation decided upon, when the Council met in November, was:

- **Education** .......... 38 658 160
- **Social services and pensions** ...... 27 213 780
- **Rural areas and settlements** ...... 774 185
- **Local government** ........ 2420
- **Finance and auxiliary services** .... 866 455

67 515 000

**Proposed liaison with the central Government**

Speaking in the Assembly on 29 September,12 the Minister of Coloured Affairs said that he and his Deputy Minister held discussions about every two months with the Council's executive committee. The question of a closer form of liaison with the Government was to be discussed with a committee appointed by the Council, which would include representatives of the Labour Party and one of the small minority parties.

**Developments within the Council**

As recorded on page 7 of last year's Survey, although the Labour Party won the majority of elected seats in the Council, the members nominated by the Government enabled the Federal Party, led by Mr. Tom Swartz, to come into power.

At a first short session, held in November 1969, a motion moved by a member of the Opposition was carried unanimously: it was to the effect that Coloured professional men and women should be paid at the same rates as whites received for equal qualifications and responsibilities. This motion was then submitted to the Minister.

In a Press interview on 4 July,'3 Mr. Swartz is reported to have said that discrimination on the basis of colour was morally wrong. 10 Estimates of Expenditure from Revenue Account, R.P. 2/1970. 11 R.P. 2/1970 and R.P. 7/1970.

12 Hansard 11 cols. 5286-7.
13 Star of that date, and of 30 May.

**COLOURED PERSONS' REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL**

His party's policy was one of separate amenities, but equal in all respects. The provision of better educational facilities was one of its prime targets.

When welcoming a new Minister of Coloured Affairs to a meeting of the Council's executive committee,"" Mr. Swartz again called for equal pay for equal work with equal qualifications, and for more schools and teachers. He urged, too, that there should be more employment opportunities, an agricultural college and a beach for Coloured people in Natal, and a finalization of group areas, bearing in mind the need for future expansion.
At a congress of the Labour Party held in April, Mr. Sonny Leon succeeded Mr. M. D. Arendse as leader, while Mr. David Curry was elected deputy leader. Labour Party members absented themselves from the official opening of the Council in November, and from the start of the Budget debate, as a protest against the Government's constitution of this body, and its failure to reply to the motion calling for equal pay for equal work.

In one of the early debates in November, the Federal and Labour Parties agreed to urge that the provisions of the Industrial Conciliation Act be extended to Coloured farm labourers.

ATTITUDES OF MEMBERS OF THE COLOURED COMMUNITY

As indicated earlier, members of the Federal and allied parties believe in parallel development, and are prepared to co-operate with the Government in matters promoting the advancement of their people; but they aim at eventual equality with whites.

The Labour Party, which stands for one-man-one-vote, accepted the 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 members of the Coloured community.

It is undoubted that many Coloured people, especially those who boycotted the Council elections, are experiencing an increasing sense of frustration. Some of this was conveyed by Dr. Adam Small in a paper given to a Council meeting of the Institute of Race Relations in January 1970. "In the course of this address he said, "This is the outstanding thing about the political structure for the Coloured people, as, of course, for all non-whites in South Africa, that in respect of it any decision of theirs counts for nothing, and, indeed, can count only for nothing; and being decisionless like this, is of course the essence of unfreedom". In the course of one of his last speeches in the Assembly as a representative elected by the Coloured community, Mr. Abe Bloomberg said, "Never in the history of our country has there been a more bitter and more hostile feeling against the Government and the white people generally".

14 Speech recorded in Alpha, August.


A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970

On 28 September, Mrs. C. D. Taylor said in the Assembly" that there were very obvious and discernable traces of bitterness and anger amongst the leaders of the Coloured people. They were sick of being treated as second-class citizens in their own country. It was impossible to assess the extent of the cumulative sociological problems amongst these people to which the Government's ideologies had given rise. She gave a number of examples of these problems.

SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN COUNCIL

Mr. A. M. Rajab has succeeded the late Mr. P. R. Pather as chairman of the executive committee of the Indian Council. Mr. H. E. Joosub continues as chairman of the Council itself.
In an address given to the Institute of Race Relations in January, Mr. Joosub expressed the view that, although the Council had nominated members only, and was not all the Indians would wish it to be, it did, for the first time, provide the community with direct access to the Minister of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of his department. They were willing to listen to grievances and suggestions.

At meetings held during 1970, the Council has expressed concern about the future of Indians in Zululand and in Ladysmith; pressed for greater diversification in the types of dwellings in Indian townships; urged the establishment of a separate Indian medical school; pleaded for opportunities for Indian industrialists in Durban; and worked to secure training for Indians as chartered accountants, electricians, plumbers, telephone mechanics, and health inspectors.

During the Assembly debate on the Vote of the Minister of Indian Affairs, Mr. R. M. Cadman (United Party) pointed out that since its inception, this department had issued no report on its activities. He enquired when the Council was to become an elected body, with some real powers.

Mrs. Helen Suzman commented that many matters that deeply concerned the Indians, such as group areas removals, fell under the Departments of Planning and of Community Development. She asked whether the Minister of Indian Affairs concerned himself with such matters.

The Minister replied that, when it considered this necessary, his department did make representations about removal schemes. The Council's quarterly meetings and the monthly meetings of its executive committee were attended by departmental officials. Through him (the Minister), the Council had an avenue of approach to other Ministers: he had arranged for several deputations to be received.

'1 Hansard 11 cols. 5212 et seq.
Is "Political Aspects of Separate Development from the Indian Point of view". RR. 111970 '9 Fiat Lux, March and August.

ATTITUDES OF AFRICANS
But the Minister refused to be drawn on the future of the Council. He merely said, "Should the Government in its wisdom and in its time decide ... that they should have executive powers, that there should be a partly elected body, the Government will have to come to this House and introduce such legislation".

Commenting on this statement, Mr. Joosub said that, until it became at least a partly-elected body, the Council would not be able to convince the members of the Indian community that it was representing their interests adequately. There was a growing lack of faith in this body, he stated.

Since the banning of the A.N.C. and P.A.C. in 1960, the only African political bodies of any significance have been the parties in the Transkei. It is evident that there is much frustration among urban Africans, especially; but through fear of
informers and police action few of them are willing to give open expression to their feelings.

It seems likely, however, that the creation of Territorial Authorities will afford Africans some legitimate platform for expressing their points of view. There is a preponderance of chiefs on these bodies, but by no means all the chiefs are "yes-men".

Mr. Lawrence Morgan of the Natal Mercury wrote an article on African intellectuals in Natal in the issue of this paper on 19 February. Impatience and insecurity, he said, were causing such men to turn increasingly to the view that only the type of power generated by group solidarity and education could ensure their ultimate evaluation by others on the grounds of their humanity alone. They considered that an essential component of this development would be an ability to shake themselves free of both the white paternalism of the extreme Right and the neo-paternalism of the Left.

This feeling has been reflected among African students. The formation of the South African Students’ Organization (SASO) is described in a subsequent chapter. In an article on this body, Mr. Clive Nettleton, Assistant to the Director of the Institute of Race Relations, outlined how these students came to feel that the open organizations like NUSAS and the UCM (University Christian Movement) were white-dominated and insensitive to problems peculiar to black students. They became increasingly convinced that their first allegiance was due to the black community with whom they shared the burdens and injustices of apartheid. Their duty was to promote the level of awareness, pride, achievement, and self-respect of this community.

These students maintained that the term non-white was a denial of respect to the majority of South Africa's people, and resolved to use the term "Black", instead.

On a return visit to South Africa in March, Mr. Anthony Sampson, editor of the African periodical Drum during the early 1950's, commented on the withdrawal he had noticed by many Africans away from whites and into a world of their own.5

He mentioned that there had been a switch in the A.N.C.-in-exile, away from Moscow and towards Washington, this move possibly being related to the emergence of the Black Power movement in the States.

The Rev. Dr. Beyers Naude, Director of the Christian Institute of Southern Africa, is reported24 to have said that this Institute had experienced a withdrawal of Blacks and Black organizations from its efforts to change the outlook and structure of a racial society.

Propaganda for the A.N.C. is still anonymously distributed in South Africa from time to time. During March, small explosive devices scattered hundreds of pamphlets from containers placed in public places in Cape Town, Johannesburg, and Durban. A bin containing similar leaflets was found in Port Elizabeth.

2S Star, 28 March. 21 ibid, 10 September.
ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED
WITH RACE RELATIONS
REPERCUSSIONS OF DECISION BY THE WORLD COUNCIL
OF CHURCHES
Early in September the Executive Committee of the World Council of Churches, at a meeting held in West Germany, announced that it had decided to make certain grants totalling 200 000 American dollars (about R142 800) from a special fund that had been set up to combat racism. This fund was composed of contributions from certain member-churches and part of the World Council’s reserves.

Nineteen groups would receive grants. Some of these, such as Frelimo in Mozambique, controlled territory they had conquered, and wanted money for developing the areas. Others were movements in exile, which had asked for assistance in countering the propaganda of white racist regimes and to assist victims of discriminatory policies with legal aid and educational, health, and welfare measures: they included the African National Congress, the South West Africa People's Organization, the Zimbabwe African National Union and People's Union, and organizations attacking the regime in Angola. The Anti-Apartheid Movement and two other bodies in Britain were included, as were organizations in Australia, Columbia, and Japan that were combating racism; but the situation in Southern Africa was considered to be a priority.

Each of the groups concerned had given an assurance in writing that the money would not be used for military purposes, it was stated. The purposes for which each organization had requested assistance were outlined. Only part of the special fund would be used in this way: other sums would be spent on research into the causes of racism, and for protests against race discrimination.

On 9 September, the day after the full text of the World Council's statement was issued, the South African Council of Churches called a meeting in Johannesburg to discuss it. A statement was issued dissociating the South African Council from the World Council's decision and its "implied support of violence". It was pointed out that South African member-churches had not been represented when the decision was taken.

The South African Council would not withdraw from the world organization, it was stated. (It is an associated body, not a direct member.) It did not seem that withdrawal either from this organization or from the South African situation would serve the purpose of reconciliation. The Council acknowledged that it was

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970
in response to an unjust racial situation that the World Council had taken this action. The Churches in South Africa had largely failed in their task of overcoming racism, and it was obligatory upon them to examine rigorously their own role and responsibility, to determine how they could more effectively fulfil this task.
This statement was commended to churches in South Africa that were members of both the S.A. Council and of the World Council for consideration in reaching their own decisions.

The Rev. Beyers Naude, Director of the Christian Institute of Southern Africa, stressed to the Press that this Institute was clear and unequivocal in rejecting violence as a morally acceptable means of effecting change. (This Institute is not connected with the World Council.)

A spokesman for the S.A. Council of Churches stated that member-churches paid affiliation fees only to the World Council: these had amounted to R2 400 the previous year. The Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt. Rev. Leslie Stradling, distributed a fact-sheet pointing out that the World Council's activities were by no means confined to the grants made from the special fund. It had been instrumental in helping refugees from and victims of terrorist activities, and had supported projects in South Africa such as the Lay Training Centre at Edenvale, emergency relief schemes, mission hospitals, community development projects, and others.2

In the House of Assembly on 15 September3 the Prime Minister referred to the World Council's decision and "to the strange, to put it very mildly, reaction which came from the member-churches of the World Council here in South Africa. It is not my intention to leave it at that", he said. "If they do not decide to dissociate themselves from this organization, I would be neglecting my duty ... if I did not take action against them, if I allowed more money to be collected in South Africa for transmission to that organization, if I allowed churches which ... remain members to send representatives to conferences of that body ... and if I failed to take action against clergymen who allow pamphlets such as that to which I shall refer in a moment... to be distributed at their churches".

The Prime Minister referred to a leaflet entitled "Money for Terrorists", which had been distributed to his parishioners by the Rev. Father Robert Mercer of the Anglican Church in Stellenbosch. In this, he urged the parishioners to give calm and clear thought to what lay behind the World Council's decision, and he discussed possible motives for what may have been a wrong decision made for the right reasons.

Father Mercer and the Rev. Bernard Chamberlain, also of the Anglican Church in Stellenbosch, were ordered to leave the country by 31 October: they had been in South Africa on temporary permits.

1 Rand Daily Mail, 7 October.
2 Star, 27 October.
3 Hansard 9 cols. 4204-5.

THE CHURCHES

No reasons were given in Mr. Chamberlain's case. The Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town made representations on their behalf to the Prime Minister, but without result.

During the weeks that followed, the various churches considered the matter when their assemblies or synods were held. The Dutch Reformed Churches, the United Evangelical Lutheran Church, the Paris Evangelical Church, and other smaller
churches, none of which were members of the Council of Churches, condemned the World Council's decision without reserve. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa reached a majority decision in which it dissociated itself from violence, but also from the violence inherent in the Government's racial policies. It decided to remain a member of the World Council, but to pay no further subscriptions to it."

Shortly afterwards, the Bantu Presbyterian Church decided to remain in the World Council, as it wished its voice to be heard, but to suspend further subscriptions pending discussions with representatives of this Council. It expressed its concern over the decision, which appeared to support some of those who advocated violence as a way of obtaining relief from racism; but stated that it equally abhorred the violence done to its people daily, physically and spiritually, through racism in South Africa.

On 1 October, the day before Parliament adjourned, the Prime Minister made a further statement in the Assembly. "I am glad", he said, "that some of the churches which have already met... have adopted a clear-cut attitude. I am glad that churches have decided to withhold their contributions... However, I am sorry too, because I would have liked to have seen churches withdrawing from membership completely, in protest. However, that is their affair. Apart from expressing my regret in this regard, I want to leave it at that... I am not seeking a confrontation with any church... but I shall not allow myself to be intimidated into not taking action against individual persons if and when it is necessary."

"If there are church leaders who... believe that they can achieve some good by stating their point of view to the World Council", the Prime Minister continued, "I shall not stand in their way". But he believed that leaders of the World Council "are not primarily interested in spreading the Gospel here, but are primarily interested in bringing about a complete change, even if it be a violent one, in the existing order in South Africa... They will be unwelcome to come to South Africa... I will also not allow them to send money to South Africa, in so far as I can prevent it... Money will not be allowed to be sent out of South Africa."

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970

In a statement made on 17 October, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development is reported to have said that member-churches of the World Council must let the Government know where they stood in relation to African terrorist movements, so that the Government would know what attitude to adopt in regard to their missionary work.

The multi-racial United Congregational Church of Southern Africa had decided on 5 October to remain a member of the World Council and to pay affiliation fees. While it abhorred violence as a means of bringing about change, and noted the World Council's decision with grave concern, the Church considered it essential that dialogue should continue. It pledged itself to work, by all means consistent with the Gospel, for justice, freedom, and racial reconciliation in Southern Africa.

Star, 23 September.
5 Star, 6 October.
6 Hansard 11 cols. 5474-5.
On 22 October the Methodist Church of South Africa (also multi-racial) unanimously passed a resolution in which exception was taken to the World Council's decision. At the same time, the Church acknowledged its own shortcomings in seeking a solution to the problem of racism, and pledged itself to seek true unity between the races in the Church and the nation. It decided to continue its membership of the World Council, but to hold contributions in suspense pending the outcome of consultations that were requested between this Council and member-churches in South Africa.

The Synod of the Church of the Province of South Africa (Anglican) met on 11 November. It decided by 140 votes to 6 to remain a member of the World Council, because obedience to Christ committed it to reconciliation with all Christians, and because the need to foster mutual understanding made it essential to keep open channels of communication with other member churches. The Synod recognized that "frustration and despair, which have impelled sons of Southern Africa to take drastic action against their own countries is a judgment upon our failure to embody God's righteousness in relationships between man and man in our society". It confessed that the Church had been ineffectual as an agent of change where inequality and injustice were institutionalized, and that it had failed to remove racial prejudice within its ranks. The Synod decided, however, to withhold its affiliation fee pending discussions with the World Council.

The Roman Catholic Church is not a member of the World Council.

ECUMENICAL ACTIVITIES
Discussions aimed at achieving greater church unity have been continued during 1970. There was a meeting in February between
" Rand Daily Mail, 19 October.
8 Ibid. 6 October.
9 Ibid, 23 October.

THE CHURCHES

ten Bishops of the Roman Catholic and the Anglican Churches. In co-operation with the S.A. Council of Churches, these churches have established an Ecumenical Research Unit, based in Pretoria.

As a first step towards closer union, the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches decided to merge their respective newspapers into one called The Christian Leader. During September, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa approved a plan to merge with the Bantu and the Tsonga Presbyterian Churches: a final decision is likely early in 1971, after the various congregations have considered this plan.

The specialist commissions of the "Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society" (Spro-cas), set up jointly by the S.A. Council of Churches and the Christian Institute of Southern Africa,1 have continued their studies of the practical implications of the "Message to the People of South Africa".2 Several preliminary papers have been published.

Besides continuing its general work for the relief of distress, Inter-Church Aid has started sewing and dressmaking classes in some of the African resettlement
villages, to enable the wives of migrant workers to earn some income. One of these schemes has been taken over by the (African) Zenzele Y.W.C.A.3 During January, 70 prominent people in the country signed a “Christian Election Manifesto,” copies of which were widely distributed. It was a Christian's grave duty and responsibility, they said, to examine thoroughly the policies of all the political parties, weighing these against the truth of God. The Christian Institute continues to assist the African Independent Churches' Association, which it helped to found in 1965. A Theological College has been established at Alice, and theological courses arranged.

THE DUTCH REFORMED CHURCHES
During March, representatives of the South African Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, its African daughter Church, and the Gereformeerde Kerk attended a meeting of the Reformed Ecumenical Synod of Holland, held in Lunteren. A representative of the Christian Institute attended as an observer, but was invited to participate in the discussions. Delegates from the Dutch "mother church" were strongly critical of racial policies in South Africa, the divisions on racial lines in the Dutch Reformed Churches there, and the attitude of these Churches to the Christian Institute. After long discussions, a motion was passed condemning racial discrimination in general, instead of an earlier draft singling out apartheid in South Africa; but the Dutch Church decided to send a letter to the churches concerned in South Africa, expressing its

3 Kairos, May.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970
Delegates from these churches encountered even stronger criticism when, in August, they attended a conference on Reconciliation, which was convened in Nairobi by the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, a body with some 140 member-churches. Racial segregation was condemned as being "against the nature of the Christian Church". However, a resolution which would have declared the South African Dutch Reformed Church to be no longer an authentic Christian church because it practised such segregation was defeated. Instead, this Church was condemned for this practice, and for giving the impression that it supported the Government's policy of white supremacy. At the suggestion of a South African delegate, it was agreed that a regional consultation should be arranged between the executive committee of the World Alliance and the South African member-churches.

At the four-yearly General Synod of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, held in Pretoria during October, a motion to resign from the World Alliance was defeated. Instead, the question of continued membership was referred to a commission of investigation, to report to the next General Synod in 1974. In 1966, the General Synod condemned the Christian Institute as being a heretical organization, and called upon members of the Church to withdraw from it. As described in previous issues of this Survey, several of them refused to do so. A
different line was taken at the 1970 Synod, however; an ad hoc commission was appointed to examine whether scriptural grounds existed for the rejection of the Institute and for the Institute's opposition to discrimination. (The previous Synod had turned down requests to this effect.)

S.A. INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

The 40th annual council meeting of the Institute of Race Relations, held in Cape Town during January, opened with Professor I. D. MacCrone's presidential address, entitled The Price of Apartheid. During the meetings, Professor D. Hobart Houghton gave a Hoernl Memorial Lecture entitled Enlightened Self-Interest and the Liberal Spirit.

The theme of the meetings was "Separate Development: 1970 Appraisal". Reference to the papers that were delivered is made in appropriate chapters of this Survey. An account of the discussions was given in the issue of Race Relations News for February/March.

Mr. Quintin Whyte, who joined the staff in 1944 and became Director in 1948, resigned at the end of February. Shortly afterwards, in recognition of his work, the University of the Witwatersrand conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. He was succeeded as Director by Mr. F. J. van Wyk.

4 These have been published by the Institute of Race Relations.

ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED WITH RACE RELATIONS

In July, the Institute of Race Relations and the Christian Institute jointly sponsored a course designed to develop understanding of how racial attitudes are formed and what can be done to open up inter-racial understanding and communication. This was held at the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre. Meetings were held in various centres, during the year, to discuss the question of prejudice, for example meetings of school-children of various racial groups in Johannesburg, and a "Know Your Neighbour" series of symposia in Durban. The Institute is sponsoring research work by senior students at various universities into the nature of racial prejudice.

A brief report on the Trusts and other funds that are administered by the Institute of Race Relations was issued as RR. 72/1970.

Other work of the Institute and of its regional and local committees is described under appropriate headings in this Survey.

S.A. BUREAU OF RACIAL AFFAIRS (Sabra)

Sabra's annual congress, held in Port Elizabeth during August, was on the theme "Homeland Development - a Programme for the Seventies". In the papers delivered by experts in various fields and in the discussions, the practical problems involved in implementing the policy of separate development were considered.

Members expressed concern over the slow pace of development, the lack of adequate planning and co-ordination, and the absence of necessary statistical information. A plea was made by one speaker for a distinction between "crude apartheid" and "separate development". Another speaker pointed out that the constitutional development of the homelands, promised by the Government, must
lead to a reappraisal by whites of their relationship with and their attitudes to non-whites.

ABE BAILEY INSTITUTE OF INTER-RACIAL STUDIES
According to its report for 1969 this Institute, which is based at the University of Cape Town, is concentrating on Afrikaans/ English and White/Coloured relationships. During the past year it has arranged seminars for teachers of the social sciences, and has sponsored research and published various papers on aspects of its work.

THE BLACK SASH
The Black Sash has been described by its national president, Mrs. Jean Sinclair, as a movement of women who are "championing the rights of voiceless people". It has continued to run Advice Offices in Cape Town and Johannesburg to assist Africans who are in difficulties under the pass laws: the work of these offices is described in a subsequent chapter. The Cape Town office is run in co-operation with the Institute of Race Relations.

The Black Sash spearheaded protests, mentioned later, against

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970
the continued detention of 22 Africans who had been re-arrested after their acquittal by the Supreme Court. Until these Africans were finally again charged, weekly silent, poster demonstrations were held. Similar demonstrations have been arranged with the object of educating the public about the impact of laws considered to be unjust, for example those giving rise to the migrant labour system, solitary confinement without trial, and proposed restrictions on African white collar workers. Another demonstration highlighted the contradiction of holding a national Family Day when so many African families are divided against their will by influx control and similar measures.

Together with the Citizens' Action Committee, the Black Sash distributed thousands of pre-election pamphlets drawing public attention to the enforced removal of Africans from their homes in "black spots". A series of articles was contributed to the Press about the realities of life under apartheid for African families: these have been published under the title Who Cares?

VOLUNTARY SERVICE
A group of surgical and medical specialists, anaesthetists, physiotherapists and others has continued to visit the Mbabane and Hlatikulu hospitals in Swaziland every second weekend, offering their services free of charge. A first heart operation was successfully performed there. They travel in a private aeroplane made available by Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, hence are popularly known as "Harry's Angels".

Dr. Anton Rupert has organized a similar service for the Maseru hospital in Lesotho, and has also sponsored a further visit by Stellenbosch medical students to Malawi, where they did voluntary work in various hospitals during their mid-year vacation.

The South African Voluntary Service (SAVS), which is composed of university students, has again carried out building projects during vacations and weekends, themselves raising the funds required. The South African Brick Association ran a
short course to teach members to lay bricks correctly. Among the projects undertaken in 1970 were a home for expectant mothers at a mission hospital in Zululand, additional classrooms for several farm schools for Africans, buildings needed for a community development project at Maun in Botswana, and houses for teachers at two schools in Swaziland. The owner of a farm near Kempton Park has made a building and free electricity and water available to enable the Witwatersrand Youth Voluntary Service to set up a permanent workshop where, at weekends, they make desks for African schools. The Institute of Race Relations and the Bantu Welfare Trust have helped in various ways. Members of this Service have built classrooms at two farm schools for Africans.

ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED WITH RACE RELATIONS

The National Council of Women of S.A. has continued its efforts to make a reality of its open membership, encouraging participation in its work by Coloured, African, and Indian women. At its annual conference in April/May the Council interested itself, among other things, in vocational and technical education for Africans, the plight of aged, orphaned, chronic sick, and handicapped Africans, the import duty on rice, conditions of service for domestic servants, and proposed restrictions on African white collar workers. Practical help has been given to African women in resettlement villages, to enable them to earn some income. The Institute of Foreign and Comparative Law at the University of South Africa is undertaking a research project into human rights, the protection of minority groups, and the principle of selfdetermination, in South Africa and other countries.

THE POPULATION OF SOUTH AFRICA

SIZE AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION

According to preliminary figures released by the Department of Statistics, the population of South Africa grew as follows between 8 September 1960 and 6 May 1970:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1970</th>
<th>Increase per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>10 928 000</td>
<td>14 893 000</td>
<td>36.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>3 088 000</td>
<td>3 779 000</td>
<td>22.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>1 509 000</td>
<td>1 996 000</td>
<td>32.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>477 000</td>
<td>614 000</td>
<td>28.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Statistics relating to the number of Africans, by home language, and their distribution between "white areas" (including the towns) and the homelands are given in the chapter of this Survey dealing with the African Reserves. Briefly, it was found that 53.5 per cent of the Africans were in white areas in 1970 (including migrant workers).

In a paper given on 1 October 1969 at the annual conference of the Institute of Administrators of Non-European Affairs, Dr. R. D. Coertze of the University of Pretoria quoted the results of a study1 conducted the previous year which showed that in four municipally-controled African townships, a high proportion of the men over the age of 16 years had been born in the townships concerned: the
proportions were 60 per cent in Sharpeville, 58 per cent in Soweto, 48 per cent in Daveyton, Benoni, and 38 per cent in Mamelodi, Pretoria. The majority of the male heads of families in these townships who had not been born there had lived in one or other urban area for more than twenty years.

All available urban studies, Dr. Coertze said, showed a preponderance of women over men in the 20 to 39 age groups.

He concluded that the children of almost half of the heads of families would form the second generation of city dwellers; while those of the other half would represent the third generation.

On two occasions the Minister of Statistics was asked in the Assembly to furnish vital statistics. He gave the information that follows:

By M. S. de Villiers.
2 Hansard 9 col. 4490; Hansard 10 col. 4707.

POPULATION OF SOUTH AFRICA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>41.0</td>
<td>37.8</td>
<td>40.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Infant mortality rate per 1,000 live births ...... 21.2 132.0 36.5 101.2

During the period 1959-61, the expectation of life at birth was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>64.73</td>
<td>71.67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49.62</td>
<td>54.28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57.70</td>
<td>59.57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No figures in respect of Africans were available. Although Africans are by law obliged to register births and deaths, many do not do so: particularly births. During September the Department of Bantu Administration and Development issued a circular through the offices of its officials, warning Africans that unless there was an improvement, legal proceedings would be instituted against defaulters.

In terms of the Births, Marriages, and Deaths Registration Amendment Act, No. 58 of 1970, the administration of the principal Act, so far as Africans are concerned, was officially transferred from the Department of the Interior to the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. (Unofficially, this has been the arrangement for the past ten or more years.)

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 10 February, the Minister of Planning said that 2,205 illegitimate white births, and 30,223 illegitimate Coloured births, were registered in 1969. No comparable figures were available in respect of Indians and Africans.

POPULATION REGISTRATION AMENDMENT ACT, No. 29 OF 1970"
This Act provides that identity cards are in future to be called identity documents. Such a document will be issued to a child immediately after the registration of his birth in place of a birth certificate. When he attains the age of sixteen years he must furnish photographs and apply for a more comprehensive document.

Snr. 22 October.

This description includez explanations p!ven in an Explanatory Memorandum and in Parliament.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970
A person's identity number will, as previously, be a code, indicating, besides the actual number assigned to him, his sex, date of birth, race classification, and whether or not he is a South African citizen.
The population register previously contained a person's identity number, name, sex, date and place of birth, race classification, citizenship, marital state, and photograph.
It is in future to include:
(a) residential and postal address;
(b) particulars of immunization against poliomyelitis and smallpox;
(c) particulars concerning passports and permits to leave the country, and dates of departure and return;
(d) particulars concerning drivers' licences;
(e) details relating to registered fire-arms;
(f) educational qualifications and occupation;
(g) the official language in which he chooses to be served for the purposes of the Act;
(h) particulars of his death or permanent departure from the Republic.
So far as Africans are concerned, the register will contain all the above particulars and, as well:
(a) district in which he ordinarily resides;
(b) ethnic group or nation and tribe to which he belongs;
(c) if his date and place of birth are unknown, estimated year of birth, and district in which he was born;
(d) if he is not a South African citizen, his fingerprints. (This involves no change to the existing law.)
The document to be issued to white, Coloured, and Asian adults in place of the existing identity card will be a booklet with pages for:
(i)
(ii) (iii)
(iv)
(v)
(vi) (vii) (viii)
(ix)
the holder's personal particulars and photograph; marital status; immunizations; blood group; diseases or disorders; allergies and other medical information; driver's licence; licence to possess arms; record of voting. The holder's registered residential and postal addresses will be recorded on a card to be inserted in a pocket at the back of the booklet.

POPULATION OF SOUTH AFRICA
A person will be able to decide for himself whether or not particulars should be entered relating to his blood group, his allergies to penicillin or any serum, and any diseases or disorders from which he suffers, such as epilepsy, haemophilia, diabetes, etc.

Particulars in respect of his voting rights and the dates on which these were exercised will be included as from a date to be fixed by the State President. The duty is imposed on persons whose names are included in the register of furnishing two copies of fresh photographs when those previously submitted are no longer recognizable.

Everyone must notify the Secretary of the Interior of any change of permanent residential or postal address, within fourteen days or such longer period as the Secretary may allow. The proprietor of any premises where someone else has taken up permanent residence must ascertain whether the latter has notified the Secretary. If not, the proprietor must do so, within 45 days.

When notifying a change of address, the person concerned will not have to send in the booklet, but only the notification card kept at the back of it. A new card will be sent to him, with his voting constituency recorded on it.

Africans will not be issued with identity documents if they are in possession of certificates of citizenship issued in terms of the Bantu Homeland Citizenship Act of 1970.

When introducing the Bill, the Minister of the Interior said' that the Department's whole records system was to be computerized. The proposed new identity documents, being more comprehensive, would eliminate the need for separate documents such as birth certificates, drivers' licences, etc., and would reduce the number of documents that had to be issued annually from almost 1 500 000 to about 500 000. The new system would be commenced from 1 June 1971, and it was anticipated that the complete change-over would take about five years.

On behalf of the United Party, Mr. L. G. Murray opposed the second reading of the Bill. His main reasons were that he was not satisfied that the scheme was a practicable one, and that the inclusion of all the proposed information invaded a citizen's right of privacy. He pointed out that, in terms of the Bill, the State President was empowered to widen the classes of persons who might call upon a person to produce his identity document (as previously, within seven days of the request). These objections were supported by Mrs. Suzman, for the Progressive Party.

It will be an offence for any official who has scrutinized an identity document to communicate the information it contains except for the purposes of the Act, and the purposes of any criminal proceedings.

7 Assembly 27 July. Hansard 2 cols. 482-5.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970
BANTU HOMELANDS CITIZENSHIP ACT, No. 26 OF 1970
This Bill was introduced in the Assembly in 1969, but debate was postponed until 1970. Its terms were described in full on page 27 of last year's Survey. Briefly, it provides that every African in the Republic who is not a citizen of a self-governing territory will become a citizen of one or other territorial authority area. In international relations, however, he will continue to have the status of a citizen of the Republic itself.
Those who will be citizens of a particular territorial authority area are Bantu persons born in the area and/or domiciled there; Bantu persons born in the Republic speaking any Bantu language or dialect 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. An Explanatory Memorandum states that "all the indigenous Bantu groups thus fall within the scope of this clause". Provision is made for objections to the citizenship conferred on individuals.
The certificates of citizenship, which may be issued by the territorial authority concerned or by officials of the Republic on its behalf, will replace identity cards. They must bear a photograph of the holder. The Explanatory Memorandum states, "it is the intention to take a set of the finger prints of every applicant for a certificate and to file such set ... in the Bantu Reference Bureau".
The certificates of citizenship will themselves not be producible on demand; but Africans will still be required to possess reference books, which must be produced on demand by an authorized official. The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development indicated, however,1" that the certificates might have to be produced for purposes of voting for homeland governments, obtaining employment, and claiming social benefits.
The Act will not be put into operation immediately, but later, by proclamation, when the administrative machinery has been set up.
During the second reading debate," the Minister said that the Act would contribute a great deal towards stimulating among the members of each Bantu nation a feeling of national unity and national culture. It would "enable the so-called urbanized Bantu person to find a home for his political aspirations with the people to whom he belongs". No undue difficulty had been experienced in deciding upon an individual's national group for the purposes of issuing reference books, he said.
Those with citizenship certificates would have preferential treatment so far as employment was concerned, the Minister indicated.
" Assembly 23 February, Hansard 4 cols. 1782-9. 11 Cols. 1782. 2 000-1, 2011.

IMMORALITY ACT
Rights granted in terms of the Act would "stand in the correct relationship with the position of the whites in South Africa", he continued. "Under our policy all so-called rights which could lead to equality with the whites ... on a basis of integration . . . in all the various spheres ... will in due course be removed by us". The Bill was opposed by both the United and Progressive Parties. The opening United Party speaker moved that it be read that day six months.

RECLASSIFICATIONS UNDER THE POPULATION REGISTRATION ACT

Questioned in the Assembly on 17 February about the reclassifications that were made by Race Classification Appeal Boards under the Population Registration Act in 1969, the Minister of the Interior gave the following information:

Reclassification made:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appeal or objection</th>
<th>Coloured to white</th>
<th>Bantu to Coloured</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lodged by:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person concerned or guardian</td>
<td>20 60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A third party</td>
<td>69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretary for the Interior</td>
<td>2 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No-one was in 1969 reclassified by the Boards from white to Coloured, or from Coloured to Bantu. No information was requested, or given, about reclassifications that were made by the Secretary of the Interior without reference to the Boards.

During September the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court ruled, by a majority decision, that the Department of the Interior has the right to alter a person's race classification more than once.

CHARGES AND CONVICTIONS UNDER THE IMMORALITY ACT

The information that follows was given by the Minister of Justice in reply to a question by Mrs. Helen Suzman in the Assembly on 25 August. The figures relate to the period 1 July 1968 to 30 June 1969.

Immorality Act

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Charges</th>
<th>Convictions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>591 21 336 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>11 234 5 121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>9 12 6 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>6 300 4 188</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970

Commenting on these figures, Mrs. Suzman again pointed out how many more people were charged than those who were convicted. She recalled that in 1962 she had introduced a private member's Bill asking for the repeal of the sections of the Act that prohibited intercourse across the colour line. "Even then", she said, "it was more than evident that the heartbreak and repercussions on families caused by this law were far-reaching indeed. Suicides, broken families, and social ostracism are inherent in the operation of this law, whether the accused are guilty or not".
SOME CASES OF HARDSHIP IN 1970
(In this account the initials only of the persons concerned are given, although the cases were fully reported in the Press.)

During February, Mr. Z. E. B., a married man with four children, was found hanged by his shirt in a police cell at Vanderbijlpark. He was facing charges of incitement to contravene the Immorality Act. Another married man, Mr. H. D., also with four children, was found hanged in the same cells on 5 November, in similar circumstances. Mr. J. C. of Excelsior shot himself while on bail after having been charged under the Act.

Mr. and Mrs. D. F. fell in love in 1965. She applied for an identity card, and then learned for the first time that she was officially regarded as Coloured, although she had always lived as a white: her birth certificate gave the race of her parents as 'mixed'. The couple then left for Britain, where they married and had two children. As the climate did not agree with Mrs. F., however, they returned to Johannesburg. She appealed to a Classification Board for her classification to be changed to white, but without success. It became illegal for her to live with her white husband.

They were charged under the Immorality Act, and a magistrate found them guilty, but postponed sentence for a year. On appeal, however, a Supreme Court judge set aside the conviction on the ground that Mrs. F. was obviously white in appearance and was generally accepted as white, and these were the deciding factors under the Immorality Act (although not under the Population Registration Act). The couple could, thus, continue to live together; but their children would have to be classified as Coloured. They decided to return to Britain. Mr. F. said that he had had to sell his car and some of his furniture to pay for the appeal.

Mr. W. B. L. and Miss B. S. lived together in Johannesburg as a white married couple, and were generally accepted as such, for seven years, and had five children. He was white; she is stated to have had a white father and a Mauritian mother. As she was officially classified as Coloured, they could not marry. During June, they were charged under the Immorality Act: as a result of the publicity the man lost his job. The magistrate acquitted them: he found that the woman was Coloured in appearance, but was generally accepted as white. Mr. A. P. J. van V., classified white, fell in love with a Coloured girl. As he was dark-skinned, he applied several times to be reclassified as Coloured, so that they could marry, but without success. They lived together for six years in his parents' home, and had two children. Eventually, someone reported them to the police. A magistrate at Meyerton found them guilty but imposed no sentence, ordering them to appear in court for sentence if called upon to do so within the next twelve months. Shortly afterwards, Mr. van V. won a further appeal to be reclassified Coloured: the appeals had cost him about R2 000.
Mr. N. A. and Miss E. V. of Pietermaritzburg were unable to marry because their classifications differed, but they lived as a married couple and had two children. They were charged under the Immorality Act in 1967 and given a suspended sentence. In August 1969 a policeman called at their home, following which they were again charged. A magistrate sentenced them to nine months' imprisonment. They appealed against this sentence, telling the judge that they planned to leave South Africa and become married. The judge altered the sentence to nine months' imprisonment suspended for a year, warning them to leave as soon as possible and not to live together in the meanwhile.9

A German immigrant, Mr. R. K., fell in love with Miss V. W. from East London who was classified Coloured. She applied for a passport so that she could leave the country and marry him abroad; but for some undisclosed reason this was refused. They then tried to escape, with their baby, to Mozambique, but were arrested after crossing the border, returned to South Africa, and detained in gaol. The charges were dropped when Miss W. applied for, and was granted, a one-way exit permit.20

Mr. A. L. C. and Miss S. V. W. of Durban, who were differently classified, were found together by the police: she was expecting a baby. They were given a sentence of twelve months, suspended for three years, for conspiring to contravene the Act. The couple decided to leave for Swaziland, where they would start a new life together.21

17 Rand Daily Mail. 11 and 20 June.
38 Sunday Times. 22 March and 12 April.
19 Star, 13 March.
20 Sunday Express, 22 March.
21 Ibid. 5 April.

SECURITY MEASURES
NATIONAL SUPPLIES PROCUREMENT ACT,
No. 89 Of 1970
The terms of this Act are similar to those of a Bill which was published in 1968 but, in view of wide criticism, was not then proceeded with in Parliament. Following discussions between the Minister of Economic Affairs and the Federated Chamber of Industries and others, however, certain amendments were made, and the Chamber then stated that it was satisfied.' The main change is that the various main provisions of the Act will not become operative unless they are brought into effect, separately, by Proclamation. Some of these provisions were embodied in War Measure 146 of 1942, which was due to expire at the end of June unless it was once more extended. One of them related to the stock-piling of essential goods. The Act provides for the creation of a National Supplies Procurement Fund (which, in effect, will be a new name for an existing Fund, with certain administrative changes), but the amendments to the original draft made it possible for this to be done without bringing the rest of the Act into operation. The more drastic provisions will be brought into effect "whenever the Minister deems it necessary or expedient for the security of the Republic". The Minister of
Economic Affairs said² that this would be done in extremely serious circumstances only. Their provisions were outlined on page 39 of the 1968 Survey: briefly, they will empower the Minister to control and direct the manufacture, acquisition, and supply of any goods and services he deems to be necessary or expedient for the country's security.

DEFENCE POLICY

Two major policy statements have been made by the Prime Minister in the Assembly; on 20 July and 15 September.³ He explained the reasons why South Africa was seeking supplies of certain arms from countries overseas (this question is dealt with in the chapter on Foreign Affairs).

"We do not need arms ... for the purpose of attacking anybody", the Prime Minister said. "South Africa does not have any evil intentions as regards any other nation... South Africa is intent on seeking peace." If it were the Government's intention to oppress Black people in the Republic by force of arms, or to attack neighbouring Black states, "we would not even need a tickey's worth" of arms from other countries. South Africa could and did itself manufacture all the arms that would be required for such purposes.

The Prime Minister emphasized that he was prepared to enter into a non-aggression pact with any Black state in Africa.

"We are only asking for arms", he continued, "because we see the communist threat unfurling before our eyes in this part of the world... and must protect ourselves against onslaughts from outside, and also have the interests of the free world at heart." Largescale Russian infiltration had already taken place into waters around Southern Africa, he said. It was essential to safeguard the sea route around the Cape, "which is probably more important to Europe than us". The Russians "are here for a purpose which, in addition to the other objectives they may have, is to sabotage this route around the Cape if and when it suits them". The Prime Minister went on to talk of terrorism. "We shall fight terrorism", he said, "not only in our own country, but also in any other country in Africa where the Government requests us to do so ... If plans which are being laid against South Africa on such a large scale, and if the proposed build-up of terrorist forces becomes a reality, and if terrorists were to invade South Africa with the permission of those countries, we shall resist them. If they take flight we shall chase them, and we shall do so right into those countries from which they come".

Speaking at a naval ceremony at Gordon's Bay in June, the Minister of Defence maintained that the Third World War would not be declared - it was a process that was already in progress in various forms. The Soviet Union and its associates were trying to subjugate the free world step by step, he said.

DEFENCE EXPENDITURE AND EQUIPMENT
In terms of the Estimates of Expenditure from Revenue Account for 1970-1, a sum of R257 100 000 was allocated to Defence (R 14 406 000 less than in the previous year).

In the course of the speech referred to earlier, the Minister of Defence described South Africa's naval equipment. A new maritime headquarters was being built near Westlake, with subsidiaries in Durban and Walvis Bay. Coastal reconnaissance aircraft and naval helicopters had been purchased recently, the latter to operate from frigates and destroyers. These ships were being modernized. A tanker and three submarines had been bought, and a new submarine base was being established at Simonstown.

(South Africa's army and air force equipment was described briefly on page 32 of last year's Survey.)

The Prime Minister announced on 26 July that the S.A. Atomic Energy Board had developed a "unique" new process for the enrichment of uranium. Only three other Western countries - the United States, Britain and France - had enrichment plants. As South Africa was the world's third-largest producer of uranium, the new process for enriching it would lift her into the ranks of world nuclear powers, with the potential for developing atomic weapons.

Development in the field of nuclear energy was, however, directed entirely towards peaceful purposes, the Prime Minister emphasized. South Africa was prepared to collaborate in the exploitation of the new process with any non-communist country desiring to do so, subject to the conclusion of an agreement safeguarding her own interests.

COLOURED AND INDIAN AUXILIARY SERVICES
The Minister of Defence said in the Assembly on 31 August that the Coloured Corps would be used for auxiliary services and for certain work in the Navy. Members would not be used in infantry units, nevertheless were being taught to use weapons so that they might protect themselves in time of war. Indians would be treated on the same basis.

When they were ready for it, Coloured and Indian members would be commissioned, but would not be allowed to be in command of white servicemen. Africans would be employed in certain auxiliary services as labourers only. "If the Bantu wants to build up a defence force, he should do it in his own eventually independent homeland", the Minister said.

CONTROL OF PUBLICATIONS
ACTIVITIES OF THE PUBLICATIONS CONTROL BOARD
In reply to questions in the Assembly on 17 February, the Minister of the Interior said that, during 1969, 616 imported and 63 local publications were prohibited by the Publications Control Board. Of these, eleven had been submitted to the Board
by private persons: nine of these applications were rejected and two accepted. During the year, the embargoes on nine publications had been lifted. Since the establishment of the Board in 1963 it had prohibited a total of 4,402 publications. The second volume of the Oxford University Press "History of South Africa", edited by Professors Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson, appeared in two editions. The edition for distribution in South Africa contained 52 blank pages. In the other edition these pages were occupied by a chapter by Professor Leo Kuper on African Nationalism between 1912 and 1960: the publishers omitted this from the South African edition because it quoted a number of banned people. The publishers are reported to have stated that they did not apply to the South African Minister of Justice for permission to include this chapter because they had been advised that it was unlikely that such permission would have been forthcoming.

Further questions on 28 July elicited the reply by the Minister of the Interior, that between November 1963 and the end of June 1970, 13,338 films were submitted to the Publications Control Board. Of these, it prohibited 222, and insisted on changes or cuts in a further 1,561. (As described on page 291 of the 1968 Survey, many other films, that have an element of violence, are banned to Africans and to juveniles of all races.)

In an outspoken address on 28 May, Professor L. H. Hugo of the Department of English at the University of South Africa said that censorship was a mistake, breeding frustration, resentment, and anger among intellectuals. Many South African writers had been suppressed or alienated. Censorship merely drove natural, wholesome impulses underground, turning them into things of guilt and shame. Control could best be exercised through a virile, open-minded education policy, he said. One should not work from the premise that what may offend a few should be banned for all. A further critical article on the activities of the Board, by the Professor of English at the University of South Africa, Professor D. Ridley

1 Hansard 3 col. 1884.
2 Sunday Times. 11 October.
3 Hansard 2 col. 554.
"Star", 29 May.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970

Beeton, was published in The Star on 27 June. Censorship of "trash" was necessary, he said, but the process was so grotesquely applied in South Africa as to turn the people into "thin-skinned ostriches."

A reply to Professor Beeton by the Chairman of the Board, Mr. J. Kruger, was published in The Star on 9 July. The Board's "unenviable function is exercised in an enlightened manner within the compass of the provisions of the (Publications and Entertainments) Act," he said. It was wise to the distinction made by Mr. Justice Woolsey between those books that used sex and its raw vocabulary as part "of a powerful commentary on the inner lives of men and women" and those that simply expressed -the leer of the sensualist." It was required to withhold publications that undermined the security of the State.
The Board was not authorized to, and would not, ban any matter in a publication of a technical, scientific, or professional nature that was bona fide intended for the advancement of or for use in any particular profession or branch of arts, literature, or science. Banned publications (including those of a political nature) might be obtained on permit for bona fide research and study purposes, Mr. Kruger said.

CONTROL OF PERSONS
COMMISSION ON MATTERS RELATING TO THE SECURITY OF THE STATE

The appointment of Mr. Justice H. P. Potgieter as a one-man commission of enquiry into matters relating to the security of the State was mentioned on page 36 of last year's Survey. His report has not been published at the time of writing. Dr. A. Hertzog (then M.P.) was prosecuted by the State for refusing to give evidence before this commission after having been summonsed to do so, following a statement by him that he had heard that the Bureau for State Security1 would cost the country R50 000 000. During January he was found guilty by a magistrate, and sentenced to R50 or 25 days' imprisonment, suspended for one year. His appeal failed.' A similar charge against Mr. Jaap Marais was withdrawn. On 30 January,3 Mr. Justice Potgieter stated that the information given by Dr. Hertzog was absolutely unfounded and devoid of truth. The expenditure on the bureau for the 1969-70 financial year would be nowhere near R50000000, but only about R1 350 000.

SEARCHES BY MEMBERS OF THE RAILWAY POLICE

A section of the Railways and Harbours Amendment Act, No. 57 of 1970, empowered a member of the Railway Police Force to search any person whom he has reason to suspect is engaged in any subversive activity, and to open and search any package or receptacle which he has reason to believe contains documents pertaining to such activities.

During the debate, the Deputy Minister of Transport4 accepted two amendments moved by the United Party. Firstly, before a person is searched by a junior member of the Police, he must be informed of his right to be taken to an officer of or above the rank of sergeant for a decision. Legislation already provided that if a woman is searched, this must be done by a woman. The second amendment added that it must be done with strict regard for decency.

THE HOLDING OF PROCESSIONS

Various requests made by students to local authorities to hold processions are mentioned in a subsequent chapter.

'A Survey of Race Relations, 1970

Section 15 of the General Law Further Amendment Act, No. 92 of 1970, provided that whenever the holding or organizing of any procession is prohibited by law without the permission of a statutory body, it shall be deemed that permission has
not been granted (e.g. by a local authority) unless permission has also been granted by the magistrate of the district concerned. The magistrate will refuse permission only if he has reason to believe that the holding or organizing of the procession may endanger the maintenance of law and order. The Minister of Justice may from time to time suspend the operation of this Section in specified areas. These provisions will come into effect as from a date specified by the State President, in a proclamation.

Mrs. Helen Suzman (Progressive Party) was the only Member of Parliament to vote against these provisions. Objections were voiced by others, including the Black Sash.

BANNING ORDERS

A revised list of all persons who were then subject to banning orders was gazetted on 31 July. Since then, further orders have been issued, three orders have been withdrawn, and some have lapsed. The total number in force at the time of writing is, thus, not accurately known.

As mentioned on page 41 of last year's Survey, the writer calculated that as at 30 November 1969 there were 355 orders in force against persons who had remained in South Africa (including 50 whites). Others subject to banning orders had fled from the country or had left on one-way exit permits.

According to issues of the Government Gazette from then until 30 October, the following orders were issued:

(a) Renewals of previous banning orders for periods of:
   5 years - 6 whites and 15 non-whites; 2 years - 1 white and 3 non-whites;
(b) New banning orders for periods of:
   5 years - 3 Africans;
   2 years - 1 Coloured and 48 Africans.

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

During 1970, four white ex-political prisoners were served with very severe banning orders, including house arrest, on their release from gaol: they were Messrs. R. I Arenstein, I. Schermbrucker, H. Strachan, and E. Weinberg. A number of African ex-political prisoners, too (included in the figures given above), have been banned. Some of them have, apparently, been confined to a township in a rural African area instead of being allowed to return to the towns where they were originally arrested.

The orders served on 19 Africans who were acquitted during

CONTROL OF PERSONS

September at the end of a political trial in Pretoria are mentioned in a subsequent chapter.

On 31 July the Minister of Justice said in the Assembly that, by then, 568 persons had been "listed" as being former officebearers, officers, members, or active supporters of the banned Communist Party or Congress of Democrats. (The implications are described on page 42 of last year's Survey. Many of those concerned are also subject to banning orders.) In reply to another question, on 21 August, the Minister said that, during 1969, no official "warnings" had been
issued under the Suppression of Communism Act. (Hundreds of people were, however, interrogated by the police.)

In the Gazette of 7 August a list was published of the names of 21 further people who have left the country and whose utterances or writings may not be published in South Africa: the total number by then appears, from available records, to have been 90.

According to the Minister of Justice, one white person, one Coloured, two Asians, and four Africans were convicted during 1969 for failure to observe the terms of their banning orders. Two trials for contraventions of banning orders have been reported during 1970. Mr. R. P. Cranko was sentenced to 12 months, with all but 10 days conditionally suspended, for having failed on 30 occasions to report to the police. In terms of an order issued to him in 1967, he was required to do so daily. Mr. C. Madikizela contravened his banning order in 1965, and was then sentenced to one year, all but seven days suspended. During April he was found guilty of having left the country without a valid document, and of contravening the banning order in two respects. The various sentences imposed, part of which were to run concurrently, required him to serve a term of imprisonment of twelve months and seven days.

BANISHMENT OF AFRICANS

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 31 July, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that 35 Africans were then still subject to banishment orders in terms of the Bantu Administration Act. Some of them have been allowed to return home subject to the observance of stated conditions: it appears that nineteen men and one woman are actually living in banishment.

EMERGENCY REGULATIONS IN THE TRANSKEI

(PROCLAMATION 400 OF 1960)

No later information is available about removal orders issued by chiefs under the emergency regulations for the Transkei than Hansard 2 col. 803.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970

that given on page 44 of last year's Survey: the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said in the Assembly on 31 July that there had been no change in the situation since he last furnished information, on 25 April 1969.

In the Assembly on 4 August, however, the Minister of Police said, in reply to a question, that 26 persons had been detained under these regulations in 1969, and a further two in the first half of 1970. They had all been released by 30 June 1970. Of these people, 23 had been released without charge after periods in detention ranging from 2 to 125 days. Five were charged (one of these had spent 103 days
in detention); one of them was acquitted and four convicted. (The nature of the charges and the sentences were not described.)

DEPORTATIONS, PERMANENT DEPARTURE PERMITS, AND DEPRIVATION OF CITIZENSHIP OR OF RESIDENTS’ PERMITS
In reply to a series of questions in the Assembly,3 the Minister of the Interior said that, during 1969, 101 white and 125 non-white persons had been served with deportation orders.
All of those who applied for permanent departure permits were granted them: they were 13 whites, 4 Coloured, 3 Asians, and 7 Africans.
Twenty-two people were deprived of South African citizenship in 1969; twenty of them had been warned that this was likely if they used passports issued by other countries (which they apparently nevertheless did).
On 4 September4 the Minister was asked about residence permits for clergy from overseas. He said that, after a period of four years’ temporary residence, such clergymen might submit applications for permanent residence in South Africa.
After five years of approved permanent residence they might apply for naturalization as South African citizens.
As mentioned in an earlier chapter, the temporary residents’ permits of two Anglican priests, the Rev. Father Robert Mercer and the Rev. Bernard Chamberlain, were cancelled during September. Another Anglican clergyman, the Rev. Dick Cadigan, and a Roman Catholic priest, the Rev. Father David Shanahan, have been required to leave the country during the year under review.

TRAVEL DOCUMENTS
In response to a request on 4 August,5 the Minister furnished comprehensive information about the number of passports that had been refused since 1965. No reasons were ever given, he said. The applications that were refused in 1969 were 22 by whites, 34 by Coloured people, 62 by Asians, and 35 by Africans.

12 Hansard 3 cols. 985-6.
13 Hansard 5 col. 2265; Hansard 3 col. 986; Hansard 10 col. 5012. 14 Hansard 7 cols. 3454-5.
15 Hansard 3 col. 996.

CONTROL OF PERSONS
During 1970 the playwright Athol Fugard was again refused a passport: he had wanted to see his play Boesman and Lena produced in New York. The president of the (Black) S.A. Students’ Organization, Mr. Barnie Pityana, was denied a passport to enable him to study in Britain. Mr. Robert Sobukwe,6 an ex-political prisoner now subject to a banning order, was not allowed either a passport or an exit permit to enable him to take up a fellowship offered at Wisconsin University.
In February, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi was again refused a passport to enable him to take up a United States foreign leadership grant, but later was issued with one, valid for a year only, to make it possible for him to attend Anglican Church consultations in Kenya.
Dr. Alan Paton’s passport has been re-issued to him, ten years after its withdrawal. A number of African, Indian, and Coloured people have been allowed to go
overseas for education tours or study purposes, or to take up leadership exchange grants, or, in one case, to play soccer.

Much publicity was given to the refusal of visas to the American Negro tennis player, Mr. Arthur Ashe, and to a Japanese jockey, Mr. Sueo Masuzawa. The decision in regard to Mr. Masuzawa was soon afterwards reversed, but meanwhile he had changed his plans. Visas were denied, too, to Mr. J. J. Voogd, a former president of the Dutch South Africa Committee, and to two African students, from Kenya and Rhodesia respectively, who wanted to attend a conference of the University Christian Movement.

Among the prominent people from overseas who were allowed to visit South Africa were four Negro citizens of the United States, Mr. Carl T. Rowan, the journalist and former diplomat, Mr. W. Beverly Carter, deputy to the United States Assistant Secretary of State, the lawyer Mr. Joseph S. Sanders, and the singer Percy Sledge. An Indian M.P., Mr. C. C. Desai, came, among other purposes, to unveil a statue of Mahatma Gandhi; and a surfer from Hawaii, Ben Aipa, competed in Durban championships.

1 See 1969 Survey, page 43.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE
CRIMINAL STATISTICS

Two reports of the Department of Prisons have been issued during the year under review, for the periods 1966-8 and 1968-9. According to the latter report, as at 30 June 1968 there were 80,902 prisoners in custody, 67,385 of whom had been convicted. During the preceding year 496,071 sentenced and 257,651 unsentenced prisoners had been admitted to gaol.

A summary of the sentences in the latter year, as compared with the former, is as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Death</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indeterminate and for prevention of crime Corrective training, and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 years and longer</td>
<td>Over 4 months to under</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 1 month to 4 months</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to and including 1 month</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Periodic Corporal (cane)</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Totals 1968-9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White Coloured Asian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Questioned in the Assembly on 25 September, the Minister of Justice said that during the year ended 30 June 1969, 39,654 people had been sentenced to whipping.

The daily average number in prison, sentenced and unsentenced was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1967-8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-9</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CAPITAL PUNISHMENT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1967-8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Born in detention ... 1 22 - 164 187

The Report of the Commissioner of Police for 1968-9 showed that 9 022 people lost their lives during that year as a result of criminal acts of violence. There were 6 054 cases of alleged or suspected murder reported. Some of these were found to be false, but 4 171 cases were sent for trial and 1 086 remained undetected. Culpable homicide accounted for 3 854 deaths during the year, assaults for 357, and faction fighting for 162.

Convictions for pass law and tax infringements are dealt with in a subsequent chapter.

A series of questions was put to the Minister of Justice about political offenders: this matter, too, is dealt with later.

According to the Prisons Department Reports, 99 people were executed in 1967-8 and 84 in 1968-9. During the latter year, 72 were executed for murder, 3 for murder and robbery, 6 for robbery with aggravating circumstances, 1 for rape, and 2 for housebreaking with aggravating circumstances.

Statistics for 1969, given by the Minister of Justice in the Assembly on 4 September, were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Executions</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murder and robbery</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dr. Barend van Niekerk

The issues for November 1969 and February 1970 of the South African Law Journal contained articles on capital punishment by Dr. Barend van Niekerk, senior lecturer in law at the University of the Witwatersrand. They were based on 158 replies to a questionnaire he had sent to all South African judges and advocates: of those who replied, 140 had been engaged in trials in which the death penalty was imposed, and 128 were in favour either of abolishing this penalty or, at least, limiting the number of crimes for which it could be imposed. More than three-quarters considered that there was no absolute guarantee that an innocent person could not be sentenced to death, and nearly half were of the opinion that a non-white accused was more likely to be hanged than was a white.

Dr. Van Niekerk went on to discuss sentences and executions for various crimes, in particular rape across the colour line. The theme of his article was that there should be an exhaustive enquiry into capital punishment in South Africa. One of the points he made was that non-white accused were less likely than were whites to be able to pay for the best possible defence, hence were more likely to have to...
rely on pro Deo defence, which was commonly provided by young, inexperienced advocates.

During April the police questioned both Dr. Van Niekerk and Professor Ellison Kahn, Dean of the Faculty of Law at the University of the Witwatersrand and editor of the South African Law Journal.

Thereafter, early in June, Dr. Van Niekerk appeared in the Supreme Court, Pretoria, on a charge of contempt of court. He stated, in evidence, 'that there was a strong case for the abolition of the death sentence in South Africa. It appeared that, in addition to its other disadvantages, it did not act as a deterrent. From international figures it appeared that South Africa accounted for nearly 50 per cent of all the legal executions in the world, and he strongly believed that an exhaustive enquiry into capital punishment was long overdue. A number of authoritative studies on the matter had been made in America, particularly on the question of crime across racial lines. He, and various State officials called as witnesses, gave certain statistical information about the number of whites and non-whites who had been sentenced to death for various offences.

After hearing the closing address on behalf of the State the judge, Mr. Justice Claassen (who had sat with two assessors), informed counsel for the defence that there was no need to hear their argument. He acquitted Dr. Van Niekerk. The first of his articles, the judge stated, 'if it had stood alone, could possibly have constituted a gross imputation against the honour and impartiality of judges, with the consequence that it might have been a contempt of court. But he was satisfied that Dr. Van Niekerk had not wilfully intended to commit contempt. The judge added, "I can say without fear of contradiction that the judges go out of their way to interpret the law in such a way as to benefit the non-white" (i.e. in capital cases).

With one opposing vote, the Council of the Society of University Teachers of Law issued a statement dealing with this judgment, which was published in two legal journals, Tydskrif vir Hedendaagse Romeins-Hollanse Reg (Journal of Contemporary Roman-Dutch), 6 Rand Daily Mail report, 9 June, Sunday Times, 27 September, 3 Star, 10 June: Rand Daily Mail, 11 June.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

Law) in August, and in the South African Law Journal in November. The result of the case, they said, "is to leave academics and legal authors, editors, and researchers with a most disquieting sense of insecurity . . . There is every prospect that in future no one will be prepared to discuss even tangentially or indirectly, and without personal agreement, the possibility that actions of the judiciary might imply bias, albeit unconsciously, against certain races, classes, or groups, for fear of prosecutions for contempt of court. This sort of discussion, it is well known, takes place in overseas countries without prosecutions following.'

The judgment was criticized, too, by Professor J. C. van der Walt of the Rand Afrikaans University in the Tydskrif (August), and in an article by Mr. J. Milton,
Senior Lecturer in Law at the University of Natal, published in the South African Law Journal in November.

Similar disquiet was expressed by several newspapers. On 11 June, for example, an editorial in the Rand Daily Mail stated that "we are left with the danger that an academic lawyer, newspaper editor, or anyone else will know that the publication of material on the possibility of differentiation between the races in the administration of justice may be considered contemptuous . . . Available statistics show that this should be a legitimate area for serious research and discussion. But anyone who tries this will now run grave risks".

On 14 June the Sunday Times stated that the judgment had placed it in doubt as to what its rights were in commenting on what might be regarded as racial anomalies in the administration of justice. Newspapers had been left with the choice of commenting at their peril, risking prosecution, or of abstaining when it was their duty to comment, for fear of prosecution, although in fact there might be no danger of prosecution.

In an editorial published on 11 June the Cape Times stated, "If a vitally important matter" such as that raised by Dr. Van Niekerk cannot be discussed in the appropriate professional journal "where and how can it ever be discussed? . . . The vast majority of civilized countries have abolished the death penalty and those that have not rarely use it." It was pointed out that a request for an enquiry into the use of this extreme penalty and its application as between the races was not to insinuate bias or prejudice on the part of the judiciary. "Since the beginning of time the task of judges has been to apply the law in terms of the ideas and ideals and standards of the community in which it is applied. These standards vary from time to time and from place to place ... The Government would be well advised to follow Dr. Van Niekerk's suggestion and appoint a powerful commission to go into the desirability in principle of the death penalty in modern South Africa, I Sunday Times report, 27 September.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS. 1970

to investigate whether there is discrimination in terms of race and if there is, what is the reason and whether anything can be done about it".

FURTHER COMMENT ON THE DEATH PENALTY

Shortly after this case, an article by Professor Ellison Kahn was published in the May issue of the Tydskrif vir Hedendaagse Romeins-Hollanse Reg. He stated that he was opposed to the death sentence in peace time (war time and times of revolution and revolt were left out of account). While the swing in the rest of the world was towards abolition, South Africa had been extending the number of capital crimes. He urged the Government to appoint a commission of inquiry to investigate the matter.10

During September, Dr. Van Niekerk announced that he was making the first moves towards the establishment of a Society for the Abolition of the Death Penalty.'1 This society will be set up in February 1971.

The South African Council of Churches has published a booklet by Mr. Peter Randall, director of its Spro-Cas project,2 entitled The Church and the Death Penalty, recommending that the churches should concern themselves with
abolition. Only the Presbyterian Church had, thus far, seriously done so. At its annual conference in October, the Methodist Church agreed unanimously to support any request for a Government enquiry into capital punishment. The conference noted "with concern the high rate of executions in South Africa; the state of lawlessness, murder, and economic insecurity which this appears to reveal; and the doubts expressed concerning the justification and effectiveness of capital punishment."3

On 13 November the Synod of the Church of the Province of S.A. (Anglican) passed a resolution noting "with concern that the annual number of executions in South Africa is amongst the highest in the civilized world." It asked the Government to institute an enquiry into the principle of capital punishment, and possible alternative methods of dealing with men and women whose offences incurred the death penalty.

It was mentioned on page 54 of last year's Survey that during 1969 Mrs. Helen Suzman (Progressive Party) introduced a private member's motion in the Assembly: "that this House requests the Government to consider the advisability of appointing a commission to enquire into the desirability of abolishing capital punishment". She received no support in the Assembly.

10 Sunday Times, 26 July.
11 Rand Daily Mail, 28 September.
12 See page 19.
13 Rand Daily Mail, 23 October.

ASSAULTS

Jaycee in Cape Town (the Junior Chamber of Commerce) has published the results of a survey it conducted of victims of violence. The assault victims treated in hospital, it was found, were most commonly Africans and Coloured people, in their 20's and 30's. Knives, sticks, and bottles accounted for the majority of injuries, which did not often result in death. Two-fifths of those concerned claimed that they had been assaulted more than once previously. The majority were assaulted during their leisure hours, mostly after dark, and, in about one-tenth of the cases, in poorly-lit streets. About one-half of the victims and the majority of their assailants were intoxicated at the time. Robbery appeared to be a significant motive.

The investigators found an almost exclusive association of such conduct with poverty and prolonged, persuasive, socioeconomic frustration. "These experiences do massive violence to one's identity" it was said, "and cripple one's capacity for relatively full self-realization ..."

"As each new local township has been populated during the last decade, it has been smitten with a wave of social chaos and street violence which lasts for a couple of years or until it is suppressed by energetic police action."

No immediate remedy was seen; but long-term measures were proposed for the socio-economic and educational advancement of the poor, to be commenced as a matter of urgency. Local authorities should establish departments concerned solely with the social advancement of communities, it was suggested.
SHORT-TERM IMPRISONMENT
Commenting on the statistics, given earlier, Mrs. Helen Suzman said that South Africa's daily prison population was without doubt the highest pro-rata in the Western world. There had been an alarming increase. She drew attention to the very large number of Africans serving sentences of less than four months. Most of these people were in all probability "statutory criminals", gaol because of the pass laws. South Africa could not afford this reckless waste of manpower, she said.

Statements along similar lines were made by Mr. F. J. van Wyk, Director of the Institute of Race Relations, and Mrs. Jeanette Carlson, Transvaal chairman of the Black Sash.

PRISON VAN DEATHS
An account was given on page 55 of last year's Survey of the deaths through suffocation and heat of three African men in an overcrowded prison van that was transporting them about 20 miles.

14 Rand Daily Mail, 7 August. 15 Ibid, 6 August.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970
from the Modder B prison near Benoni to court in Johannesburg, and broke down on the way. The Minister of Police announced, shortly afterwards, that an inter-departmental committee of enquiry had been appointed, under the chairmanship of the Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg.

The Government decided not to make the committee's report available to the public. The Minister offered to show it privately to the Leader of the Opposition and the head of the United Party's group on justice, but they rejected the offer pointing out that the Minister was responsible to the people and Parliament, and not to individual Members of Parliament.

In the Assembly on 16 February the Minister said that, in its report, the committee had mentioned several measures, already taken, which would bring relief but not a permanent solution. Delays in the trials of men who arrived at the Modder B prison were being eliminated as far as possible, and arrangements made to maintain a more constant flow of awaiting trial prisoners to the courts during the day, using a less busy but more roundabout route. The supervision of transportation had been placed under the personal command of an officer with the rank of major. More vehicles, drivers, and guards had been made available, and 7-ton trucks replaced by 3-ton trucks with better ventilation. All of these had been equipped with two-way radios.

Long-term improvements suggested by the committee included the construction of a prison near the courts; the maximum use meanwhile of police cells in Soweto instead of the Modder B prison; and the establishment of branch courts as near as possible to the proposed new prison.

Following the deaths, the Minister said, one officer had been dismissed from his previous post and another admonished: both were transferred elsewhere. A constable had been found guilty by a disciplinary court, and fined. Seven officers and six other members of the police had been warned.

POLICE AGENT X 54
It was mentioned on page 65 of last year's Survey that an African Security police spy known as X 54 was the chief witness in a case heard in Cape Town. The judge found that his answers to questions were quite clearly false. He admitted that he had lied during a trial in Port Elizabeth. The judge said that "it makes a person shudder to think that someone like X 54 could be placed in a position where he had an interest in the arrest of members of the public".

In reply to a question by Mrs. Suzman on 27 February 17 the Minister of Police said that no steps had been taken to prosecute "Hansard 3 cols. 1147-8. ' Hansard 4 col. 2085.

PRISONERS

X 54 on a charge of perjury, "because if a judicial officer has doubts about the credibility of a witness in a particular case, it does not necessarily follow that such a witness has committed perjury". Asked whether his services as a police agent had been terminated, the Minister replied, "It would be prejudicial to the safety or interests of the Republic to disclose the required information concerning a police or security matter".

SOME NOTES ON THE TREATMENT OF PRISONERS

On 14 August the Minister of Prisons was asked for information about the diet scales for prisoners, and the type of bedding provided."

A summary of his reply, giving the diet (daily unless otherwise stated) is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>量</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mealie meal or mealie rice or samp</td>
<td>4 oz. 20 oz. 7 oz.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mealies Bread Meat or fish</td>
<td>16 oz. 1 oz.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dried Beans</td>
<td>1 oz.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetables Soup, protone, or gravy powder. Fat</td>
<td>3 oz.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>twice daily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee or Tea</td>
<td>1 oz.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puzamandhla Salt</td>
<td>2 oz.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar Jam</td>
<td>I oz.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>twice daily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured and Asians</td>
<td>4 oz.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>8 oz.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured and Asians</td>
<td>6 oz.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>four times weekly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meatless days</td>
<td>4 oz. on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured and Asians</td>
<td>meatless days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>8 oz.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured and Asians</td>
<td>4/5 oz.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>I oz.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
twice daily
1/2 oz.
normally
2 oz.
1 oz.
Africans
12 oz.
8 oz.
5 oz. four times weekly
4 oz. on
meatless days
8 oz.
4/5 oz.
1/2 oz.
once daily 1 7/9 oz.
1/2 oz.
normally 1 1/2 oz.
White prisoners have a divan (or two sleeping mats if floor space is limited), a
mattress and pillow, three blankets, four sheets, two pillowcases, and a bedspread.
Non-whites have two sleeping mats and three blankets. With the Commissioner's
approval, however, A-group prisoners may also
11 Hansard 4 cols. 1723-6.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS. 1970
have a divan (instead of mats), a mattress, pillow, four sheets, two pillowcases,
and a bedspread.
In all cases, additional blankets are provided in cold regions during the winter.
Selected warders and prisoners have been trained to use material produced by the
Bureau of Literacy and Literature in order that they may give literacy training to
long-term prisoners. According to the report of the Department of Prisons for
1968-9, 11 628 pupils were receiving such training on 30 June 1969. The better-
educated long-term prisoners may be allowed to take correspondence courses: the
Department stated that 439 prisoners sat for one or more examinations in 1968-9
(from Standard VI upwards), five of them being awarded degrees.

CONDUCT OF POLICE AND PRISON WARDERS
The same report mentioned that in 1968-9, medals for faithful service were
awarded to 203 prison warders, while 19 received a medal for merit.
It was stated in the Report of the Commissioner of Police2" that, during the same
year, 13 white and 18 African policemen lost their lives in the execution of their
duties. Three policemen were awarded the Police Star for Distinguished Service.
Those receiving other awards were:
Whites   Non-Whites
Police Star for Merit ..........  135    33
Police Medal for Faithful Service ...  252    111
In reply to a question in the Assembly on 1 September, the Minister of Police said that the following number of people had been shot at and either wounded or killed by members of the police in the execution of their duties:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Wounded</th>
<th>Killed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970 to end August</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the exception of the legal expenses, which were not a matter for the Department of Police, and of cases that were pending, the cost to the State in compensation, medical and other expenses had been (to the nearest Rand) R4 997 in 1968, R6 903 in 1969, and thus far, R4 369 in 1970.

"0 R.P. 5911970.
- Hansard 7 LNI 3028.

POLICE AND PRISON WARDERS
On 18 September the Minister talked about assaults. During 1969, he said, there had been 2 056 charges of assault by the police. All had been investigated thoroughly, many proving to have been unfounded. Only 298 convictions had resulted (14 per cent of the total number of charges). Thus far in 1970 there had been 947 charges, and 92 convictions (9 per cent).

During 1969 there were 5 537 complaints of assault against the police, of which 95 per cent had been taken to court. In 1970, to the end of June, there had been 2 723 cases, 96 per cent of which were taken to court. (The Minister did not indicate what the outcome of these cases was.)

The Minister replied to a series of questions on 11 September, giving the following information (for the years ended 30 June):

- Policemen convicted of assault 1968-9 1969-70
  - White .... 149 76
  - Coloured ..... 19 17
  - Indian .... 4 5
  - African .... 165 143
- Convicted policemen who subsequently appeared before boards of enquiry
  - White .... 10 7
  - Coloured ..... 3
  - African .... 13 18
- Of these, the number who were found by the boards not fit to remain in the force
  - White .... 5 1
  - Coloured .......... 3
  - African .... 6 12
- Of the above, the number who were dismissed
  - White .... 3 1
After careful consideration, the Minister said, the Commissioner had decided to retain the services of the remaining two white and four African policemen.

Hansard 9 col. 4585.

- Hansard 8 cols. 3914-6,

**A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970**

**POLICE RESERVE**

In his annual report for 1968-9, the Commissioner of Police gave the strength of the Police Reserve as at 30 June 1969 as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>African</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>5778</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>7914</td>
<td>523</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>1530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>3038</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>785</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17515</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>1530</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The categories of police reservists were described on page 74 of the 1967 Survey. The Commissioner gave high praise to the work of these reservists.

**LEGAL AID**

The terms of the Legal Aid Act of 1969 were set out on page 59 of last year's Survey.

Replying to questions on 15 September, the Minister of Justice said that the Legal Aid Board, set up in terms of the Act, had approved of a scheme aiming at the appointment of an agent at every magistrate's office to deal with applications for assistance. Thus far, no agreement had been reached with attorneys and advocates in regard to the tariff of fees to be paid to them in legal aid cases. It was anticipated, he said, that the Board would provide aid in both civil and criminal cases. It had been decided that where in forma pauperis rules already provided for adequate assistance, action should be taken in terms of these rules. The matter would be reconsidered as the scheme developed. As hardly any money had so far been spent, only R150 000 had been voted for the Board's expenses in the current year.

It was reported on 3 August that a number of proposals made by the Board were to be considered by the General Council of the Bar and the Association of Law Societies. Their decisions have not been announced at the time of writing. 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 grant of R2 500 a year, together with money raised from the public. It is a registered welfare organization, serving all races. The lawyers do not charge for their services. A means test is applied, graduated according to the applicant's racial group.

24 Hansard 9 col. 4163.

**ASSISTANCE TO PRISONERS**
It was reported at the annual general meeting of the Johannesburg bureau, in September, that in the past year the director, Mrs. P. Lipson, and her staff had handled 518 African, 180 Coloured, and 165 new white cases. In all (including the cases previously opened) 10,328 interviews were given to people of all races during the year.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR CRIME PREVENTION AND REHABILITATION OF OFFENDERS

In 1970 the voluntary National Institute for Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of Offenders (previously called the Social Services Association) celebrated its 60th year of service. It continues to work in co-operation with the Department of Prisons.

According to its annual report for the year ended 30 March 1970, the Association had been active in eleven centres; employed 38 professionally trained social workers and two prisoners' friends; made regular visits to 22 penal institutions and maintained contact with the families of prisoners; rendered court welfare services at most of its branches; and maintained after-care hostels at Pretoria, Cape Town, and Port Elizabeth. It was hoped to start another in Durban.

The two prisoners' friends are Africans employed at the Bantu Affairs Commissioners' Courts at Springs and Langa, Cape Town. In 1969-70, the latter got into touch with 1,721 employers and 2,840 relatives of prisoners by telephoning, writing letters, or making personal visits. As a result, 1,823 convicted people, mostly pass law offenders, had their fines paid and were saved from having to serve prison sentences.2"

It was reported, at the annual general meeting in October, that as many discharged prisoners as possible were employed in the public service. A difficulty encountered by many of the Africans and Coloured people, which was to be discussed with the appropriate authorities, was that they were discharged without first being issued with the necessary identity documents.

Star, 30 September. Cape Times report. 10 July

DETENTION AND TRIALS UNDER THE SECURITY LAWS

IMPRISONMENT UNDER THE SECURITY LAWS

Replying to a question in the Assembly on 18 September, tnt, Minister of Justice said that, as at 1 January 1970, the numbers of people who were serving sentences of imprisonment under the security laws were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Section 21, General Law Amendment Act of 1962</td>
<td>(sabotage)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suppression of Communism Act</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unlawful Organizations Act</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrorism Act</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On 11 and 18 September the Minister gave information about the number of convictions during 1969, and the number of people who, that year, were released
after serving sentences of imprisonment under the security laws. The figures were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
<th>Convictions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suppression of Communism Act</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unlawful Organizations Act</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrorism Act</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Released after prison sentences</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

None of those released had subsequently again been charged with offences under these Acts, the Minister added.

DEATHS DURING DETENTION

The deaths of seven people in 1969 during their detention under the security laws was reported on pages 68 et seq of last year's Survey. In the Assembly on 3 February the Minister of Hansard 9 col. 4481.

DEATHS DURING DETENTION

Police said that Mr. Michael Shivute had died too, having committed suicide on the night of his arrest on 16 June 1969.

On 31 July the Minister said that, since then, no further people had died while in detention.

ENQUIRY INTO THE DEATH OF THE IMAM ABDULLAH HARON

A Moslem leader, the Imam Haron, was detained on 28 May 1969 under the Terrorism Act, and died in detention on 27 September of that year. As mentioned in last year's Survey, the Minister of Police told the Assembly that his death was found to have been from natural causes. From information given by Mrs. C. D. Taylor in the Assembly on 18 September, the Head of the Security Police in the Western Cape had said that the Imam appeared to have died from natural causes, but the details could not be disclosed until an inquest had been held.

Eventually, inquest proceedings were commenced on 13 February, being heard by a magistrate with a senior State pathologist as an assessor. One of the chief witnesses was Major Dirk Genis of the Security Police, who said that he and Detective Sergeant J. F. P. van Wyk had been mainly responsible for the Imam's interrogation. (According to Mrs. Taylor, who said she had seen all the documents involved, this interrogation took place from 28 May to 11 August, with short intervals, for 71 hours a day.) Major Genis said that on 19 September the Imam had fallen down some stairs, but had claimed not to have been hurt. He and Sergeant van Wyk denied any knowledge of assaults on him.

Counsel for Mrs. Haron testified that, according to the post mortem, there were 26 separate bruises on the front, back, and side of the Imam's body. Some of them
were very large ones. Besides this, he had a haematoma on his back and a fractured rib. The Head of the Security Police in the Western Cape said that, when he last saw the Imam, the latter had appeared very tense. The pathologist who had carried out the post mortem said that the possible cause of death was reduced blood supply to the heart through the narrowing of an artery. The bruises could have been indirectly related. Some of these bruises, he said, were older than others, and in his opinion they could not all have been caused by the fall. A specialist surgeon agreed. The magistrate found that the Imam had died of heart trouble brought on, in part, by his accidental fall. He added that, on the available evidence, he was unable to determine how the rest of the injuries had been caused.

The head of the Criminal Investigation Department instructed his Divisional Officer for the Western Cape to carry out further investigations into the Imam's death in order to ascertain whether certain alleged injuries were to be attributed to a criminal offence. In reply to questions by Mrs. Taylor in the Assembly on 21 and 24 July the Minister of Justice said that the Security Police officer who was in charge of the investigations (i.e. Major Genis) had been transferred to Bloemfontein at the end of 1969 to fill a vacancy there. The Minister of Police stated that two of the security officers involved in the interrogation had not been called upon to give evidence at the inquest because this would have duplicated what others had said. None of the officers involved was still engaged in the interrogation of detainees, since at the centres where they were then stationed no-one was being detained under the Terrorism Act.

In the course of the speech referred to earlier Mrs. Taylor said Major Genis had admitted in evidence that a Sergeant Andries van Wyk could have been alone with the Imam during the interrogation. She asked why he had not been called as a witness. She asked, too, why two detainees who had been linked with the Imam's case had been released without explanation almost immediately after his death. The Imam, she said, had been 45 years of age, and was given a life insurance policy a year before he was arrested. A proper judicial enquiry should have been conducted into his death, she maintained.

In replying to Mrs. Taylor, the Minister of Police detailed the reasons for the Imam's detention, although, he admitted, these did not "have much of a bearing on the matter". At the end of September the Attorney General of the Cape announced that the further inquiry by the Divisional Officer of the Western Cape had revealed no evidence which could serve as a basis for the prosecution of any person following the Imam's death.
ACTIONS FOR DAMAGES AGAINST THE POLICE

During April, Mrs. Haron had summonses for damages of R22 000 served on the Ministers of Police and/or Justice on behalf of her three minor children. This case is still pending at the time of writing.

The action instituted by Mrs. Lencoe against the Minister of Police and Major T. J. Swanepoel of the Security Police, following the death of her husband while in detention, was described on page 69 of last year's Survey. This suit has not been heard, either.

In reply to questions in the Assembly on 4 August,0 the Minister of Police said that, since 1964, 22 ex-detainees and two next-of-kin had brought actions for damages against himself and/or members of the police force. Three cases had been settled out of

Hansard 1 cols. 91, 349.
Col. 4587.
'Star, 30 September.
10 Hansard 3 col. 973.

DETENTION UNDER THE SECURITY LAWS

court: R1 000 had been paid to Miss S. Kemp, R1 100 to Mr. A. S. de Oliveira, and R1 100 to Mr. F. S. Gordinho. Twenty cases were pending, but in eighteen of these the plaintiffs did not proceed with the actions after the State had filed pleadings and, in some cases, had called for further particulars.

NUMBER OF PEOPLE DETAINED

The Minister of Police has consistently refused to furnish full information about people who have been detained under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act of 1967. On 3 February11 he admitted that some had been so detained in recent months, but said it was not in the public interest to disclose further particulars. Questioned again on 7 August12 he replied, "Although I am prepared to confirm that persons are being detained from time to time for various periods, I am not prepared to give further particulars because such information would be of value to those organizations and persons who strive to promote the infiltration of terrorists". He did, however, say that no-one had been in detention under this Section for more than two years.

As mentioned in last year's Survey, on 3 June 1969 the Minister of Police stated3 that 35 people had been detained under the Terrorism Act since 12 May of that year, while four potential witnesses were being detained under the 180-day clause of the Criminal Procedure Act.

On 3 February14 the Minister said that, since 3 June 1969, there had been no further detentions under the Terrorism Act, but 35 people had been detained in terms of the 180-day clause. On 24 July1” he added that three further people had been so detained. It was not clear, from his reply, how many were still in detention on the latter date. Ten had apparently been called as witnesses in various cases (one of them had been in detention for 173 days). Some had been released.
During the trial of "S. R. Ndou and 21 others", described in the pages that follow, the State Prosecutor said that the State had more than 80 witnesses at its disposal, a "substantial number" of whom were being held in detention.

As mentioned later, it transpired during June that Mr. Benjamin S. Ramotse, who then appeared in court, had been in detention since 16 July 1968.

**FIRST TRIAL OF S. R. NDOU AND 21 OTHERS**

The opening of this trial was described on page 71 of last year's Survey. Twenty-two Africans, including five women, one of them being Mrs. Winnie Mandela (wife of Nelson Mandela, the former leader of the banned A.N.C.) appeared in the Pretoria 'Magistrate's Court on 28 October 1969, on a number of charges under the Suppression of Communism Act relating to A.N.C. activities. They were remanded in custody for summary trial in the Supreme Court, Pretoria, to commence on 1 December.

During the court proceedings two women detainees who were called as State witnesses refused to give evidence. Miss Shanti Naidoo stated that she had been in solitary confinement since 13 June 1969. After a five-day long interrogation, during which she had not been allowed to sleep, and threats that her entire family would be arrested, she finally made a statement to the police, she said. However, she was not prepared to testify in court. Two of the accused were her friends, and she would not be able to live with herself if she gave evidence against them. She was sentenced to two months' imprisonment.

Mrs. B. N. Mamkahle received a similar sentence. She had been in solitary confinement since 22 May 1969, she said, and she, too, had been made to stand for prolonged periods while being interrogated. The reasons for her refusal to give evidence were that the police had not released her after she finally made a statement, as she understood from them would be done, and, further, that she did not wish to testify against her people.

Five witnesses stated that they had been threatened and assaulted by the police. In an application to the court, described later, Mrs. Rita Ndzanga said she had been beaten. Mr. George Mokwebo alleged that he had been kicked and punched, and suspended by his hands, with only the tips of his toes touching the ground. A woman said that she had been ordered to stand on some bricks until she answered questions.

On 16 February the Attorney General for the Transvaal advised the trial judge that he was stopping the proceedings and withdrawing the prosecution. All 22 of the accused were then found not guilty, and discharged. Before they could leave the court, however, they were re-arrested and detained under the Terrorism Act, again being held incommunicado. Papers normally confidential between them and their lawyers were seized.1"
The Minister of Police said in the Assembly on 21 July1” that 22 witnesses in the trial had been detained under the Terrorism Act, for periods ranging from 107 to 371 days. Two of them were redetained after the trial, for periods of 123 days and 130 days respectively. A magistrate had visited the accused once every fortnight and the witnesses once a week.

When the accused were re-detained Mrs. Mandela's sister, Miss Iris Madikizela, and fourteen other relatives of the detainees made an urgent application to the Supreme Court for their protection.

TRIALS UNDER THE SECURITY LAWS

against assaults by the police. Allegations were made of assaults during their interrogation in May and June, 1969. This application was opposed by the State. The judge found that the matter was not one of urgency, and should be placed on the roll in accordance with normal court procedure to allow the service of papers to the respondents, the Ministers of Police and Justice.

After she had served her two months' sentence for refusing to give evidence, Miss Shanti Naidoo was re-detained. Her mother made a habeas corpus application to the court, but this was dismissed because courts of law have no jurisdiction over people detained under the Terrorism Act.

PROTESTS AGAINST THE RE-DETENTION OF THE 22 PEOPLE

Early in March the Black Sash began a series of weekly public vigils, held every Monday, which, they said, would be continued until the detainees were charged or released. Placards were displayed pointing to the injustice of detention without trial.

During May, when a year had elapsed since the first of the detainees was arrested, students at the English-medium universities and the Johannesburg College of Education decided to arrange peaceful protests and pickets. A number of students in Johannesburg missed lectures and joined the Black Sash poster demonstration. Meetings were held at the various universities, addressed by prominent people. Thousands of leaflets were distributed to the public, protesting against the erosion of the Rule of Law and the continued detention of the 22 people.

The Johannesburg City Council gave permission for students of the University of the Witwatersrand to hold a protest march, to police headquarters and back, on 18 May. At the last moment, however, the Acting Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg prohibited the march, in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act. He had reason to believe, he said, that the public peace would be seriously endangered. Student leaders had given the assurance that the marchers would behave "in an exemplary fashion". But, according to the Press, certain Afrikaans newspapers had predicted that trouble would arise. On 18 May the Rand Daily Mail suggested that any possible trouble-makers could only be "unruly elements who supported the Government blindly".

The students held a mid-day mass meeting to protest against this ban. Some of them decided spontaneously to defy it, and set off on the march. A few others joined them. Near police headquarters they were stopped by a large number of policemen, who arrested 357 of the marchers. After their names and addresses had
been taken and they had been photographed and finger-printed, they were released on their own recognisances.
The Attorney General of the Transvaal announced on 28 May

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that 30 of the marchers were to be prosecuted: they were mainly students but a few ministers of religion, lecturers, teachers, and ex-students were included. Early in July these people appeared in the magistrate's court, facing two very serious charges under the Riotous Assemblies Act and Criminal Law Amendment Act, respectively, and a minor charge of having contravened a municipal bylaw. The case was adjourned to 31 August.

On 15 August, however, the Attorney General announced that he would drop the two serious charges if the accused all agreed to plead guilty to the minor one and to pay R50 admission of guilt fines. The charge against one man was dropped. The others decided to pay the fines.

The Cape Town City Council twice refused applications by the students there to hold a protest march, but, on 19 May, a number of them defied the ban and marched through the streets. Four of them were subsequently charged under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, with alternative charges of having organized or participated in a procession which had been forbidden, and of marching on public roads in a manner that was likely to endanger themselves or others. During August, three were acquitted. The fourth was found guilty on a minor count, cautioned, and discharged.

The Cape Town students held a number of protest meetings against the continued detention of the 22 people, and maintained vigils at the Anglican Cathedral.

In Grahamstown, the City Council refused to allow students of the University of Rhodes to picket the streets. Instead, the students held protest meetings, and "teach-ins" on the implications of the Terrorism Act.

Permission for a protest march was refused in Pietermaritzburg, too. Students of the branch of the University of Natal there held a mass protest meeting, maintained an all-night vigil, and organized a poster demonstration along the boundary of the university grounds. Durban students held a mass protest meeting outside the City Hall, and arranged study groups and "teach-ins". Groups of students visited offices, factories, homes, and bus queues to explain why they were opposed to detention without trial, and to obtain signatures to a petition defending the right of peaceful protest.

Many others, besides the Black Sash and the students, called for the detainees to be charged or released. Mrs. Helen Suzman, M.P., and a number of leading clergymen and ministers did so. The Johannesburg Attorneys' Association asked the Incorporated Law Society of the Transvaal to approach the Government in the matter, and the Johannesburg Bar Association issued a statement that was strongly critical of the relevant provisions of the Terrorism Act. A statement calling for the detainees' trial or release was issued by the Institute of Race Relations. A petition to this effect, circulated by the Civil Rights League, was signed by 120 prominent citizens.
TRIALS UNDER THE SECURITY LAWS

On 26 May the Witwatersrand Council of Churches arranged a mass meeting to express public concern about the principle of imprisonment without trial. It was decided that a delegation should seek an immediate interview with the Prime Minister: but as he was not available a motion passed at the meeting was handed in at his office.

A special service to pray for the detainees was held at the Anglican Cathedral in Cape Town. At their annual Synod the Methodists of the Southern Transvaal called upon the Government to take action. A deputation representing all sections of the University of the Witwatersrand was appointed to seek an interview with the Minister of Justice.

THE SECOND TRIAL

On 28 May the Minister of Justice announced that the further investigation by the police in regard to the 22 persons had reached a stage where the case could again be submitted to the Attorney General.

Miss Shanti Naidoo was released on 18 June. It was reported that she had been in solitary confinement for 369 days. She remained subject to a strict banning order imposed in 1963 and renewed for a further five years in 1968.

It was announced on the same day that 19 of the 22 detainees (14 men and 5 women) were to be charged. The other three had been released: one of them was driven home by the police from the Westkoppies Mental Hospital, where he had been for some weeks.

A man who had not been amongst the original accused, Mr. Benjamin Ramotse, was to be charged together with the 19. It emerged that he had been in detention since 16 July 1968.

The twenty accused appeared in the Pretoria magistrate's court during June for formal remand for a summary Supreme Court trial under the Terrorism Act. It was 400 days after the first of them had been detained.

On 12 July the indictment was served on the defence attorney, Mr. Joel Carlson. It ran to 58 pages. The substance of it was an allegation that between 1962 and 1970 the accused had conspired with one another and with various organizations, including the banned African National Congress and Communist Party, to overthrow the government by violence. It was alleged that Mr. Ramotse had received guerilla training abroad. Fifteen co-conspirators were listed.

When the trial opened on 24 August the nineteen entered a special plea to the effect that they had already been acquitted of the offences with which they were now charged. Alternatively, the acts alleged to have been committed by them in the original charge were substantially so similar to the acts alleged in the present

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charge as to make the second prosecution an abuse of the process of court.

Mr. Ramotse claimed that the court had no jurisdiction to try him because he was arrested in Botswana by Rhodesian police and brought within the jurisdiction of the court in violation of international law. He stated that he was a Zambian citizen.
Mr. S. Kentridge, S.C., appearing for the accused, consequently asked that the indictment be dismissed. Mr. J. H. Liebenberg, for the State, argued that although the facts alleged in the two indictments might be substantially the same, the first indictment had related to the building up of a local organization. The present one went much further, alleging a conspiracy to bring about the overthrow of the government by violence. Mr. Kentridge replied that the accused had been in jeopardy on the first indictment of being convicted of terrorist activities. On 14 September the judge said that, as it appeared to him that "the requirement of substantial identity" was satisfied, the special plea by the 19 accused had succeeded. They were acquitted and discharged.

Mr. Ramotse's plea had not succeeded. The fact that he might have been captured illegally by Rhodesian forces in Botswana could not affect the present court's jurisdiction, since he had been properly arrested on South African soil. His trial would be resumed at a later date.

Mr. Liebenberg gave notice of appeal as to whether the plea of the 19 was valid in law. This appeal was heard in Bloemfontein early in November: on 9 December the Appeal Court confirmed the acquittal of the 19 accused.

EVENTS FOLLOWING UPON THE SECOND TRIAL
Almost immediately after the conclusion of the second trial, all of the 19 Africans who had been released were issued with banning orders, for periods ranging from 31 August 1972 until 30 September 1975, including a prohibition on attending social gatherings. As the spoken or written words of a banned person may not be quoted, two of them, who were journalists, were unable to continue in their previous professions.

Mrs. Winnie Mandela was, in addition, subjected to house arrest, at weekends and for twelve hours daily during the week. She was forbidden to leave the suburb of Orlando in Soweto, making it extremely difficult for her to find employment. A wave of indignation swept university campuses and many members of the general public. The Black Sash condemned the "outrageous assault on the principle of the rule of law", and held poster demonstrations. The Civil Rights League stated that the nineteen people were being punished administratively because the Government could not secure judicial punishment through the courts of law.

TRIALS UNDER THE SECURITY LAWS
Students at the English-medium universities held mass protest meetings and distributed thousands of leaflets to the public. (Some leaflets were distributed, too, by students of the Afrikaans-medium universities of Stellenbosch and Pretoria.) The General Law Further Amendment Act, which requires a magistrate's permission for a procession held in protest, had not yet come into effect: the Johannesburg City Council allowed students of the University of the Witwatersrand to march through the streets. The procession was completely orderly except that water, red ink, and eggs were thrown at the students from a few buildings. The Grahamstown City Council allowed Rhodes students to hold a picket protest in the streets. Students in Pietermaritzburg picketed along the boundary of the university grounds. Students of the University of Cape Town
hanged an effigy of the Prime Minister. Those of the University of Natal resumed
door-to-door canvassing of householders to discuss the rule of law.
On 8 October the Minister of Justice issued a Press statement. The restrictions on
the Africans had not been imposed as punishment for past behaviour, he said.
They were aimed at the prevention of subversive activities in future. It was true
that the way in which a person could be expected to behave in future could be
judged only on his past activities. In making decisions he (the Minister) took into
account the person's whole pattern of behaviour.
Mr. M. L. Mitchell, M.P., the United Party's spokesman on justice, stated that the
Minister's "explanation" showed that "a monumental abuse of powers" could take
place under the Suppression of Communism Act. It was impossible to exclude the
thought that wrong decisions had been taken under this measure.
After at first being refused, Mrs. Mandela was eventually allowed to pay a brief
visit to her husband, Mr. Nelson Mandela, who is serving a life sentence as a
political prisoner on Robben Island. Her attorney, Mr. Joel Carlson, accompanied
her to Cape Town. She had to report to the police on departure from and arrival at
both Johannesburg and Cape Town, and prison officials were present during her
meeting with her husband. Shortly after returning, she suffered a mild heart
attack.
The police paid very frequent visits to Mrs. Mandela's home. Both she and her
sister, Miss N. Madikizela, were prosecuted, Mrs. Mandela for contravening the
terms of her banning order, and her sister for being in Johannesburg illegally, and
with failing to produce a reference book. Miss Madikizela stated that she was the
only adult able to look after her sister, who needed someone at hand because of
her heart condition.
At the commencement of her trial, on 9 November, Miss Madikizela's legal
representative, Mr. Carlson, asked the magistrate to recuse himself. It appeared to
his client that "this is a rigged court", the case being treated as one of far more
significance than it really was. The prosecution, as seen by his client and her
family,
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was a systematic form of combat to punish them after they had been acquitted of
more serious crimes. Justice would not be seen to be done. The magistrate
rejected this plea. The case was adjourned because of Mrs. Mandela's illness,
Miss Madikezela being allowed out on bail of R20.
She appeared in court again on 20 November. Mr. Carlson then pointed out that
she had been living with Mrs. Mandela since 1960. There was no reason why the
prosecution should not have been brought earlier.
On 30 November Miss Madikizela was found guilty of being in Johannesburg
illegally and of failing to produce a reference book. The magistrate cautioned and
discharged her. He said that he was treating her leniently because it was only after
her arrest that she and Mrs. Mandela had realized that her name was not on the
latter's housing permit. Mr. Carlson stated that he would apply for her presence in
Johannesburg to be legalized.
Mr. Joel Carlson, who had been defence attorney in a number of political trials, had a petrol bomb thrown at the window of his home, shots were fired at his car and offices, and he was sent a book with the centre pages cut away to make room for an explosive device, which in the event failed to ignite. It was mentioned earlier that when the 22 people were redetained, after their first acquittal, the relatives of some of them made application to the Supreme Court for their protection against assaults by the police. The judge ruled that the matter was not urgent, and ordered the applicants to pay the costs involved, which amounted to RI 099. During September the State proceeded with a writ of execution, attaching furniture and a derelict car from some of those who could not pay.

TRIAL OF MR. RAMOTSE

Mr. Benjamin Ramotse appeared in the Supreme Court, Pretoria, on 21 September, pleading not guilty to a long schedule of charges relating to his alleged part in terrorist activities between 1962 and 1970. Four Security Police secret agents gave evidence: the Press was ordered not to reveal their names. They all said that they had been sent abroad by the A.N.C. for training in sabotage and guerilla warfare, and had encountered Mr. Ramotse in various capacities in training camps in places in Tanzania and Zambia. Later, they had defected to work with the police. Mr. Ramotse was found guilty on six charges under the Terrorism Act, and sentenced to fifteen years’ imprisonment. The Botswana Government sent a diplomatic note to South Africa asking for substantiation of a statement made in court that Mr. Ramotse had been arrested in Rhodesia, and not Botswana. The outcome has not been reported at the time of writing.

TRIALS UNDER THE SECURITY LAWS

FURTHER CASE UNDER THE SECURITY LAWS

During December 1969, Mr. Donald S. Mathangela was sentenced to seven years’ imprisonment, at the Supreme Court in Pietermaritzburg, on being found guilty of having undergone military training abroad with the intention of overthrowing the government in South Africa. The judge said that the sentence would have been a heavier one had it not been for the fact that Mr. Mathangela's original expectation, when he left, was that he was to receive academic education.

GUERILLA FIGHTERS

INCURSIONS INTO RHODESIA AND CAPRIVI BY GUERILLA FIGHTERS

The Minister of Police said in the Assembly on 16 February that, towards the end of December 1969, South African policemen in Caprivi had clashed with a group of guerilla fighters. He understood that one or two of the latter had been captured and the rest killed. None of the South Africans was injured. Various Press reports stated that a group of about 20 guerillas crossed the Zambesi River from Zambia in January, entering Rhodesia near the Victoria Falls. They split into two groups. One of these attacked a South African police camp at night, wounding four men, one seriously. One of the attackers was killed. The
other group fired on the airport, causing superficial damage, and blew up a railway line. They were pursued by the Rhodesian security forces: two Rhodesians were killed and three wounded. Eleven of the guerillas were killed and seven captured, and considerable quantities of arms and equipment were seized. The seven men were tried in Bulawayo and found guilty of the murder of a Rhodesian African soldier and of having entered the country illegally, bearing arms. Six of them were sentenced to death and the seventh to life imprisonment. Their appeal failed.

During February, Africans living about 60 miles from Salisbury captured an armed man who had apparently been one of a large group who came from Zambia at the end of 1967. Many of them were then killed or captured, but a few escaped. The man was handed over to the police. He is reported to have said in court that his job was to recruit and train people for guerilla fighting. He was sentenced to life imprisonment. Six Africans who were found guilty of being accessories after the fact of his offence received sentences ranging from fifteen months to four years.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA
It was announced on 8 June that the Government was offering a R1 000 reward for information leading to the arrest of Iyambo Israel, also known as Patrieka Hiambo or Shitumwa. He was described as "the most wanted terrorist in the country", said to be moving between Angola and Ovamboland, trying to revive the SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organisation) movement in South West Africa.

GUERILLA FIGHTERS
ANGOLA
The fighting in Angola is in its tenth year. Guerilla fighters of the MPLA (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola), and of other, apparently less effective organizations such as Unita, have infiltrated a large part of the eastern bushveld area. They operate from bases in Zambia. In the far north of the territory the Portuguese forces continue to fight guerillas who cross the border from the Congo Kinshasa.

MOZAMBIQUE
There have been six years of fighting in Mozambique, in three areas, where the Portuguese forces are opposed in the main by guerilla fighters of the Frelimo organization (Mozambique Liberation Front). There has been continued fighting in the thick bush of the Cabo Delgado district, near the Tanzanian border, in the Vila Cabral district to the east of Lake Nyasa (or Lake Malawi), and in the Tete area adjoining the Zambian border, about a hundred miles north of the proposed Cabora Bassa dam. Early in 1970 the guerillas claimed to control about a fifth of the territory: reports state that it would be more correct to say that they operated in such an area, laying land mines along the roads and ambushing army patrols.
Since August, the Portuguese have mounted a series of largescale offensives, and claim considerable success, with the capture of a number of guerilla bases and much equipment. There have, apparently, been heavy casualties. The Portuguese plan is reported\(^3\) to be to build a network of tarred roads along the frontiers, linking a chain of military bases, thus sealing off the borders and then to try to defeat the guerillas who remain in the territory. Various methods of propaganda are used to try to persuade these people to surrender; and doctors, sociologists, and agricultural experts are sent to areas which the guerillas infiltrated to try to counter Frelimo propaganda among the tribesmen.

\(^3\) e.g. Rand Daily Mail, 30 September,

**FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

**SOUTH AFRICA’S MEMBERSHIP OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS**

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 7 August' the Minister of Foreign Affairs said that South Africa was a member of at least 38 inter-governmental organizations: he gave a list of these. If the widest possible interpretation were given to the term "international organizations", however, the number to which South Africa belonged might well exceed one hundred.

On 25 September\(^2\) the Minister said that South Africa had withdrawn from Unesco, the International Labour Organization, and the Food and Agricultural Organization. Steps had been taken by other countries to thwart the Republic's attendance at meetings of the Universal Postal Union and the International Telecommunications Union. (The circumstances, in each case, have been reported in previous issues of this Survey.)

In June South Africa was chosen, together with France and Russia, to lead the International Electrotechnical Commission for the next six years.\(^3\)

**THE UNITED NATIONS**

On 16 December 1969, by 86 votes to 2 (South Africa and Portugal), with 21 abstentions, the General Assembly of the United Nations passed a lengthy motion expressing alarm over evidence of "gross and systematic violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in South Africa, Namibia (South West Africa), and Rhodesia". The Secretary-General was requested to give the widest possible publicity to "the evils of these policies." All memberstates which still maintained relations with these countries were called upon to terminate them immediately.

The Assembly asked the Secretary-General to set up a radio station to broadcast antiapartheid programmes to the peoples of Southern Africa.

At a meeting of the Security Council early in March, the Afro-Asians were able to secure a two-thirds majority vote for a resolution condemning Britain for not using force to overthrow the Rhodesian Government, and calling for mandatory sanctions to be extended to South Africa and Portugal because of the assistance they had given to Rhodesia. The motion failed, however, because the United States and Britain exercised their vetos. A British motion

'Hansard 3 cols. 1247-8.

\(^2\) Hansard 10 cols. 5017-8.

\(^3\) Rand Daily Mail, 17 June.
calling for condemnation and non-recognition of the newly proclaims Rhodesian Republic was defeated.

A compromise motion was eventually passed on 18 March with 14 in favour, none against, and Spain abstaining. Member states were called upon to sever all relations with the Rhodesian Government and to cease transportation services to and from that country. All agencies of the United Nations were asked to suspend Rhodesia's membership. South Africa and Portugal were condemned for continuing to assist Rhodesia; and the immediate withdrawal of South African police forces there was ordered.

Commenting on this resolution, the South African Prime Minister said,4 "The United Nations is no super-parliament. Laws for South Africa are made only in the parliament of South Africa. South Africa's point of view on Rhodesia is well known".

On 23 July another Afro-Asian resolution was adopted by the Security Council, with Britain, France, and the United States abstaining from voting. All states were called upon to bar the sale of arms to South Africa "unconditionally and without any reservations whatsoever", also to deny spare parts, and not to allow the training abroad of members of the South African forces, or foreign investment in, and the granting of licences and patents to, the South African arms industry.'

The General Assembly, on 13 October, called on all states to implement the Security Council's resolution fully, the voting being 98 in favour and 2 against (South Africa and Portugal), with 9 abstentions.6

On the previous day, the General Assembly adopted a resolution calling upon the Specialized Agencies to render all possible moral and material assistance to liberation movements in their struggle to attain independence and freedom. On this occasion the voting was 86 in favour, five against (Britain, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa), with 15 abstentions.5 South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs said in the House of Assembly, Cape Town, "When United Nations' funds are made available for illegal purposes we shall withhold a proportionate share from our annual contribution, as we have done in the past".

A comprehensive declaration was adopted at a special commemorative session held in October to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations. It contained a clause condemning apartheid in South Africa.9

On 13 November, by 60 votes to 42 with 12 abstentions, the General Assembly decided to withhold acceptance of South Africa's credentials, in protest against the country's policies. The President

4 Rand Daily Mail, 21 March.
5 Ibid, 24 July.
6 Ibid, 14 October.
7 Ibid, 13 October.
8 1 September, Hansard 7 col. 2128.
* Star, 29 October.

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of the Assembly pointed out that this would not affect the right of the delegation from South Africa to take part in the Assembly's proceedings.

It was reported in March '0 that donations amounting to about R700 000 had been made to the United Nations fund to help victims of apartheid, while approximately Ri 200 000 had been received for the Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa. These figures did not include pledges totalling about R380 000.

On 27 October Unesco passed a resolution, by 55 votes to 26, with 16 abstentions, calling upon affiliated organizations to sever all ties with South Africa. There have, at the time of writing, been no reports of action taken by affiliates as a result: they include the International Red Cross, the Boy Scouts' and Girl Guides' Association, the P.E.N. authors' club, and others covering a wide range of activities such as library training, adult education, the teaching of the deaf, family planning, and tourism

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions has urged its affiliated unions, representing about 50 000 000 workers in 60 countries, to stop emigration to South Africa.2

RELATIONS WITH RHODESIA
The Prime Minister said in the Assembly on 27 July1 that South Africa's relations with Rhodesia would remain unchanged, in spite of the Security Council's resolution.

After Rhodesia became a republic, on 2 March, all other countries except South Africa withdrew their consulates.1

Mr. Ian Smith has again visited the South African Prime Minister during 1970, and, during May, Mr. Vorster visited Mr. Smith on the first stage of his journey to countries further north.

RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES
The American Secretary of State, Mr. William P. Rogers, visited South Africa early in February. At the time, his statements were non-committal.

On 18 February, however, President Nixon commented on Southern Africa in his state-of-the-world message to Congress. He said, "Clearly, there is no question of the United States condoning, or acquiescing in, the racial policies of the white-ruled regimes . . . The United States stands firmly for the principles of racial equality and self-determination". However, the 1960's had shown that there could be no quick solution: progressive change in Southern Africa would not be furthered by force. The United States warmly welcomed the Lusaka Manifesto by African leaders, he said.3

10 Star, 26 March.
1 Hansard 1 col. 54.
2 Sunday Times, 26 April.
- See 1969 Survey. page 78.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS
Towards the end of March, the State Department released an official policy statement which had been endorsed by the President.' In this, Mr. Rogers said that
"the modern world demands a community of nations based on respect for fundamental rights . . . We take our stand on the side of those forces of fundamental human rights in Southern Africa as we do at home and elsewhere."
The United States was pledged to work to bring about a change of direction in South Africa, and condemned minority rule, but it rejected violence, believing that the solution to the problem lay in "the constructive interplay of political, economic, and social forces which will inevitably lead to changes". The United States did not believe that "cutting our ties with this rich, troubled land would advance the cause we pursue or help the majority of the people of that country". But the arms embargo would remain.
Washington would continue to oppose South Africa's continued administration of South West Africa, it was stated.
For the first time, a distinction was drawn between the policies of South Africa and of Portugal. The latter's "declared policy of racial toleration" was seen as holding "genuine hope for the future".
Mr. Rogers proposed a programme of aid to enable the enclave states of Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana to build "multi-racial societies free of the predominant influence of the minority-dominated states adjoining and surrounding them".
In a speech made in May' the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr. David D. Newsom, announced that American investment in South West Africa was to be discouraged. Later, he said6 that in his country's opinion, mandatory sanctions against South Africa were neither practicable nor likely to advance desired goals. "We favour contact by the outside world with all segments of the South African population".
Mr. Newsom visited South Africa and other African states in November, accompanied by his deputy, Mr. W. Beverly Carter. In a Press interview in Johannesburg' he re-emphasized that the United States had always sought a non-violent and evolutionary solution to the problems caused by the "abhorred" racial policies "which by law separate men and deny them rights solely on the basis of the colour of their skin". America would continue to debar its warships from calling at South African ports, he said.
RELATIONS WITH BRITAIN
The cancellation of a Springbok cricket tour of Britain is described in a subsequent chapter. The general secretary of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa had urged that African states should boycott the forthcoming Commonwealth Games unless this
4 Star, 28 March; Rand Daily Mail, 30 March.
Rand Daily Mail, 21 May.
6 Star, 18 September.
7 Rand Daily Mail, 11 November.

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were done. The then Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Wilson, is reported' to have said that he hoped the British Cricket Council would reconsider its invitation to the Springboks, as it would be a tragedy if African states did boycott the Games. If
the Springboks did come, people should feel free to demonstrate, but such demonstrations must be peaceful.

The main issue between South Africa and Britain has been the question of the supply of arms. During February the South African Ambassador handed a note to the then British Foreign Secretary placing on record South Africa's accusation that the Labour Government had failed to honour the letter and spirit of the 1955 Simonstown Agreement by refusing to allow South Africa to buy sophisticated British equipment required for the defence of the Southern Atlantic sea-lanes.

Speaking in the Assembly on 17 February, the South African Minister of Defence said that in 1965 Britain had promised to allow the supply of specialized equipment that was an integral part of an anti-submarine weapon system. Supplies continued until 1969, when an export permit was refused. "It is necessary for South Africa to take other decisions in so far as it concerns her maritime defence", the Minister said. (Submarines and other equipment have been obtained from France, for example.)

After the British general elections the incoming Conservative Party Prime Minister, Mr. Edward Heath, told the House of Commons that he intended giving effect to the purposes of the Simonstown Agreement, for Britain had vital defence interests in the Southern Atlantic. "This in no way means that we condone racist practices", he added. A full statement was promised later.

The Foreign Secretary, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, told Parliament that there would be the fullest consultations with Commonwealth countries before a final decision were made, nevertheless Britain reserved the right to sell certain limited categories of naval defence weapons that were directly related to the security of the sea routes.:

Considerable opposition to any such plan has been expressed within Britain. Action taken by the "non-aligned" states is described later.

RELATIONS WITH LESOTHO, BOTSWANA, AND SWAZILAND
During December 1969 a new customs agreement was reached between the governments of South Africa, Lesotho, Botswana, and Swaziland. The Customs Union that had existed since 1910 would continue, but the three smaller territories would receive a much larger share than previously of the combined revenue from customs, excise, and sales duty. The agreement allowed for the three territories to impose additional duties to protect their own new industries, while retaining free entry for the products into the territories of the other partners. Duties collected in this manner would be paid into the common customs revenue pool and subsequently shared between all the countries concerned.
The first general election since independence was held in Lesotho at the end of January. At a stage when it appeared that the opposition Congress Party was winning, the Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, stopped the election as being invalid, suspended the constitution, and declared a state of emergency. He alleged that there had been irregularities, intimidation of voters, and violence. He promised that free, democratic elections would be held later, under a new constitution.

South Africa's Prime Minister said in the Assembly on 6 February that the Republic's attitude to Lesotho was unchanged, since it was not for her to interfere in the domestic affairs of another State. "We are simply continuing as if nothing has happened".

It was mentioned in last year's Survey that Mr. Joe Molefi, a South African refugee in Lesotho, had been served with a deportation order. He appealed against this, unsuccessfully, in first the High Court and then the Appeal Court of Lesotho, and then was given leave to appeal to the Privy Council. The Privy Council found, in June, that Lesotho was bound by the international convention for the protection of refugees, but that Mr. Molefi was not a refugee in terms of this convention.

Mr. Molefi, together with about 40 other South African political exiles in Lesotho, was detained during the state of emergency there: Chief Jonathan alleged that they had meddled in the political affairs of his country in spite of repeated warnings. The South African Government granted permission for these people to overfly the Republic if they could find political asylum abroad. Some have left.

It was announced from Moscow during March that Botswana and Russia had decided to establish diplomatic relations: no date was specified. South Africa's Minister of Bantu Administration and Development is reported to have commented that South Africa was not in favour of neighbouring states establishing such relations with Russia, but could do nothing to stop it.

South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs said in the Assembly on 3 September that when Botswana became a member of the United Nations it had to define its boundaries, and claimed to have a common boundary with Zambia at a point midstream at the confluence of the Chobe and Zambesi Rivers. This is near Kazungula, where the borders of the Caprivi Strip, Rhodesia, Zambia, and Botswana converge. South Africa disputed this definition of Botswana's borders, the Minister said, maintaining that the boundary had been moved at the expense of South West Africa. It was purely a juridical problem. A ferry boat service had been in operation between Zambia and Botswana at Kazungula for more than a decade, the Minister continued. "Our Government does not interfere with the normal traffic at that ferry. But, just as we did in the
past, we shall continue to ensure that South Africa's security is not threatened by it."

It was announced in April that the United States had offered to assist Botswana to build an international highway linking the country with Zambia, with a bridge near Kazungula. It would open up hitherto inaccessible regions of Botswana. South Africa's Prime Minister is reported to have said, "I have no jurisdiction over links that may or may not be built between two independent countries". In the speech referred to earlier, the Minister of Foreign Affairs said that the question of the road would be considered through normal diplomatic channels. "If it were built by Botswana we would be able to make use of it, just as Botswana and other neighbouring states are making use of our roads".

The assistance being given by voluntary South African agencies in Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland is described in the first chapter of this Survey.

RELATIONS WITH MALAWI

The Minister of Foreign Affairs said in the Assembly on 6 February that South Africa had made a loan of R8 000 000 to Malawi for the construction and development of the new capital at Lilongwe.

In terms of its export finance scheme, the Minister continued, the Industrial Development Corporation of S.A. had granted credit totalling RIO 340 336 to enable a South African consortium to secure contracts for a railway and rail equipment linking Malawi with the Mozambique coast. South African materials and labour would be used as far as possible.

As mentioned earlier, the South African Prime Minister visited Malawi during May.

CONFERENCES OF LEADERS OF AFRICAN STATES

The Lusaka Manifesto, adopted in 1969 at the fifth Summit Conference of East and Central African States, was summarized on page 78 of last year's Survey. One of the key passages was an agreement that what the leaders of these states required of South Africa, Rhodesia, and Portugal was a commitment to the principles of human equality and self-determination. Given this commitment, disagreements about the rate of implementation would be the concern of individual countries and not a matter for concerted African action. The Foreign Ministers of the states concerned met in Lusaka early in January to prepare for the sixth Summit Conference, to be held in Khartoum later that month. They issued a communique (from which Malawi dissociated itself), viewing with grave dismay the deteriorating situation in Southern Africa. By their "outright rejection" of the Lusaka Manifesto, it was stated, South Africa, Rhodesia, and Portugal had "closed the door to the possibility of a peaceful solution". Support for the liberation movement was again pledged. At the meeting in Khartoum it was agreed to appoint a committee to organize boycotts of countries that traded with South Africa.
This decision was again discussed at the seventh Summit talks, held in Addis Ababa during September, differences of opinion being expressed. It was, inter alia, decided to appoint a delegation to persuade Western countries to refrain from supplying arms to South Africa. President Kaunda of Zambia, who had been chairman of the meeting, was entrusted with this mission.  

CONFERENCE OF NON-ALIGNMENT STATES
Immediately after this meeting a Non-Aligned Nations Summit Conference was held in Lusaka: President Kaunda again presided. There were reported to be delegates from about 54 of the "Third World" countries of Africa, Asia, the Middle East (excluding Israel), and Eastern Europe, including 25 heads of states - of Yugoslavia, India, Ceylon, Indonesia, Cyprus, Ethiopia, Laos, and other countries.

Sixteen foreign journalists (mainly men based in Southern Africa) were detained at the commencement of the proceedings for periods of up to 23 hours. Three of them were ordered to leave Zambia, and others were prevented from covering the conference.

It was reported that there were deep differences of opinion on various issues, drafting committees having to adopt innocuous wording in order to secure agreement. Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland are said to have avoided supporting actions against South Africa that might conflict with their own interests, in view of their geographical situation. The French-speaking African states were unwilling to vote for any resolution condemning France's trade links with South Africa. Arab states pressed for motions calling for sanctions against Israel, which various African states did not support. Other world issues were discussed. There was no voting, decisions being reached on the basis of a consensus of opinion. But a commentator said that there was complete unanimity on one point: the reaction of men of colour to the denial of acceptance simply because they were men of colour.

The conference adopted a plan, proposed by Emperor Haile Selassie, to work for the maximum isolation of the "minority racist regimes" of South Africa, Rhodesia, and Portugal, and for increased aid for liberation movements, through the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.)

It was agreed that President Kaunda, accompanied by the Foreign Ministers of Algeria, Cameroun, Kenya, and Mali, should tour Western capitals to try to persuade the governments to refrain from selling arms to South Africa; from giving any direct or indirect support to South Africa, Rhodesia, or Portugal; and, if involved, to withdraw from the Cabora Bassa hydro-electric project in Mozambique.  

President Kaunda would, also, speak for the Third World and the O.A.U. at the United Nations.
No permanent secretariat was set up, as had apparently been planned. The conference issued the "Lusaka Declaration on Peace, Independence, Development, Co-operation, and Democratisation of International Relations". Besides calling for the action outlined above, the leaders decided to continue their efforts to bring about the dissolution of great power military alliances, and to intensify joint efforts for the liquidation of colonialism and racial discrimination. President Kaunda and his companions then visited West Germany, Britain, the United States, and France. The only success they apparently achieved was in France, where a partial ban on some items of equipment for South Africa was promised: the practical effects of this were not clear.

OFFERS BY SOUTH AFRICA TO OTHER AFRICAN STATES
The Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, has several times emphasized that it is possible to have good relations with other states, while pursuing different domestic policies. During September he offered to enter into non-aggression pacts with other countries in Africa and elsewhere. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Hilgard Muller, referred to this offer in a speech to the United Nations General Assembly. He continued, "I note with disappointment, indeed surprise, that certain African states have already rejected our offer. I trust, however, that if they should persist in spuming our offer they will"

12 The World Bank, Sweden, and Italy, which originally agreed to help finance this project, had already dissociated themselves from it, leaving the responsibility to South Africa, Portugal, France, and West Germany.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS
at least refrain from accusing us of aggressive designs in future".1 Speaking in the Assembly on 15 September,2 the Prime Minister said that people in the black states were fortunate because "there was no need for them to spend a cent on armaments". They knew that South Africa would not attack them. The Republic would not tolerate communist domination in Southern Africa, Mr. Vorster continued. "We shall rise against it and oppose it with all the means at our disposal ... The second thing is that we shall fight terrorism... not only in our own country, but also in any other country in Africa where the Government requests us to do so". Forces were being built up to be used against South Africa later. If such plans were carried out and terrorists did invade the Republic "from certain countries with the permission of those countries, we shall resist them. If they take to flight we shall chase them, and we shall do so right into those countries from which they come".

On 10 November, the Minister of Defence said that South Africa was prepared to discuss with her African neighbours and her other friends contingency planning arrangements aimed at resisting possible terrorist attacks and Russian military penetration.3

NEW CONTACT WITH CERTAIN AFRICAN STATES
It was announced early in November that the government of the Ivory Coast, led by President F. Houphouet-Boigny, had decided that the O.A.U. was ineffectual,
not really unaligned, and too dependent on wordy resolutions that led nowhere. President Kaunda's overseas mission was not considered to have been a success, and he was not regarded by the Ivory Coast as being a pan-African leader. The O.A.U. had been neglecting very real social and economic problems in the African states.

The Ivory Coast had decided to adopt a more realistic policy, based on contact and dialogue with South Africa and Portugal, trying to bring about changes by peaceful means. Closer trade and political ties would be sought; this would not necessarily involve full diplomatic relations.4 President Houphouet-Boigny is reported to have said that he was sending envoys to discuss his policy with other heads of African states, with a possible view to the calling of an African summit at which reality would be taken into account.' The Ivory Coast has a "little entente" agreement with Gabon, Dahomey, Niger, Upper Volta, and Togo. Gabon and Dahomey announced that they supported President Houphouet-Boigny's policy. So did Mauritius. Mali opposed it, as did Senegal, Cameroun, Liberia, and the People's Republic of Congo.

I Rand Daily Mail, 2 October.
2 Hansard 9 cols. 4207-8.
3 Star, 11 November.
4 Rand Daily Mail, 3 and 4 November.
5 Star, 5 November.

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A few days later, South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs stated that he was to visit the Malagasy Republic to finalize a trade agreement. It was announced on 14 November that a loan of R2 320 000 was to be made to the Government of that country to improve transport facilities on the island of Nosse Be and to augment electricity and water supplies, and that the Industrial Development Corporation would provide export credit facilities for the building of a five-star hotel, in order to develop the tourist industry.

At the time, the Premier of Ghana, Dr. K. Busia, was visiting Canada. He is reported7 to have said he agreed that neither sanctions nor guerilla warfare would affect the South African Government's policy. Other means should be tried, including dialogue, to try to encourage constitutional and moral changes from within the country. (There is stated to have been some opposition from within Ghana to Dr. Busia's remarks.)

It was reported on 14 November that heads of states from French-speaking Africa would discuss the question of relations with South Africa at an already-scheduled summit meeting of the AfroMalagasy Organization to be held early in 1971.

THE NETHERLANDS

The Deputy Prime Minister of the Netherlands, Dr. J. A. Bakker, visited South Africa in November; he was the first Dutch Minister to do so for twelve years. Besides meeting Cabinet Ministers he had talks with other leading personalities of the various racial groups.
In a Press interview, Dr. Bakker said that ties between the two countries must be maintained, even if the Netherlands disagreed with some aspects of South African policy. He welcomed the closer contact with other African states.

**IRAN**

South Africa and Iran have agreed to establish consulates-general in one another's countries. Diplomatic relations with the Lebanon already existed.

'Rand Daily Mail, 14 November.

7 Rand Daily Mail, 11 November.

I Rand Daily Mail, 9 November.

**EMPLOYMENT**

**THE ECONOMIC SITUATION**

In its annual economic report for the year ended June 1970 the South African Reserve Bank stated that the economy had achieved a very high rate of growth. There had been an increase of well over 12 per cent in the gross domestic product at current prices, despite a shortage of labour and certain types of capital. The upswing in economic activity stemmed from a substantial rise in total domestic demand, which exceeded the domestic supply of goods and services and exerted considerable pressure on resources, particularly on the supply of skilled and semi-skilled labour.

This had led to price rises at a rate which might be considered unduly high. Moreover, although a high rate of growth was achieved, the distribution of resources was such that most of the increase in activity was concentrated in fixed property development and in the provision of financial and other services. Sectors responsible for the production of goods did not expand satisfactorily.

On 30 October the Government announced steps to check the flow of credit by raising the cash deposit and shortening the period for repayment in a range of hire-purchase transactions.

**THE COST OF LIVING**

According to a news release dated 25 August by the Department of Statistics, the weighted average consumer price index for the nine principal urban areas rose from a base of 100 in October 1958 to 126.6 in July 1969 and 134.3 in July 1970. The index for food only was 134.8 in July 1970.

The nine urban areas for which calculations were made were Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London, Kimberley, Pietermaritzburg, Durban, Pretoria, the Witwatersrand, and Bloemfontein.

During November 1966, the Department conducted a survey of the expenditure of white families. A new weighing system has been devised, based on the results of this survey, and using a base of 100 in April 1970. The new index includes the Vaal Triangle and the Free State goldfields as well as the areas mentioned above. The weighted average of the eleven areas was 100.8 in July 1970 (all items), and 101.8 for food only.

In his Budget speech, the Minister of Finance said that during the year ended 30 June the consumer price index had

1 Assembly, 12 August, Hansard 4 col. 1530.

**A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970**
increased by 4.1 per cent. If the influence of the sales duty imposed during 1969 were excluded, the increase was still 4 per cent. This unsatisfactory development had been due mainly to a rise in the cost of housing and related items, medical services, and vegetables and fruit.

Another news release by the Department of Statistics showed large increases, too, in the prices of fats, oils, margarine, and washing and cleaning materials. During February, the Minister announced that, in order to assist those in the lower income groups, the sales duty on certain items such as soap, detergents, polishes, disinfectants, and certain types of furnishing articles would be abolished or reduced.

As described in a subsequent chapter, rail fares for urban African commuters have again been increased.

The then President of the Bantu Wage and Productivity Association, Mr. C. G. Corbett, stated on 13 November that most Africans were poorer than they had been a year previously, because of inflation.

**WAGE LEVELS**

The Bureau of Market Research of the University of South Africa has been conducting a survey of the income and expenditure of African, Indian, and Coloured households in Johannesburg, Tembisa, Krugersdorp, Pretoria, Durban, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, and East London. It is anticipated that the results will be published during 1971.

In an article published in Commercial Opinion in December 1969, Mr. J. D. F. Colinese, Secretary of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, stated that the disparity between white and nonwhite wages was no smaller than it had been thirty years previously. "Taking industry and construction as the largest single employer group in the economy," he said, "from 1935-6 to 1968-9 annual earnings for the average white employee rose from R452 to R3 124, at the same time as the average Bantu wage rose from R84 to R566. In 1935-6 the average per capita white wage was thus 5.4 times as much as the average Bantu wage, with the ratio for 1968-9 being fractionally worse at 5.5 times. For the distributive trade the present ratio of average white wage to average Bantu wage works out at 4.2 times, and in the public service the disparity is considerably worse, at 5.9 times."

Because of the general shortage of skilled and semi-skilled labour, members of the Coloured and Indian communities have been moving into a wide range of jobs formerly carried out by whites. In industry and commerce "the rate for the job" usually applies, but a common practice is for Coloured employees to be paid at the minimum wage laid down in industrial agreements or determinations, while the whites receive more. Nevertheless, the average earnings of Coloured and Indian workers have probably risen in recent years. It was, however, estimated by Mr. R. van Maartens of the Cape Chamber of Industries in August.
that more than half of the Coloured population of the Western Cape are still living below the breadline.

The Natal Region of the S.A. Institute of Race Relations has published a memorandum (NR 41 of 3 September) in which it was estimated that the minimum poverty datum line for African families in Durban in June was R69.35 a month, and the minimum effective level R104.25. (The former figure includes only the barest essentials for health and decency, allowing nothing for education, medical care, household goods, reading matter, insurance, savings, etc.) A study conducted in 1966 by the Bureau of Market Research of the University of South Africa had shown that 55 per cent of the African households in Durban had only one wage-earner. It was pointed out that the official minimum wage for unskilled labourers in Durban was only R7.25 a week, or about R31.40 a month. It appeared likely to the investigators that some threequarters of the household incomes of labourers were below the poverty datum line, and nearly all were below the effective minimum level.

Wage levels in specific branches of the economy are described later in this chapter.

ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE PERSONS, SHORTAGES, AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Replying to a question in the Assembly on 17 February, the Minister of Planning said that the estimated numbers of people who were economically active at the end of 1969 were:

- Whites ...........1 438 000
- Coloured .......... 692 000
- Asians .......... 157000
- Africans ...........4 860 000

7147000

In its annual economic report, quoted earlier, the S.A. Reserve Bank stated that "the labour situation has become progressively more tight." The number of unemployed whites, Coloured, and Asians, it said, declined from more than 26 000 in 1959 to less than 11 000 in 1969 and to only 8 652 at the end of May 1970. (Figures for Africans were not given.)

4 Daily Dispatch, 13 August.
5 Hansard 3 col. 1185.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970

Questioned in the Assembly on 8 September, the Minister of Labour indicated that at the end of December 1969 there were 7 993 people registered as unemployed in the nine inspectorate areas of his Department: 3 239 whites, 3 145 Coloured, and 1 609 Asians. Almost half of the whites were registered in the administrative and clerical divisions, nearly half of the Coloured in the unskilled category, while about one-third of the Asians were operative or semi-skilled workers.

During September the Department of Labour released its Manpower Survey No. 8, relating to the situation as at 30 April 1969. All employers in South Africa and South West Africa had been asked to submit returns of their employees and
labour shortages, excluding domestic servants and persons engaged in agriculture. The extent of the response was not indicated.

The Department concluded that there was a shortage of nearly 70 000 workers, or just over four per cent of the economically active workers in the fields concerned. The shortage of white labour was particularly acute in the case of artisans and apprentices, with vacancies in relation to the number of posts standing at 7.6 per cent for all trades, and 11.6 per cent and 8.8 per cent for the building and electrical trades respectively. The metal and engineering industries as a whole, and the motor industry, were badly affected.

For workers other than artisans and apprentices the labour shortage of whites was most severe in the case of the transportation, delivery, and communications sector, for which a shortage of 10.4 per cent was recorded.

White employee shortages of 6 to 7 per cent were observed in service capacities (public and personal) amongst professional, semi-professional, and technical employees, and for operators and semi-skilled workers in building and construction work.7

Since this report was compiled, various representative bodies have conducted their own surveys. According to a report submitted to a meeting of the Federated Chamber of Industries on 3 November,8 a recent survey had shown a shortage of 63 000 workers in industrial undertakings, representing 4.4 per cent of the labour force of this sector. The unfilled vacancies, mainly in the Transvaal and Cape, were for 26 000 Africans, 20 000 whites and Coloured, and 17 000 Asians. The effect of a labour shortage of this magnitude meant that over the remainder of the 1968-73 programming period manufacturing industry might be expected to perform some 20 per cent below its target growth.9

The Association of Chambers of Commerce (Assocom) conducted a survey in July/August 1970, finding that in distribution and allied services, including the hotel industry, there were vacancies in the region of 35 000, representing 4.8 per cent of the 713 000 people employed. Of the 2 961 employers who replied, 47 per cent said, were it not for official policy, they would make more use of non-white workers. The survey revealed, inter alia, the amount of red tape involved in securing African employees, and the high proportion of time that senior management has to spend on the labour problem.10

It was reported in The Star on 23 November that a survey by the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut had revealed a general shortage of 6.1 per cent of white workers, and that the situation would deteriorate sharply as there was a 29 per cent shortage of white apprentices. The Instituut stressed that it was essential that optimum use of the country's labour resources be made.
At the time of writing other large employers' organizations, for example the Chamber of Mines, had not revealed what their labour shortages were. Nor had the Government.

In his annual chairman's report to the Anglo American Corporation, however, Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer is stated to have said that there were vacancies for 1 800 whites in the gold production industry alone: about 4.5 per cent of the total number employed.

As described in the pages that follow, further exemptions from job reservation determinations have been granted, and "labour productivity" agreements reached within specific industries, to enable Coloured and Indian people to undertake more of the semi-skilled and even skilled work. The Government continues to be adamant, however, that the employment of Africans in skilled work in the "white" areas will be severely discouraged, and that the number of Africans in such areas will be strictly controlled.

This has resulted in a shortage of unskilled workers, too, in the towns. The position is particularly acute in the Western Cape and Cape Midlands, where the control exercised over the influx of Africans is particularly strict. A labour survey conducted by the Cape Chamber of Industries in October 196911 indicated that there was then an estimated shortfall of 3 000 unskilled workers in the Western Cape alone.

Very little information is available about the number of unemployed Africans in the Reserves, or "homelands", who are prevented from entering employment in the "white" areas because of the restrictions imposed by the Government. Some statistics relating to those who have been "endorsed out" of urban areas are given in the chapter of this Survey dealing with the pass laws.

The Bantu Labour Regulations that came into effect on 1 April 1968 are described on page 159 of the 1968 Survey.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970

Questioned on 10 February,2 the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that at the end of 1969, 382 labour bureaux were functioning in terms of these regulations. No depots for the accommodation of work-seekers had, thus far, been established. It was impossible to give information about the number of workseekers registered, or the number of "call-in cards" issued, since this would entail the obtaining of returns from all the tribal and other labour bureaux.

A few days later, however, the Minister said"3 that 21 217 men and 938 women were registered as unemployed in the Transkei. On 28 July he repeated"4 that reliable statistics for the Republic were not available, but added it was estimated that the average number of African workseekers was 71 699 on 31 March 1966. Average numbers were 76 700 for 1967, 84 300 for 1968, and 78 500 for 1969. (It is not clear whether these figures relate to the total number of unemployed Africans, or to those who applied for jobs through the bureaux, in some cases successfully.)
RESERVATION OF WORK
The only new job reservation determination made in 1970, no. 26, relating to the motor assembly industry in the magisterial district of Pretoria, affected in the main employees in a border industrial area, and is described later.
Questioned in the Assembly on 11 September,5 the Minister of Labour said that it was impossible for him to state accurately what percentage of the Republic's total labour force was potentially affected by job reservation determinations. Employers frequently did not complete and return questionnaires that were sent to them by the Industrial Tribunal. It was estimated, however, on the basis of information contained in the Tribunal's reports, that approximately 2.9 per cent of the total labour force was potentially affected.
The number of employees covered by general exemptions and by exemptions on a percentage basis was not known. Exemptions on an individual basis had been granted in respect of 1 520 employees.
As mentioned later, a new industrial council agreement was concluded in May for the iron, steel, engineering, and metallurgical industry. In view of this, the Government has again granted total exemption from all the provisions of job reservation determinations numbers 3 and 7.16

RESERVATION OF WORK
Determination 12, gazetted in 1962, reserved for whites various types of work in abattoirs and the wholesale meat trade on the Witwatersrand and in Pretoria. A severe shortage of whites to handle certain slaughtering work developed in 1969 and 1970. Following representations made by employers, the Department of Labour agreed that certain aspects of the work might be taken over by Africans provided that separate cloakrooms and canteens were available.
In the Assembly on 4 February'7 Dr. G. F. Jacobs (United Party) claimed that job reservation was an illusion, giving the white worker a false sense of security. Because of the shortage of white labour, industrialists could not adhere to the terms of the determinations. He cited, in particular, the determination (no. 8, of 1960) relating to the clothing industry in the Transvaal. The proportion of whites employed had fallen far below the quota of 25 per cent laid down by the Department: from about 19 per cent in 1960 to 9 per cent in 1970. During this period the proportion of Africans had increased from 44 per cent to nearly 60 per cent. In the posts for "choppers-out", which had been reserved exclusively for whites, those actually employed early in 1970 were 30 whites, 120 Coloured, and 350 Africans.
As mentioned on page 110 of last year's Survey, bus services in Johannesburg have been very seriously disrupted because of a shortage of white drivers and conductors, which has continued in spite of pay increases and other incentives. The Johannesburg Municipal Transport Workers' Union opposed proposals by the
City Council that, subject to certain conditions, Coloured crews be used to augment the staff. During 1969 the Minister of Labour instructed the Industrial Tribunal to investigate the whole question. The Tribunal held a public enquiry early in 1970.

It was announced on 10 November that the Minister of Labour had rejected the City Council's proposal that Coloured drivers be employed to ease the serious general shortage, of some 30 per cent of the staff required.

A week later, the Johannesburg Municipal Transport Workers’ Union stated that it would agree to the employment of Coloured crews on buses serving the Coloured townships only, provided that (as the City Council had originally proposed) conditions of service were the same as those for whites, but that separate amenities be made available. At the time of writing, the City Council is considering ways of meeting the situation.

Determination no. 10 (1962) provided that at least 84 per cent of the drivers and conductors employed by the City Tramways Company in Cape Town must be whites; the remainder might be Coloured. During 1969 and 1970 the National Transport

If Hansard 1 cols. 190-1.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970

Commission has insisted on the increasing introduction of apartheid in bus services in the Cape Peninsula, with separate buses at peak periods. The Commission stated in its report for 1969-70 (page 36) that this involved the employment of additional crews. As there were insufficient white applicants for these posts, the Department of Labour sanctioned the employment of an additional 150 Coloured men.

PHYSICAL PLANNING

The terms of the Physical Planning and Utilization of Resources Act were described on pages 107 et seq of the 1967 Survey, and the action that was taken by the Government in 1968 under this Act on page 92 of the Survey for 1969. The areas in which the Act has been applied were listed on page 94 of the 1968 Survey: they include most of the major towns in the Transvaal, Western Cape, and Cape Midlands, and Bloemfontein and Sasolburg in the Free State. Natal is excluded.

In reply to questions in the Assembly on 3 and 10 February,8 the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that, during the first twelve months during which the Act was applied, applications for the proclamation of 6 500 morgen of industrial land in metropolitan areas were refused.

The results of applications for the establishment or extension1" of factories up to the end of 1969, he continued, were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Witwatersrand</th>
<th>Other controlled areas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Applications received</td>
<td>2 357</td>
<td>1 023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applications granted</td>
<td>1 692</td>
<td>761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applications refused</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applications under</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PHYSICAL PLANNING
The discrepancy in these figures is, apparently, due to the fact that some of the applications received were, in fact, unnecessary.

The number of potential African employees who were affected by refusals totalled 27,468, the Minister said.

As mentioned last year, there was a time-lag before the provisions of the Act were strictly applied, because a period of grace was allowed to entrepreneurs who had already ordered machinery or paid for land before the Government's plans were known. Further questions were put to the Minister of Planning on 4 August, 0 firstly in regard to the applications for the establishment or extension of factories that were still under consideration at the end of 1969. His reply was; "s Hansard 1 col. 119; Hansard 2 col. 605.

9 It will be recalled that an "extension" of a factory was defined in the Act as any increase in the number of African employees.

20 Hansard 3 cols. 988-9.

PROPOSED RESTRICTIONS ON AFRICAN EMPLOYMENT 87

Witwatersrand Other controlled areas
Applications concerned ...... 252 109
granted ...... 167 84
" refused ...... 24 13

Of the balance, the Minister said, 69 applications had been withdrawn and 4 were still under consideration. The number of potential African employees who were affected by the applications that were refused was 1,183.

So far as the first six months of 1970 were concerned, the position was:

Witwatersrand Other controlled areas
Applications received ...... 672 391
granted ...... 572 310
refused 43 25
still under consideration 57 56

There were 2,749 potential African employees who were affected by the refusals. Although the large majority of the applications made were granted, it is impossible to know how many other industrialists might have applied had they considered that there was any chance of success.

BANTU LAWS AMENDMENT ACT, No. 19 OF 1970

It was mentioned on page 90 of last year's Survey that a Bantu Laws Amendment Bill was introduced in the Assembly towards the end of the 1969 Session but, because of shortage of time, was taken no further after it passed its second reading.

On 12 February, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration moved that the measure be resumed from the stage it had reached the previous year. Despite strong opposition from the United and Progressive Parties, his motion was carried.

Certain clauses of the Bill dealt with the employment of Africans in specified areas and/or classes of employment. The Deputy Minister moved certain minor amendments to the 1969 draft, which were passed, but none of the amendments
moved by the Opposition was accepted. Members of the Opposition again objected to the far-reaching, dictatorial powers to be granted to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development.1

The relevant clauses, as passed, inserted a new Section 20 A in the Bantu Labour Act, providing that: "(1) Notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in any law, the Minister may by notice in the Gazette 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;
21 e.g. Mr. T. G. Hughes. Assembly Hansard 2 col. 907.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970
(c) in a specified trade; or
(d) in the service of a specified employer or class of employer.
"(2) A prohibition referred to in sub-section (1) (b), (c), or (d) may be applied either in a specified area or generally.
"(3) A person who contravenes a prohibition referred to in subsection (1) shall be guilty of an offence".

Amendments to the original draft that were moved by the Deputy Minister and accepted were to the effect that:
(a) Before issuing a notice in terms of this section of the Act, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development must:
(i) give at least one month's prior notice of his intention by notice in the Gazette;
(ii) consult the Minister of Labour.
(b) The Minister may amend or withdraw a prohibition, or may grant exemption to a specified employer or class of employers.

During the third reading debate 22 the Deputy Minister said that the services of the type of Africans whose employment might be affected were needed in the homelands. "We will do everything in our power to ensure that . . . no Coloured or Indian will be appointed to the position from which a Bantu has been removed".

The new provisions came into force as from 20 March.23

GOVERNMENT NOTICES DEALING WITH THE EMPLOYMENT OF AFRICANS IN CERTAIN CLASSES OF WORK

Government Notice R531 of 3 April
On 3 April the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Dr. P. G. J. Koornhof, issued a Government Notice on behalf of his Minister. The Minister of Labour had been consulted, he said.

One month's notice was given of the Minister's intention to prohibit the performance of work by, or the employment or continued employment of, an African man or woman (except in the types of area mentioned below) as:
(a) a counter assistant or salesman in a shop or cafe;
(b) a receptionist in a commercial or professional undertaking;
(c) a telephonist or telephone switch board operator in a shop,
office, factory, or an hotel;
(d) a clerk, cashier, or typist in a shop, office, or factory.
The areas to be excluded from this prohibition were municipal African townships, Bantu homelands, and border areas in which the State makes concessions available to industrialists with a view to the employment of Africans.
The Department of Information issued an accompanying Press statement in which it announced that interested bodies or persons might, before 3 May, submit representations or requests for exemption. The latter must be properly motivated, for exemption would not lightly be granted. Some employers failed to realize that the Deputy Minister's notice was merely a declaration of intention, and not an immediate prohibition order. It is understood that numbers of Africans were informed that their services would have to be terminated. African work-seekers were sometimes refused employment in the categories of work listed. Much confusion resulted. Would Indian and Coloured employers be affected? - they would certainly not be allowed to engage white clerks or receptionists. Would African salesmen fall under the proposed prohibition order if they dealt only with African customers, or African clerks who had no contact with the white public? What was the exact definition of a clerk? What would be the position of African night porters in hotels who occasionally had to answer the telephone? Mrs. Otto Krause, the editor of News Check, pointed out on 17 April that the proposed prohibition would be virtually impossible to enforce. There were insufficient officials. Many employers would simply re-name the jobs held by Africans without altering the duties they performed. The Rand Daily Mail said on 6 April that the Africans likely to be affected were the cream of their community "which has already risen as high as the colour bar will allow and in many individual instances has the ability that deserves to go much higher. This is the emerging African middle-class that we should be doing our utmost to encourage and stabilize . . . The Bantustans are in no position to absorb them . . . So they will stay in the cities, seeking out more menial jobs . . . Loss of job can mean loss of home as well, and the loss of the right to remain in an urban area."
In the article quoted above, News Check continued, "The cities are at present the only areas in which large numbers of Africans can be trained for anything like the jobs that need to be performed in the homelands. Even the Bantu who have taken over trading stores in an area like the Transkei have largely been city-trained and city-motivated. As long as the Government creates no real opportunity for Bantu advance in the homelands themselves this position must pertain. Meanwhile, white cities must remain the training ground."
In a statement issued on 7 April Mr. F. J. van Wyk, Director of the Institute of Race Relations, said, "Race relations are already under an enormous strain in our
country and the Institute has on numerous occasions warned that the non-white people are losing whatever faith they still had in the whites. This measure, if implemented, will be yet another undermining step in this process. RR. 43/70.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970
It is a body blow aimed at precisely those people who have been most willing to accept Western standards, who have struggled for education, who have aspired and often won middle-class status, and have acted in the lengthy period of frustration to which Africans have been exposed as a steadfast voice of moderation and hope for the future.

"This is yet another of the numerous measures enacted by this Government which will gravely harm the South African image in the rest of the world and it will be seen as a further confirmation of the belief held in so many countries that there is simply no moral basis for the policy of apartheid.

"The Institute appeals to the Government not to proceed with the measure."

On 29 April, Mr. Van Wyk wrote to the Minister urging him to abandon the proposals, and giving reasons for this request such as those summarized in the preceding paragraphs.

Among others who protested were the National Council of Women and Chief Lucas Mangope, chief councillor of the Tswana Territorial Authority. African journalists described the apprehension that the Government Notice had caused in the African townships.

The Director of the S.A. Federated Chamber of Industries, Dr. D. C. Krogh, announced that his organization (the members of which employed at least 75 per cent of all workers in the manufacturing industry) had applied to the Government for the total exclusion of this entire sector of the economy from the proposed curbs on the employment of Africans. A list of 23 reasons for the request had been furnished.

A deputation from the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce held urgent consultations with senior officials, thereafter reporting to a meeting of members. This meeting emphasized that it was totally opposed to the relevant section of the Bantu Laws Amendment Act, and it urged that the Deputy Minister's proposed prohibition should be abandoned. The delegation told members they had been assured that any prohibition issued would not apply to African commercial travellers, operators of duplicating or addressing machines, or petrol pump attendants. Nor would it apply to Africans working in government departments. All members of the Chamber who were likely to be affected were advised to apply for exemption, in order that the authorities might realize the magnitude of the measures that they were proposing. A special application form was drawn up, nearly 40 000 copies of which were sent to businessmen in Johannesburg and other centres."

The Financial Mail invited a number of employers and authorities on African employment to estimate, on the basis of their 26 Star, 17 April.
27 Rand Daily Mail, 11 and 18 April.
PROPOSED RESTRICTIONS ON AFRICAN EMPLOYMENT  

experience, how many Africans were in the threatened categories of work. In its issue of 10 April it stated that this survey had indicated that the total would be not less than 25,000, and could well be much higher. 

Further statements by the Minister and Deputy Minister 

In a statement issued on 8 April the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development claimed that "certain newspapers" had misrepresented the situation. The published notice, he emphasized, was merely an announcement of intention. All representations received, he said, would be considered by him in consultation with the Minister of Labour. It might well be that the final classes of work to be prohibited would be differently defined. In these definitions, the Department would try to cover valid points made by employers in order to curtail or eliminate, as far as possible, subsequent applications for exemptions. The special circumstances to be taken into account would include the nature of the work performed, contact with the public, the times of day or night when the work was done, and the persons to be served. It ought to be clear that it would necessarily take "much time" before final decisions could be made known. It did not necessarily follow, the Minister continued, that the proposed measure would cause lasting large-scale unemployment. Africans who were excluded from certain work could possibly be absorbed by the same employer in "other permissible work", or could be placed in other employment in white areas or in the African homelands. When the decisions were announced, employers would be given adequate opportunity of making the necessary adjustments. The Deputy Minister announced that the main purpose of the proposed ban was to put a stop to "labour integration": to ensure that whites (especially women) did not work in the same offices as Africans. 

Revised Government Notice of intention 

In Government Notice R1260 of 7 August, the Deputy Minister announced that on behalf of the Minister, and after consultation with the Minister of Labour, he intended to prohibit the performance of work by, or the employment or continued employment of, a Bantu person:

(a) as a shop assistant or salesman in a shop or factory;
(b) as a reception clerk in an accommodation establishment (defined as any establishment supplying lodging for reward), or in the service of a person pursuing a profession;
(c) as a telephonist, typist, clerk, or cashier in a shop, office, accommodation establishment, or factory. 

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970 

There were a number of qualifications. 

1. Firstly, no such prohibitions would apply in urban Bantu residential areas, or Trust land or scheduled Bantu areas (i.e. the African Reserves), or Transkeian Government land, or certain magisterial districts in Zululand. 

2 e.g. Rand Daily Mail, 9 April. 29 Ibid, 13 April.
2. They would not apply to:
(a) work performed in a separate office, room, accommodation establishment, or factory exclusively by and for non-white persons;
(b) reception clerks, telephonists, or cashiers working outside normal working hours;
(c) farming or domestic activities;
(d) work in connection with the provision of food and refreshments exclusively for employees of the undertaking concerned in any part of the premises set aside for that purpose;
(e) the work of selling newspapers or periodicals on the streets, or of petrol pump attendants, or of waiters, or of placing commodities on shelves or in containers;
(f) clerical work or typing in a manufacturing, dispatch, storage, or goods-receiving or marking division of an undertaking, provided that this work was done under supervision and in a separate office or room;
(g) clerical work that was solely incidental to the normal work of a person falling in category (f);
(h) the delivery of goods to clients, whether or not money was received in respect of the goods.

The notice stated that interested persons or organizations might submit representations. No applications for exemption should be submitted, however, until a final notice was issued (the notice of 7 August was, again, an announcement of intention). The Minister said, in a Press interview, that his intention was to make the prohibition effective about six months after publication of the final notice, in order to give employers time to make any necessary adjustments.

The S.A. Federated Chamber of Industries stated that the Government Notice was "completely unacceptable". The proposed restrictions would inevitably increase the pressure on the country's labour resources. The Government would have to grant numerous exemptions. The uncertainty engendered would further inhibit forward planning and investment in manufacturing. It was anomalous that border industrial areas were not included in the areas to be exempted.

30 e.g. Star, 7 August. "Rand Daily Mail, 14 August.

MANPOWER TRAINING

Non-Africans registered as unemployed in the categories of work concerned

In reply to a question in the Assembly the Minister of Labour said that, as at 31 May 1970, the following numbers of persons were registered as unemployed in his department's nine inspectorate areas:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Commercial occupations (including
counter assistants, salesmen
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>2021</th>
<th>2022</th>
<th>2023</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Administrative and higher clerical (including receptionists, clerks,</td>
<td>525</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cashiers and typists)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative and higher clerical (including receptionists, clerks,</td>
<td>687</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cashiers and typists)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower clerical (including telephone operators)</td>
<td>859</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Decision by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
Following the announcement of the proposed restrictions on African white collar workers, the I.C.F.T.U. (based in Brussels) called on its member-organizations to stop emigration to South Africa. It is stated to represent about 50 000 000 workers in 60 countries.

Frustration experienced by African school-leavers
Miss Ann Perry, the Research Officer in Durban of the Institute of Race Relations, has completed a preliminary pilot study of African school-leavers in that city. She found that the openings for Africans in white collar and professional occupations were limited. Despondency and frustration were experienced by those who had been unsuccessful in obtaining employment commensurate with the qualifications they had worked so hard to attain.

INDUSTRIAL CONCILIATION AMENDMENT ACT, No. 21 OF 1970
In terms of the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act, 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 any of these provisions to be 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.

At the commencement of the second reading debate the Assembly. Mr. R. G. L. Hourquebie said that the United Party supported the principle of the Bill, since the better training of manpower was essential, but considered that the measure was inadequate for the task. Dr. G. F. Jacobs pointed out3" that as
there were no industrial councils in the mining, agricultural, commercial, or service sectors, a training scheme devised by a group of employers in any of these spheres of activity could not, in terms of the Bill, be extended by the Minister to other areas.

There were about a hundred industrial councils, Dr. Jacobs continued. Provision should be made for a national advisory body to co-ordinate their training schemes, and to arrange training not only for apprentices, but for management too.

COMMENT ON THE USE OF MANPOWER

Business leaders

In an address given on 26 February,' Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer, chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, is reported to have said that while the authorities, no doubt, aimed at a policy calculated to achieve the maximum real growth rate of the economy, their efforts were hampered by their preoccupation with providing employment in selected border regions, and by the constraints which the national policy imposed on the utilization of the labour force. To a considerable extent these efforts became self-defeating because the usual mechanism by which resources were allocated in a free enterprise economy were not being allowed to work.

Both Mr. Oppenheimer and Mr. P. H. Anderson (chairman of Rand Mines) said in their annual reports that the increasingly severe shortage of white skilled labour was causing a loss of production.'

35 Colts. 931-2.
36 Hansard 4 cols. 1670-7.
1 To Union Acceptance Holdings, Ltd., Rand Daily Mail, 27 February.
2 Rand Daily Mail, 4 June.

USE OF MANPOWER

Officials of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut have, during the year, made several statements about the use of manpower. The president, Mr. B. P. Marais, is reported to have expressed support for the policy of separate development and to have rejected the uncontrolled use of non-white labour in order to push the economic growth rate as high as possible. Yet, he continued, their labour must play a greater rôle in the country's economic growth and, to make this possible, facilities for apprenticeship and technical training must be made available.

A leading article in the Instituut's journal Volkshandel stated4 that the importance of job reservation would diminish in the future. White tradesmen would have to be upgraded to positions such as technologists, foremen, and managers. The editor of this journal wrote in June5 that the indicated solution to the dire shortage of skilled labour at all levels was the better deployment and training of the Bantu in white areas to enable them to do the less complex jobs, thus freeing the whites for more senior employment. This must be the first step towards the long-term deployment of Bantu in the homelands and in the homeland towns serving border industrial growth points.

An editorial in the journal Commercial Opinion, published by the Association of Chambers of Commerce, urged that "the perpetual conflict between the demands
of political theory and the practical requirements of everyday life" should be resolved.

On his return from an overseas visit Dr. Jan S. Marais, managing director of the Trust Bank, said that foreign investment in South Africa was stimulated on the one hand by the attractions of the country's high growth rate, and retarded on the other by pronouncements of an economically restrictive nature for ideological reasons. The labour shortage could and should be overcome, rather than being allowed to dictate the pace.'

Mr. T. P. Stratten, chairman of Union Corporation Ltd., told a meeting of shareholders it was quite clear that, in spite of immigration, the white population could not alone provide the skilled and semi-skilled labour needed to continue expansion and maintain a satisfactory rate of growth of the national income. The largely untapped non-white labour resources was one of the important factors holding South Africa back. People of these groups should be trained in the skills necessary for modern industry.8

During June, the Natal Employers' Association organized a conference on manpower, during which the president of the S.A. Motor Industry Employers' Association talked of the artificial labour shortage which forced basic wages higher and thus increased costs. Many more apprentices were needed in his industry, he said, and they would have to be drawn from all racial groups.'

Shortly afterwards, the Economic Research Bureau of the University of Stellenbosch released a report which was based on the views of more than 600 replies to a questionnaire that had been sent to companies in private manufacturing industry, the wholesale and retail trades, the motor trade, and the financial sector. Of these companies, 76 per cent considered that the Government's labour policy was a major curb to growth, while 62 per cent believed that the Physical Planning Act was restricting them unduly. The authors of the report stated, "It would appear that labour shortages are the largest single obstacle which will in all probability make it difficult for the private sector to achieve the proposed level of investment without causing other serious problems, such as inflation".19

In its quarterly economic and market appraisal, as reported in The Star of 16 October, the Hill Samuel merchant bank was strongly critical of the Physical Planning Act and of its application. As the yardstick for exemptions was not known to industrialists, the confidence of businessmen was being undermined, it was stated. Growth points for decentralization should not be determined only in relation to their proximity to African homelands. A comprehensive plan should be
drawn up, and made known to industrialists, for the development of specific regions where growth was economically feasible. The advantages that would accrue in each region to various industries, on a sectoral basis, should be clearly stated.

Mr. S. R. Back, the president of the S.A. Federated Chamber of Industries, is reported to have said on the following day that organized industry accepted the need for decentralization. He urged, however, that the Government's emphasis should be placed on positive ways of allocating industry to economic development areas rather than on the application of limitation in established areas. A clear indication was needed of how far industrialists could proceed in negotiations for a more rational utilization of labour resources.

At the annual convention of the Federated Chamber of Industries, held in Johannesburg on 4 November, Mr. Back talked of South Africa's self-imposed labour shortage. He suggested that South Africa had reached the stage where the white worker no longer needed to be "feather-bedded". Those who seemed so solicitously protective of him seemed to show the least confidence in his ability to seize the additional opportunity to which the better use of non-white labour would give rise.

USE OF MANPOWER

in his ability to seize the additional opportunity to which the better use of non-white labour would give rise.

Trade Unionists

At the annual congress of the Trade Union Council of S.A. (Tucsa), held in Durban during August, the incoming president, Mr. Tom Murray, urged that the labour movements be included in any discussions between the Government and industrialists on the labour shortage. He did not believe, he said, that the solution lay in opening the floodgates to cheap labour: the rate for the job should apply. For the next five to six years there were probably enough Coloured and Indians to fill the vacancies for artisans, if they were accepted. But after that - or perhaps even sooner - Blacks would have to be introduced. "And we should start training them now."1

The Tucsa delegates unanimously adopted a motion asking the Prime Minister to assume personal responsibility for:

(a) establishing a State national agency with responsibility for planning and co-ordinating manpower programmes and providing information;
(b) allocating more money for education at all levels;
(c) providing funds and personnel for a State productivity promotion programme;
(d) arranging for a Government-sponsored annual conference on the development of the country's manpower resources;
(e) promoting productivity schemes by management and labour organizations;
(f) establishing productivity committees at the shop-floor level.12

Members of the right-wing Confederation of Labour have been concerned, too. In his presidential address at the Confederation's congress held in Pretoria during June, Mr. Lukas van den Berg is reported3 to have supported the principle of job
reservation, but to have said that if rapid industrial development was to continue, more non-whites would have to be appointed in jobs previously held by whites. The whites would not, in consequence, be ousted, but promoted to more sophisticated posts.

During the conference Mr. J. H. Liebenberg, an executive committee member and the representative of the Railways Artisan Staff Association, proposed that industrial concerns should set up committees consisting of employers and workers in equal numbers, to allocate jobs in accordance with the needs of individual factories. The rate for the job should be applied in categories of work that were recognized under the Industrial Conciliation Act.

" ibid, 26 August.
12 Ibid, 2 September.
13 Star, II June.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970

In other cases, the wages of the non-whites should be decided by the committees.4 This proposal was referred to the Confederation's executive committee, which decided to recommend to the Prime Minister's Economic Advisory Council that, after negotiations between management, workers, and the trade union concerned in a particular industry, each industry should work out its own plan for the utilization of non-whites in previously white jobs, with the proviso that the security of white workers should not be threatened.15

Mr. Liebenberg's proposals were discussed in an editorial in Volkshandel, the official organ of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut. The Government was urged to consider them as a step towards combating inflation. White workers must be assured of their security, but "in the national interest the authorities will be compelled to take effective steps to overcome labour bottlenecks, as the Railways have, by simply using non-whites where whites are not available". The Instituut's president, Mr. B. P. Marais, wrote in the same issue of the periodical, "It has become absolutely essential that reliable estimates of our labour resources and needs be made". All available labour should be used to the maximum extent. "We must guard against the prevailing tendency to over-protect our people . . . It could be that job reservation removes the motivation of white workers to increase productivity."16

Later, at a trade union meeting in Pretoria, Mr. Lukas van den Berg opposed an "uncontrolled replacement of white by Bantu in a white economy", and supported the creation of production capacity in the homelands.17

Parliamentary debates and Ministerial statements

At the commencement of the Budget debate in the Assembly the Leader of the Opposition, Sir de Villiers Graaff, said", that the Government's artificial, ideologically-created labour shortage inhibited South Africa's rate of growth, limited its prosperity, and threatened security and harmonious race relations. A crash training programme was needed, he said, to equip workers of all racial groups for the jobs awaiting them and to re-train white labour for more responsible work. White workers should be protected from any harsh
consequences of changes: a United Party Government would retain white leadership and control.
The jobs in which non-white labour was to be used, Sir de Villiers said, should be determined by a process of collective
'Re Rand Daily Mail, 13 June and 16 July.
13 Ibid, 27 August.
16 Quoted in the Financial Mail, 28 August.
17 Star, 16 September.
18 19 August, Hansard 5 cols. 2054-2062.

USE OF MANPOWER
bargaining between employers' and employees' organizations, particularly at the local level.
He challenged the Government to commission the Prime Minister's Economic Advisory Council to prepare two estimates of South Africa's future progress. One of these should be on the basis of the Government's plan to develop the "Bantustans" towards freedom and to remove black workers from the white areas. The second should aim at the maximum improvement of the living standards of the people, with no artificial restrictions.
This proposal was rejected by the Minister of Finance, who said" that the Economic Advisory Council was not called upon to give advice of a political nature. Its members had not been elected by the people and were, therefore, under no obligation to justify their actions to the people.
Mrs. Helen Suzman (Progressive Party) stated0 th that she agreed with the Minister of Finance that there was no easy, instant solution to the manpower problem. It was, she maintained, the result of many years, under successive governments, of the deliberate inhibition of the productivity and use of skills of non-white workers; of the neglect of their education and training.
There were prolonged debates on the manpower question, under various votes, leading to policy statements by several of the Cabinet Ministers.
In the course of his Budget speech the Minister of Finance said2' that the Government was alive to the seriousness of the labour problem, and was constantly considering methods whereby, within the framework of its policy, the difficulties of industrialists and other employers could be overcome. It was doing much to remedy the shortage of skilled manpower by the provision of improved facilities for higher education and the encouragement of immigration. It was investigating anew the encouragement of industrial growth in areas bordering on the homelands and within the homelands.
It was not for the Government to solve the problem alone, however, the Minister said. He asked, in all earnestness, whether employers could not make a greater contribution by more efficient organization and the use of methods to attain greater productivity, and whether every individual could not help by working a little harder and longer.
It was not impossible, he said, that methods might be found whereby the establishment of industries in the border areas could be encouraged and, at the
same time, more non-white labour be made available for those industries which
remained in the white areas.
Again, a little later,2 the Minister of Finance stated that if
19 24 August, Hansard 6 col. 2403.
*:! 24 and 26 August, Hansard 6 cols. 2401, 2597.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970
industrialists helped in the development of the border areas and the homelands,
the Government would be in a better position and more willing to help them
develop industry which had to remain in white areas. If organized industry
demonstrated its willingness, a dialogue about ways and means could be started.
The Minister of Labour said2" that the Government was not opposed to the
training and employment of non-whites. but this must take place in a controlled
manner. Whites should not be ousted from their jobs; whites and non-whites
should not work together in the same employment situation; and no white person
should work under a non-white person.
"It is and remains Government policy", the Minister of Labour said, "that our
metropolitan areas, our white cities, will in future become whiter and not blacker .
. . The Government deems the survival of the whites to be far more valuable than
any temporary economic benefits."
Speaking at the Rand Easter Show,24 the Minister of Economic Affairs, too,
emphasized that the Government's policy would be pursued even if it involved a
sacrifice in the overall economic performance.
At a meeting in Pretoria on 13 April the Minister of Bantu Administration and
Development stated25 that control of the development of further industrial land in
metropolitan areas was to be tightened.
Participating in a debate in the Assembly on 7 September,26 this Minister said
that Bantu must be employed in the white areas in a controlled and systematic
manner, and must not be allowed to enter the top strata of labour in order to meet
shortages. for this would lead to labour equality and to integration in residential
areas, social matters, and political authority in Parliament. The Government's
policy was one of multi-national development, with each of South Africa's
peoples realizing itself fully within the framework of its own context and ranks.
During the debate on his vote,27 the Prime Minister said he agreed that there were
industries which were bound to the metropolitan areas. But others, which were
African labour-intensive, should never have developed there, and could move. If
enough of them did so, the natural increase of Africans already in the cities would
provide labour for the rest: they would have to be absorbed until the "suction
force" of the homelands was strong enough. Large-scale unemployment among
them could create a dangerous situation.
23 Hansard 5 col. 2068; Hansard 7 col. 3312.
25 Rand Daily Mail, 14 April.
26 Hansard 8 cols. 3509-11.
EMPLOYMENT IN MANUFACTURING
Meetings between Cabinet Ministers and employers’ organizations
On several occasions during the year under review delegations from the Federated Chamber of Industries, the Association of Chambers of Commerce, and other bodies have met the Ministers of Finance and Planning to discuss the impact of the Physical Planning Act and other labour matters.

EMPLOYMENT IN THE MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY
The employment figures given below are based on a sample survey of private establishments conducted by the Department of Statistics1 (the basis for which was revised in January). They relate to the month of February.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Average numbers employed</th>
<th>Average monthly gross cash earnings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>279000</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>196000</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>74000</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>608 000</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1 157000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Department points out that, because the sample of establishments has been revised, figures for 1970 are not strictly comparable with those for earlier years. In comparison with those for January 1969, however, as given on page 94 of last year’s Survey, it seems clear that the level of employment has increased considerably for members of all racial groups. The average earnings of whites has risen, those of Coloured and African workers have remained fairly static, while those of Asians appear to have decreased.

Figures for electricity undertakings (including ESCOM), extracted from the same news release, are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Average numbers employed during February</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>8000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>1 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>14000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>22 0002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11 57000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average monthly gross cash earnings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Release, appears to be incorrect.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970
The average earnings of Coloured employees appear to have decreased.
In its statistics the Department of Planning apparently includes employees in
government undertakings as well as those in the private manufacturing sector.
According to its latest report3 the average employment figures for 1968 in
secondary industry were given as 325 000 whites and 1 037 000 persons of other
racial groups.
As mentioned last year, Africans are not accepted as apprentices in "white" areas.
Their training for work in the homelands is described in subsequent chapters.
The Department of Labour's Manpower Survey No. 8, referred to earlier, stated' that as at 30 April 1969 the numbers of artisans and apprentices in South Africa
and South West Africa were estimated to be:
Men Women Totals
Whites ............... 192000 5800 197800
Coloured ............ 28000 22 28022
Asians .............. 3000 14 3014
223 000 5 836 228 836
In an address given on 27 August5 Dr. P. J. Riekert (Economic Adviser to the
Prime Minister and chairman of the Economic Advisory Council) said that, at the
end of 1969, there were 35 961 registered white apprentices and 1 429 registered
Coloured and Indians. Members of the latter groups were employed mainly in the
building, furniture, motor, and printing industries. Periods of apprenticeship
varied: that for the engineering industry had recently been reduced to 21 years.
On 25 August the Minister of Labour was questioned in the Assembly6 about the
number of new apprenticeship contracts that had been registered during 1969. He
replied that 8 040 white, 1 259 Coloured, and 170 Asians were apprenticed. For
whites, the largest numbers (in the order given) were in the metal (engineering)
and motor industries, the railways, the hairdressing trade, and in building
construction. The largest numbers for both Coloured and Indians were in building
and in the furniture, motor, and metal (engineering) trades.
The shortage of artisans has been described earlier in this chapter.
4 As quoted in the Financial Mail, 18 September. S""Manpower - Key Factor in
Economic Development Planning." Issued by the Department of Information.
Hansard 6 cols. 2491-2.
EMPLOYMENT IN MANUFACTURING
THE METAL AND ENGINEERING INDUSTRIES The industrial agreement
reached early in 1968 between the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of
S.A. (Seifsa) and a national liaison committee of the (then) seven registered
engineering trade unions was described on page 88 of the 1968 Survey. In return
for increased pay and other fringe benefits the white workers, after protracted
negotiations, eventually agreed to some rationalization of traditional divisions
between jobs, and to the removal of certain occupations from the categories
formerly reserved for skilled journeymen.
This agreement expired on 29 April. Negotiations for a new one at first seemed likely to break down, the unions concerned (now ten in number) threatening strike action. Seifsa (then representing 33 employers' organizations) had offered certain pay rises and improved fringe benefits, but, in return, wanted to introduce deterrents to absenteeism and to downgrade and re-schedule about 300 further occupations, allowing men of lesser skills to undertake the work concerned. The unions pressed for higher pay and better benefits than the employers offered, and strongly resisted the employers' conditions.

A new agreement was eventually concluded during May. The unions accepted the pay increases that the employers had offered. A compromise was reached on the question of fringe benefits. The cost to the employers was reported to be about R20 000 000 a year.

The question of the further downgrading and fragmentation of jobs was shelved: it was decided that a possible revision of work schedules would be discussed subsequently by technical committees that would consider the various manufacturing processes separately. If so decided, exemptions from the agreement would then be sought.

In terms of the earlier agreement, a closed shop has since 1968 applied within the top categories of work, A to D, implying that Africans cannot be employed in the jobs concerned unless exemptions are granted, for the reason that they are debarred by the Government from membership of registered trade unions. For the same reason, Africans were not represented at the negotiations except by members of the (Government-appointed) Central Bantu Labour Board. Workers in the lowest grades received proportionately less in basic pay increases and fringe benefits than did the rest. These workers are Africans, reported to number about 190 000, or 42 per cent of the work force. Those in the three bottom grades still earn considerably less than the very minimum amounts considered to be necessary in family budgets which were compiled by the Johannesburg Municipality in June 1967 for African families in Soweto. Their monthly wages will average R40.63, R48.37, and R58.05, respectively. (The bare poverty datum line in Soweto was calculated as being R59.70 a month in 1969.)

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970

During February, Seifsa announced that it was instituting a training scheme, to be financed by a self-imposed levy on employers calculated on the basis of the number of journeymen employed. The fund thus raised would be administered by a board consisting of representatives of the employers and of the trade unions. In the initial stages it would be used for the training of apprentices; but more sophisticated training was envisaged, up to the level of management.

BORDER INDUSTRIES

Government policy
In its report for 1969 the Permanent Committee for the Location of Industry re-emphasized that close links between the control of Bantu labour on the one hand, and locational guidance on the other, were of cardinal importance in the promotion of the decentralization of industry.

The areas in which "border area" concessions are available and the types of concerns which may receive assistance were described on page 95 of last year's Survey.

General progress to the end of 1969

The Minister of Economic Affairs said in the Assembly on 29 September (Hansard 11 col. 5244) that the rendering of assistance to industrialists was his responsibility, while the development of the infrastructure in border industrial areas fell under the Minister of Planning. Thus far, these Departments had spent R9 235 559 on the development of industrial townships by way of loans to municipalities and direct investments by the Industrial Development Corporation. An amount of R38 260 000 had been spent on water schemes partially or wholly serving border and other economic development areas, while R3 419 000 had been granted to three local authorities in subsidies for the extension of water supplies. It was difficult to say how much had been spent on electricity supplies, since systems were interlinked.

The Permanent Committee stated in its report for 1969 that during that year it considered 380 applications for assistance in establishing industrial concerns in the selected growth-points, mainly bordering on African Reserves: 76 of these applications had been carried over from the previous year. Of the total, 239 were approved, 33 rejected or withdrawn, while the remainder were still under consideration.

The total direct additional investment by both the private and the public sectors in all decentralized areas at the end of 1969 was estimated at more than R400 000 000, the Committee stated.

BORDER INDUSTRIES

From June 1960 (when the scheme was commenced) to the end of 1969, employment had been created in these areas for about 100 500 new workers in industry, some 81 000 of them being Africans. The pace was increasing: approximately 31 000 new jobs were created in 1969, which was almost three times the figure for the previous year. (On 30 January the Financial Mail maintained that these were "putative" figures, based on the number of applications granted. "It will take a good two years for these to be translated into buildings, machines - and wage packets", it was claimed.)

By the end of 1969, the Permanent Committee continued, the Industrial Development Corporation had approved 151 applications for assistance in the forms of the provision of factory buildings, share capital, or loans, while at the end of the year it was considering another 115 applications. The applications granted involved commitments of more than R89 000 000, of which R62 300 000 had been taken up. Of the total, about R5 600 000 had been repaid, or the
applications had been withdrawn. This figure included a calculated amount for
depreciation on leasehold buildings.1
The Committee had approved 376 applications for tax rebates on the cost of
power and water, machinery, or buildings, and 93 applications for temporary
"income tax holidays". The total cost to the Treasury would be R19 500 000,
spread over a number of years.
Assistance amounting to about R4 600 000 had been promised to industrialists for
the erection of 479 houses for key white personnel: the industrialists had
themselves provided a further 255 dwellings.
Wage concessions had been allowed in five cases, while ten applications for road
transport concessions had been approved. Three municipalities had been granted
long-term low-interest rates for the extension of railway lines to industrial sites.
Railway rebates had cost the Treasury about R1 600 000, and harbour rebates
some R26 000.
In a paper given at a Council meeting of the Institute of Race Relations2 Dr. P. S.
Rautenbach, the Planning Adviser to the Prime Minister, said that, according to
calculations by the Industrial Development Corporation, the total investment
figure per Bantu industrial worker in the border areas amounted to R6 000,
including a contribution of about R2 000 from the State. (This contribution
excluded the costs of the infra-structure that must in any case be incurred to
sustain normal industrial activity.) Of the State's contribution, the non-recoverable
amount per additional worker was an average of R343, the remainder consisting
of repayable loans and advances to entrepreneurs.
The figures given in this section include the "Other Economic Development
Areas", not
situated on the borders of African Reserves. These are described on page 109.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS. 1970

Further concessions offered to entrepreneurs
On 25 March the Minister of Economic Affairs announced that three further
concessions were to be made available in approved cases to entrepreneurs in
border industrial areas, in other areas selected for economic development, and
within the African Reserves.
1. Price preferences of up to 5 per cent would be granted on a
selected basis from 1 April on tenders by the State, the provincial administrations,
and the Armaments Board.
2. The period within which companies moving to the decentralized areas might
apply for "tax holidays" was to be extended from
30 September 1970 to 30 September 1972.
3. Reduced rail tariffs would be available in respect of certain timber products
which were railed directly from a plantation
or its immediate vicinity.
The Prime Minister announced on 16 September3 that a committee headed by his
economic adviser, Dr. P. J. Riekert, had been appointed to investigate the whole
question of decentralization of industry. Other members would be drawn from the
Departments of Labour, Industry, Planning, Finance, Bantu Administration and Development, and Coloured Affairs.

Job reservation in a border area
Since the border industrial area policy was conceived it has been widely assumed that Africans would be permitted to do more advanced work in these areas than is allowed in the cities, and that the maximum possible number of Africans would be employed there.

A job reservation determination (no. 16), gazetted during 1964, dealt with work in the assembly of motor vehicles. It did not refer specifically to the Pretoria district, since at that time there were no motor assembly plants there. Since 1964, however, three such plants have been established in the Rosslyn border area, together with one in a "white" area to the east of Pretoria.

During 1968 the Industrial Tribunal was instructed to investigate whether measures should be taken to safeguard white and Coloured persons employed in this industry in the Pretoria magisterial district against inter-racial competition.

Following on the submission of its report, job reservation determination no. 26 was gazetted in September. Its main provisions, to be applied as from March 1971, were as follows.

(a) The work of supervision and control, and most types of welding, is to be reserved for whites.

(b) No employer may replace a white person by a non-white, nor a Coloured worker by an African. If a post occupied by a white person becomes vacant, the work attached to this post must in future be reserved for whites. If a post filled by a Coloured employee becomes vacant, the work attached to it must be reserved for white or Coloured workers.

(c) In factories outside Rosslyn, a minimum of 30 per cent of the workers must be whites, and a minimum of 40 per cent either white or Coloured.

(d) In factories at Rosslyn, at least 20 per cent of the employees must be whites.

Industrial conciliation in border industrial areas
In reply to a question in the Assembly on 15 September, the Minister of Labour said that 30 wage determinations and 49 industrial council agreements were in force in the border industrial areas: of the latter, 6 applied to the areas concerned only but were in operation before these became border areas.

Two exemptions from industrial council agreements had been granted in these areas, to textile and biscuit manufacturing concerns. Two exemptions from wage determinations had been granted, both to clothing manufacturing firms.

Exemption from wage provisions were granted subject to the observance of rates determined either on the basis of a percentage of the minimum prescribed rates, or in accordance with scales suggested by the applicants or by the Wage Board.
Where applicable, a condition of exemption was that the wages actually paid at the time of the application must not be reduced.

Progress in various border industrial areas

As mentioned last year, the Permanent Committee considers that Rosslyn, Hammarsdale, and Pietermaritzburg are now self-sustaining. It was announced in February' that the South African Breweries, Ltd. is to build a very large plant at Rosslyn.

The Permanent Committee, acting with the Town Council concerned, has developed 315 morgen (270 hectares) of industrial land at Brits, to the west of Pretoria. In its report for 1969 the Committee stated that this area would not be extended. It was likely that all the available land would be allocated by the end of 1970; the first factories were already under construction. One of these is an electrode producing complex.6

The Department of Planning and the Town Council are developing about 300 morgen (257 hectares) at Rustenburg. The Committee stated that sites should be available early in 1971.

Progress continues to be made at Phalaborwa, but appears to have been slower than in previous years at Pietersburg. An industrialist there complained to a reporter' that he needed welders. Africans were being trained in welding at a school a few miles away, but he could not employ them: they were not permitted to work outside the homelands.

A new dam is to be built to serve the Tzaneen area, where a new tea factory, and a concern producing dried bananas are operating, and a metal box factory is to be established.'

As few further industrial sites are available in East London, the Government is assisting the City Council to develop the Berlin Flats, 23 miles (37 Km.) to the north. According to the Permanent Committee, 350 acres (300 hectares) will be made available to industrialists as a first phase; a water supply line from the Laing Dam was nearing completion at the end of 1969; and tenders had been invited for materials required for railway feeder lines, power, and sewerage.

It is reported' that further light industries are being attracted to King William's Town, but that there has been little progress at Queenstown, in which area there is much unemployment among Africans, exacerbated by removal schemes to resettlement villages in the vicinity.

Grahamstown has been declared a border industrial area. It is highly important that employment opportunities be created here, too: in a recent booklet, entitled The Unemployed African in Grahamstown, Mrs. Nancy Charton estimated that in July 1969, 24 of every 100 men over the age of 18 years were unemployed. Most of those concerned were born in the city, the majority being in the younger age
groups. Prerequisites for industrial development, however, are the improvement of railway facilities and the water supply. According to the Permanent Committee, the Industrial Development Corporation has acquired about 607 hectares of land at Ladysmith and developed 214 hectares of this as an industrial township. By the end of 1969, serviced sites were available; the Corporation had completed a "factory nest" building for leasing to light industrialists; and several entrepreneurs had built their own factories. A matter for concern is that a number of the African employees are stated to live too far away from the industrial area to commute daily, being accommodated in hostels during the week. Several factories have been established at Newcastle, where the third Iscor works is to be situated. The local authority assisted with the provision of a railway service. The previously-existing Health Committee at Richards Bay has been replaced by a Town Board, with a chairman and three members nominated by the Minister of Planning and a further three members appointed by the Administrator. A harbour is being planned, surveys being in progress; electricity has been supplied; and a rail link to Empangeni provided. A large aluminium reduction plant is under construction. The Town Board is laying out a model township for whites called Meerensee. Everything possible is being done to conserve the natural beauty of the area.10

The African townships serving these border industrial areas are the responsibility of the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development.

OTHER AREAS SELECTED FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

It was mentioned earlier that the border area concessions are available, too, within the African Reserves (this subject is dealt with later), and at other selected growth-points where there is unemployment amongst Coloured, Indian, or white people, or where industrial development is desired in order to bring about a more balanced development in the country generally. Some of these selected growth-points in which the use of Coloured labour will be promoted are George, Heilbron, Knysna, Upington, Kimberley, De Aar, Beaufort West, and Bloemfontein. The establishment of factories to use Indian labour is being encouraged at Pietermaritzburg, Tongaat, Verulam, and Stanger."

In its report for 1969 the Permanent Committee for the Location of Industry stated that, by the end of that year, the Industrial Development Corporation had incurred commitments totalling about R7 400 000 for the provision of loans, share capital, and factory buildings in these "other economic development areas". (This amount is included in the figure of R89 000 000 mentioned on page 105, which represents the Corporation's total commitments in border and other areas.)

INDUSTRIAL UNDERTAKINGS ESTABLISHED BY INDIANS
Mr. Theo Gerdener, the then Administrator of Natal, said in a speech delivered at the M. L. Sultan Technical College'12 that the number of Indian-owned industrial undertakings in South Africa had grown from 181 in 1961 to 527 in 1969. In the latter year they provided employment for more than 9 500 people. These concerns included food processing undertakings, textile mills, clothing factories, timber undertakings, garages, furniture and upholstering works, printing plants, and laundry and dry cleaners’ businesses.

A first annual general meeting of the Indian division of the Natal Chamber of Industries was held in March. At this meeting, 10 Report of the Permanent Committee, op cit, and Star, 15' September. 11 From a paper by Dr. P. S. Rautenbach entitled Industrial Decentralization in South Africa. RR.11. 1970, given at a Council meeting of the Institute of Race Relations, and 1969 report of the Permanent Committee.

12 Fiat Lux, April.

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the then Mayor of Durban, Mr. T. Warman," said that consortiums were being formed to pool capital resources. Indians owned one-sixth of all the factories in Natal, he continued, employing nearly 20 per cent of the total number of Indian industrial workers in the province.

Questioned in the Assembly,4 the Minister of Economic Affairs said that five Indians had received assistance, totalling R917 096, from State agencies or the Industrial Development Corporation. This assistance was given for the establishment of textile, jute bag, and candle manufacturing factories in Pietermaritzburg, Stanger, and Verulam. Employment had thus been created for 360 Indians and 5 Africans.

About 14 Indian traders who owned stores in Benoni have applied for industrial sites in the Indian township of Actonville, nearby. They were informed by the Town Council that "no persons, other than Indians, shall be employed".15

EMPLOYMENT IN AGRICULTURE
According to the most recent report of the Department of Planning,' the average numbers employed in agriculture during 1968 were 116 000 whites and 1 825 000 persons of other racial groups.

Farmers in many parts of the country have again incurred severe losses through drought, considerable numbers having been forced off the land. It was reported in The Star on 27 August that the Minister of Agriculture had said it would cost the Government less to pension off a great many farmers (including the inefficient ones) than to try to maintain them on the land by means of subsidies.

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 17 March, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said that there was one agricultural labour officer and 43 labour liaison officers. During 1969 they inspected 8 329 farms and 5 300 smallholdings. The Department of Agricultural Credit and Land Tenure stated in its report for 1968-701 that loans were available for the provision of housing for farm labourers.
One section of the Bantu Laws Amendment Act, No. 19 of 1970, rendered it illegal for an African who lawfully occupies a dwelling on a white-owned farm 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.

Questioned on 25 August," the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that at the end of 1969 there were 24 957 registered African labour tenants (men who work on a farm for part of the year, usually six months, in return for the right to live there and, generally, to run stock and cultivate a plot of land). During the year, 3 380 had been found redundant. The number of squatters on farms was unknown; but, during 1969, 4 070 had been removed and resettled by his Department.

The Government has continued to pursue its objective of abolishing the labour tenant system in favour of full-time labour, in districts where the white farmers' associations agree to this.

By the end of 1969, the system had been done away with in the whole of the Free State, 25 districts of the Transvaal, 3 in the Cape, and 4 in Natal (Bergville, Kranskop, Weenen, and Melmoth).

Natal farmers relied to a very large extent on the services of labour tenants. The situation that arose in the Weenen area when the system was abolished there, on 30 June 1969, was described on page 102 of last year's Survey. The workers had previously been paid an average of about R6 a month (plus rations), but were free to find better-paid employment during the six months of each year that they were not required to work for the farmer. When the system was terminated, many of the men became redundant and were required to leave the farms, with their families. The rest were offered R12 a month, for employment on a yearly, instead of a half-yearly, basis.' Large numbers refused. Some of them were convicted on charges of illegal squatting, but were given suspended sentences on condition that they left the farms. The rest were ejected.

According to Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the Chief Executive Officer of the Zulu Territorial Authority," the men considered that the wages offered were too low. Furthermore, they were to lose the right to cultivate plots of land and keep cattle on the farms. It was also stated that they wanted the security of permanent homes in an African area, from where they would go to the farms as migratory workers.

The Rand Daily Mail reported on 11 April that many squatters and labour tenants who refused full-time employment had been ordered to leave farms in the Weenen
district before 5 May. Some of these men found work elsewhere, leaving their families behind. During March, 33 of the wives or eldest sons were arrested, following complaints by the farmers, and were found guilty of being illegal squatters. Sentences of R40 or 40
4 Assembly Hansard 6 cols. 2491-2.
Natal Mercury, 18 March.
6 Rand Daily Mail, 7 September.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970
days were imposed. Their homes were destroyed and their cattle impounded. A severe shortage of farm labour resulted in the Weenen district. The Deputy Minister of Bantu Development said in the Senate on 13 February that the Natal Agricultural Union had asked him to abolish the labour tenant system throughout the province, for Africans evicted from farms in districts such as Weenen were moving to other districts and squatting on farms there. After discussions, it was agreed that the position should be frozen. No new labour tenants would be registered, but the contracts of those already in service could be renewed.

Government Notice R 1224 of 31 July laid down that no further labour tenants' contracts were to be registered in 16 further districts of the Transvaal and 19 more districts in Natal. Mr. D. C. Sinclair, the president of the Natal Agricultural Union, is reported' to have said that the change to full-time labour would be evolutionary.

Some of the farm workers who were evicted were removed, with their families, to resettlement camps at Tugela Estates and Keates Drift in the Msinga area, or to land owned by the Bantu Trust in the Ladysmith or Nkandhla districts. They had to dispose of their cattle. These removal schemes were described on page 103 of last year's Survey.

Questioned about the future of surplus labour tenants, Mr. P. H. Torlage, the newly-appointed Commissioner-General for the Zulu people, said9 that they could seek full-time work for farmers in areas where there were labour shortages, or in nearby rural towns and villages. (Their families will, apparently, have to go to resettlement villages.)

There is reported" to be a shortage of farm workers in the Cape Midlands, but Africans who are displaced from farms in Natal or elsewhere cannot be absorbed there because it is a Coloured labour preference area.

The grave problem of homeless Africans in Natal is described in a subsequent chapter.

Because of the drought, many farmers have abandoned citrus farms in the Sundays River Valley of the Cape Midlands. It is reported" that there is much distress among their former African employees, who are not allowed to seek work in the towns.

Agriculture in the African Reserves is dealt with in a subsequent chapter.

Hansard 2 col. 365.
Rand Daily Mail, 9 September.
Ibid.
EMLOYMENT IN MINING

Indian farmers in Natal have established an agricultural cooperative to undertake the centralized purchasing of seeds, fertilizers, and equipment.12

The Russian Government refused visas to four South African delegates who were to have attended a conference there of the International Association of Agricultural Economists.13

EMPLOYMENT IN MINING

According to the publication Mining Statistics, 1969 issued by the Department of Mines,14 the average numbers of persons employed in mining during that year were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>All mines</th>
<th>Gold mines only</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>83,236</td>
<td>40,420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>6,345</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>753</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>591,726</td>
<td>369,734</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Calculating from figures given for the totals paid in salaries, wages, and allowances, the monthly averages per head were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>All mines</th>
<th>Gold mines only</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The value of the rations, accommodation, and other benefits provided for Africans was not stated. White workers, too, receive certain benefits.

On 26 March the Financial Mail pointed out that, in spite of recent wage increases for all miners, the gap between white and black wages had widened, from 17.6:1 in 1968 to 19.9:1 in 1970. It quoted Dr. Francis Wilson of the University of Cape Town as having calculated that, in 1968, the average cash earnings of white workers in real terms were eleven per cent higher than they had been in 1966, while the real value of black cash earnings was one per cent lower.

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 1969 was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cape</td>
<td>87,682</td>
<td>23.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>6,949</td>
<td>1.87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Free State .... ... 7882 2.12
Transvaal .......... 14017 3.78
Sub-total ... 116530 31.40
Lesotho .......... 65 009 17.52
Botswana .......... 14 829 4.00
Swaziland ...........5 037 1.35
Sub-total ... 84 875 22.87
East Coast ........... 99 807 26.90
Tropical territories ... 69 858 18.83
Total ... 371 070 100.00

In his presidential address to the S.A. Institute of Mining and Metallurgy Mr. Vic. Robinson, chief technical adviser to the Chamber of Mines, is reported to have referred to the shortage of skilled labour, and to have said, "Time and time again the industry has had to stand by and see its reasonable endeavours to make everyone take one step up the ladder frustrated either by short-sighted union policy or by political expediency given effect to by government departments . . .

This is a time when men, not only of goodwill, but of commonsense, should get together and examine methods for using all the manpower in South Africa to the best possible advantage." Aptitude testing of many Africans had proved them to be fit subjects for entry into many jobs done entirely by whites, he stated.

According to The Star of 16 October, Mr. A. Louw, the chairman of the West Witwatersrand Areas, Ltd., mining group, called on the Government to support the mining industry in its negotiations with the miners' unions in regard to the more productive use of African labour.

The resistance by white mining unions to African advancement in mining in the homelands is described in the next chapter.

**EMPLOYMENT IN CONSTRUCTION**

Calculating from figures given in a Department of Statistics News Release dated 5 June, the average numbers employed in construction during February 1970, and their average gross salaries and wages that month, based on a sample survey, were shown to be:

"." Rand Daily Mail, 27 August.

**EMPLOYMENT IN CONSTRUCTION**

Gross salaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numbers employed</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>wages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites ..........</td>
<td>59 000</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured ........</td>
<td>44000</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians ..........</td>
<td>4000</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans ..........</td>
<td>237 000</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Free accommodation is often provided for the Africans.)

Replying to a question in the Assembly on 1 September, the Minister of Labour said that on 31 December 1969 there were 5 153 apprenticeship contracts in operation in the building industry in the Republic: statistics were not maintained.
on a racial basis. The 1969 Manpower Survey had revealed a shortage of 502 white and 137 non-white apprentices.

The Bantu Building Workers' Act of 1951 enabled Africans to be -trained and employed as skilled building workers, for work in African townships only, at lower rates of pay than workers of other racial groups receive. In reply to another question, the Minister said that up to the end of 1969, 4,926 African building workers had been registered in terms of the Act, while another 238 were in training.

The Minister announced that during March 1969 the Building Industries Federation, on behalf of master builders, proposed that the trades of bricklaying and plastering, particularly in the Transvaal and Free State, be excluded from the scope of the work reservation determinations (no. 6, of 1959, and no. 13, of 1963). The Federation had been told that the industry should first explore the possibility of attracting more white workers.

Shortly afterwards, the Federation started a special eighteen months' training scheme in the Transvaal for white persons over the age of 21 years as bricklayers, plasterers, and carpenters. Improved conditions of employment were offered.

Between July and October 1969, 250 trainees were recruited. The scheme was then extended to persons of at least 19 years of age in the Transvaal and Free State.

The Industrial Councils for the Building Industry in the major centres had redefined artisans' work, the Minister continued, to permit of the employment of semi-skilled workers (generally nonwhites) in a variety of the lesser-important aspects of the work.

Early in 1970 the Department of Labour intervened when Roberts Construction Company was using African building workers to do block-laying in a low-cost housing scheme for whites at Pietermaritzburg, at lower wages than those payable to artisans of

1 Hansard 7 col. 3038.
2 11 September, Assembly Hansard 8 col. 3903.
3 11 June, Assembly Hansard 1 col. 341.

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other racial groups. Work was held up for three months while the company tried to recruit other artisans, and to sub-contract some work; but these efforts were unsuccessful. Eventually, with the knowledge of the Department, the company re-employed the Africans, overcoming the restrictions contained in the job reservation determination by not issuing specialized tools. The Africans were provided with gardening trowels instead of builders' trowels, used the handles of axes instead of hammers, and made use of jigs instead of lines and levels to lay the blocks.'

In an address given on 27 August Dr. P. J. Riekert, the Economic Adviser to the Prime Minister, urged building contractors to use Indian artisans, instead of whites, when undertaking building schemes in Indian group areas.

EMPLOYMENT IN COMMERCE AND FINANCE
On 23 April and 9 June the Department of Statistics issued News Releases indicating the average employment during 1969 in banking institutions and building societies (including the S.A. Reserve Bank and the Land and Agricultural Bank) and in the wholesale and retail trade. The figures were based on quarterly surveys (complete, and sample, respectively), and the gross total salaries, wages, and allowances for the year were given. Monthly averages have been calculated by the writer.

Monthly salaries
Numbers employed and wages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Banks and building societies</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>46660 219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>1225 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>182 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>5965 55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wholesale and retail trade</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>189600 182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>46200 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>23600 90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>182300 44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Director of Personnel of the OK Bazaars, Mr. A. H. Fife, announced during March 1 that, following discussions with the Minister of Labour arising from complaints by certain white shoppers, about 35 Coloured cashiers had been removed from their positions in branches of the store in the Transvaal. They would be absorbed elsewhere in the organization. But, because white recruits were unobtainable, some check-out points would have to be closed. Two months later, however, Mr. Fife said that Coloured cashiers were again being used. The services of white cashiers would be available, too, and shoppers could be served by the latter if they so wished.

EMPLOYMENT IN COMMERCE AND FINANCE

be closed. Two months later, however, Mr. Fife said that Coloured cashiers were again being used. The services of white cashiers would be available, too, and shoppers could be served by the latter if they so wished.

On 4 June 3 the Minister of Labour said that all regional offices of his Department had investigated complaints that the position of white workers in commerce was being threatened. Their reports showed that nowhere had a replacement of whites occurred: Coloured workers had been engaged to fill new posts for which white candidates could not be found.

The Government desired that there should be adequate employment opportunities for all racial groups, the Minister continued. The employment of Coloured people in commerce need not create problems provided that it was done in consultation with white workers and the Department of Labour; that white employees were not displaced; and that there was no mixing of races on the same work level. He had granted permission to the OK Bazaars to staff a separate floor of a new branch in Sea Point, Cape Town, with Coloured workers because whites could not be obtained.
On 3 September the Minister announced in the Assembly that he was granting "controlled" opportunities for Coloured and Indian people to work in white areas. Conditions were that whites and non-whites should not work side-by-side; that no white should work under the guidance or supervision of a non-white; that whites should not be replaced; and that separate toilet and restroom facilities should be available.

Subject to the conditions, he said, Barclays Bank had been allowed to employ 31 Coloured women in a reception department.

The Minister acknowledged that, in terms of the law, commercial organizations did not need official authority to employ Coloured workers. But, he emphasized, he possessed the power to refer such cases to the Industrial Tribunal for a recommendation in regard to possible job reservation. This statutory power would always provide the Government with "the necessary leverage" for ensuring that the conditions described earlier were observed and functioned properly.

The New Republic Bank - the first bank in the country to be staffed entirely by Indians - started operating in Durban during September.

The Indian division of the Natal Chamber of Industries has appealed to white chartered accountancy firms to accept Indians as articled clerks. Academic training was available at the university, it was stated, but practical training facilities were limited, for in the whole of Natal there were only two practising Indian chartered accountants.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970
According to the August issue of Bantu, in 1969 commercial banks were employing 88 trained Africans in banks in African townships.

Early in 1970 the National African Chamber of Commerce submitted a memorandum to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development asking, inter alia, for certain relaxations of the restrictions relating to the activities of urban traders,' and for increased participation by Africans in the control and operations of the Bantu Investment Corporation.

In his reply, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration stated that, before such requests could be considered, the chamber and its provincial organizations would have to be re-organized along ethnic lines.

EMPLOYMENT IN THE SERVICE OF PUBLIC AUTHORITIES
In a News Release dated 11 June, the Department of Statistics gave employment figures relating to:
(a) the Central Government, excluding the Railways, Post Office, and Divisional Councils in the Cape;
(b) Provincial Administrations;
(c) Local Authorities, including the Transvaal Board for the Development of Peri-Urban Areas, the Natal Local Health Commission, and the Bantu Resettlement Board.
The employees and average monthly earnings per head (as calculated by the writer from total figures) during the fourth quarter of 1969 were as follows:

Monthly salaries
Numbers employed and wages

Central Government
- Whites: 98 186, R225
- Coloured: 29 932, R96
- Asians: 6 908, R136
- Africans: 139 976, R41

Provincial Administrations
- Whites: 89 354, R221
- Coloured: 11 791, R47
- Asians: 2 220, R70
- Africans: 76 082, R33

Local Authorities
- Whites: 44 700, R258
- Coloured: 16 800, R80
- Asians: 3 700, R59
- Africans: 107 800, R42


EMPLOYMENT: PUBLIC AUTHORITIES
(The salaries of Coloured and Indian teachers, as well as those of unskilled labourers and others, are included under the heading “Central Government”.)

In reply to a question in the Assembly about the pay of nonwhite public servants, excluding teachers, the Minister of the Interior said during February that if rations and allowances as well as cash payments were taken into account the position was:

Per working day:
- Less than R2: 3367, 6921
- More than R2: 424 75 903, 1 311, 24582

The Minister of Defence was asked to furnish information about the salary scales of white members of the Permanent Force as compared with those of members of the Coloured Corps. Excerpts from his reply, relating to non-technicians, are:

Warrant Officer
- White:
- Coloured:
- Sergeant:
- White:
Coloured:
Class 1:
R4050 x 150 - 4650 R1440 x 60 - 1800 x 90 - 2070
R2 280 x 120 - 3360 RI 140 x 60 - 1680
The Minister of Police said3 that the strength of the Police Force towards the end of 1969 was:
Officers .... ... ... ... ...
Warrant Officers .......... Chief Sergeants .........
Senior Sergeants and Sergeants Constables ... ... ... ...
Whites
1 413 1 357
4536 8 852
Others ... ... ... ... ... ... 2 155
Coloured Asians Africans
34 237 1 171
36
9
139
107 2011
513 10871
4 330
During 1970, various promotions have taken place, and in July the first nine non-white men - five Africans, three Coloured, and an Indian - were commissioned as lieutenants. In their own areas they will have the same authority as does a white lieutenant; but every non-white policeman, irrespective of his rank, remains subordinate to every white policeman.4
6 February. Hansard 1 col. 366.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970
Examples of comparative rates of pay, extracted from a schedule given by the Minister of Police on 11 August, are:
Lieutenants:
White: R2 760 x 120 - 3 600 x 150 - 4050
Coloured and Indian: RI 800 x 90 - 2 520
African: RI 560 x 60 - 1800 x 90 - 2 160
Constables:
White: R930 x 90 - 1 200 x 120 - 3 360
Coloured and Indian: R618 x 42 - 660 x 60 - 1 380 African: R450 x 42 - 660 x 60 - 1020
In reply to questions on 14 and 21 August, the Minister of Coloured Affairs indicated that there were 20 054 authorized posts in his Department, of which 18 002 were occupied by Coloured people. Excluding educational personnel (dealt with in a subsequent chapter), the most senior Coloured employees were principal clerks and senior accountants.
According to the issue of Fiat Lux for May, there were then 251 posts for Indians in the Department of Indian Affairs (apparently excluding teachers). Again the most senior posts were for principal clerks.

Some local authorities in the Transvaal previously included non-white employees in their pension schemes; but a new fund is to be created for the non-white personnel, excluding labourers, of all the local authorities in the province.'

EMPLOYMENT IN THE RAILWAYS, HARBOURS, AND AIRWAYS ADMINISTRATION

Replying to a question on 21 August,1 the Minister of Transport said that there were then 138 566 authorized posts in his Administration. Of these, 104 299 were occupied by permanent staff, 5 879 by temporary staff, and 28 388 were vacant.

During the previous financial year, the Minister continued, there had been 20 783 recruits and 23 677 persons who retired, resigned, or absconded.

It would appear that the Minister's figures, quoted above, probably referred only to the graded staff, for on 20 February he said2 that in March 1969 the numbers of employees were:

Hansard 4 col. 1455.
6 Hansard 4 col. 1722; Hansard 5 col. 2272.
Rand Daily Mail. 31 July.
Assembly Hansard 5 col. 2272.
Assembly Hansard 3 col. 1538.

EMPLOYMENT: RAILWAYS 121

Employees  Railways  Harbours  Airways
Whites ..........  108 003 3 002 4 137
Coloured ........ 12931 706  27
Asians ..........  1 000 1
Africans ......... 90659 3 483  657

212593  7192 4821

The combined total was 224 606.

Questioned about salaries and wages,3 the Minister replied that average earnings at the end of 1968 (here given in monthly amounts) were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Railways</th>
<th>Harbours</th>
<th>Airways</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>241</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>61</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The earnings of the non-white employees, including the value of rations, were:

Per working day

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Less than R2</th>
<th>More than R2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>5613</td>
<td>8069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>893</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>91083</td>
<td>4367</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Salary increases were announced on 9 June: the distribution as between members of the various racial groups was not stated.
On 21 July, the Minister said' that there was an acute manpower shortage on the railways. Later, on 5 August, he said5 that since 1961 there had been a standing committee representative of the various staff associations and the management, the functions of which were to investigate when necessary the need or otherwise of allocating work normally done by graded staff to semi-skilled or unskilled labour (white or non-white). The Minister did not over-ride the decisions of this committee unless he deemed it to be in the interests of the country to do so without causing unnecessary friction. Thus far, members had not agreed to the employment of non-whites as firemen, conductors, or station foremen, in spite of the serious shortages in these grades. Instead, work was being mechanized where possible, and employees such as clerks helped out by doing overtime work as firemen.

Replying to questions on 28 and 31 July' the Minister said that 88 Coloured, 101 Indians, and 1 229 Africans were then temporarily employed on work normally performed by white

3 Assembly Hansard 1 cols. 367, 369.
'Hansard 1 col 137.
Hansard 3 cols. 1079-81.
s Hansard 2 cois. 537-8. 788.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970
graded staff - mainly as flagmen, trade hands, shed attendants, and stokers and deckhands on tugs and dredgers. In addition, 1 371 Coloured, 140 Indians, and 12 698 Africans were performing work formerly done by unskilled and ungraded white railworkers.

EMPLOYMENT IN THE DEPARTMENT OF POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS
A series of questions was put to the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs about employment in his Department.' He said that as at 30 June 1970, there were 46 554 authorized posts, of which 30 778 were filled by permanent and 12 812 by temporary staff, the rest being vacant. During the 1969-70 financial year, 9 221 persons had retired or resigned, while 16 434 recruits had been obtained. Of the white recruits, 2 767 had qualifications lower than Standard VIII.
The staff as at 30 June (including about 1 862 employed in South West Africa) consisted of 55 303, made up of 38 361 whites, 3 973 Coloured and Basters, 451 Asians, and 12 518 Africans.

Those temporarily employed in white areas in posts normally occupied by whites were:
783 Coloured postmen and messengers;
243 Indian postmen and messengers;
1 068 African postmen and postal aids.

Persons of these three groups were also employed in their own areas in the service of their own people: they included supervisors and employees doing clerical, postal and counter, telephone operating, and teleprinter duties.

It was announced on 6 November that Post Office workers would voluntarily work three more hours a week, without extra pay, in order to express appreciation of recent wage increases, and to improve productivity.
THE PRINTING INDUSTRY
In spite of the recruitment of men from overseas, there has been a mounting shortage of journeymen in the printing industry.
At a meeting of the Industrial Council for the Printing and Newspaper Industry, held in Durban during September, it was agreed to introduce a new class of employees to be called printers' assistants, who would undertake certain work that had previously been done by journeymen. These workers would require at least four years' experience in semi-skilled work but no formal apprenticeship, and the posts would be open to white, Indian, or Coloured people.
Provisions were incorporated in the agreement to safeguard
First Session, Hansard 3 col. 1539; Second Session, Hansard 3 col. 1000;
Hansard 4 co's.
1773-5; Hansard 5 col. 2274.

DOMESTIC SERVANTS
the position of journeymen, and all-round increases in pay were granted.'

DOMESTIC SERVANTS
Proclamation dealing with accommodation and visitors
Section 26(2)(c) of the Group Areas Act as amended provides that, if the State President issues a proclamation to this effect, the restrictions on the occupation of land or premises by racially disqualified persons shall not apply, among others, to the domestic servants of persons who are lawfully resident in the area. The State President was empowered to impose conditions.
This Section of the Act was, in 1957, applied to all group areas for occupation by whites.
In terms of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act as amended, householders require permits from the local authority to accommodate African domestic servants on their premises, and the accommodation provided is subject to the local authority's approval. The Africans may not have over-night visitors unless a municipal permit is obtained, and evening visitors must have the householder's authority to be there and must leave the white area before the curfew hour.
On 13 March, Proclamation No. 70 of 1970 was gazetted, under the Group Areas Act. This fell into two main parts.
1. Accommodation for domestic servants
The proclamation laid down that the following conditions for the accommodation of domestic servants will apply as from 13 March 1971.
(a) If a building consists of a single dwelling, the servants must be accommodated in specially provided quarters, approved by the local authority. These quarters may be under the same roof, but must have their own, separate, entrance and ablution and toilet facilities, and must be closed off from the accommodation used by the private householder.
(b) If a building consists of two or more dwellings, the servants must live in specially provided quarters, approved by the local authority, which are provided with their own separate ablution and toilet facilities, and are:
(i) in a separate building on the same erf or premises; or (ii) situated on one floor of the building in such a way that, except in the execution of their duties by the domestic servants, there shall be no communal traffic in passages or balconies between white occupiers and the servants.

2. Visitors
A domestic servant may not allow a disqualified person to be upon the premises that he occupies between the hours of

8 Rand Daily Mail, 25 September.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970

10 p.m. and 8 a.m. unless a special permit is obtained in terms of the Group Areas Act. This provision came into effect from the date of the proclamation.

Action that followed
The Minister of Community Development is reported to have said that, as it was issued under the Group Areas Act, the proclamation was intended to apply only to Coloured and Indian domestic servants.

As worded, however, it appeared to apply to Africans, too.

Shortly after it was gazetted, there were several police raids at night on the African servants’ quarters of householders in Johannesburg. If visitors were found there without being in possession of permits, the householder and domestic servant concerned and each visitor were given the option of paying spot fines on admission of guilt, or were issued with summonses. The Divisional Commissioner of Police was reported as having said that this action was nothing new, and was not taken in terms of the proclamation: the charges were for trespass, under the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act.

One of the householders, Mr. Ken Anderson, elected to appear in court. He was acquitted by a Randburg magistrate, after he had proved that he had no reason to suspect that the five visitors found on his premises were there, and that he could not, by the exercise of reasonable care, have prevented them from being present.

It was established in court: (a) that, before searching premises, the police must have reasonable suspicion to believe that Africans were being accommodated there unlawfully; and (b), that raids should be carried out at a reasonable hour.

Conditions of service for domestic servants
A group of Christians has distributed a pamphlet entitled She needs you ... You need her, in order to "promote the thrust of the Message to the People of South Africa". Human conditions that enter into domestic service, working conditions, and minimum wages are dealt with.

It was estimated that a woman domestic servant who receives board and lodging, cleaning materials, fuel and light, and working overalls free of charge still needs R12 a month for personal expenses.

But many of these women have dependants. A survey in Johannesburg indicated that, on an average, each maid had four dependants for whom she was at least partially responsible: each of these cost her about R5.75 a month.

Rand Daily Mail, 16 March.
Various Press reports, e.g. Star, 24 March.
Star, 14 and 15 May and 17 June.

INDUSTRIAL AGREEMENTS
Mr. F. J. van Wyk, Director of the Institute of Race Relations, suggested that a minimum wage be determined for domestic servants, of at least R25 a month for a single woman without dependants, who lives on her employer’s premises, R35 for one with dependants, and R10 extra a month for a woman who has to travel daily to an African township.
Table 10 of a Report 11-03-04 by the Department of Statistics gave the average wages paid to full-time domestic servants in October 1968, as estimated by the employers. Some extracts are:

Cash Kind Total
R  R  R
Coloured woman: Cape Town ...... 19.74 22.78 42.52
African woman: Witwatersrand ... 16.54 18.13 34.67 Pretoria .......... 13.79
17.51 31.30
Durban ........... 13.46 16.89 30.35
Pietmaritzburg ... 12.58 15.45 28.03 East London ...... 11.45 16.72 28.17
Port Elizabeth ... 13.46 16.89 30.35
At its annual conference, held in Rustenburg during May, the National Council of Women of South Africa resolved to undertake a study of conditions of service for domestic servants.'

Employment of domestic servants by Indians
The Chairman of the S.A. Indian Council, Mr. H. E. Joosub, said in March that the Government had re-affirmed its refusal to allow Indians to employ Africans as domestic servants or nursemaids.

INDUSTRIAL AGREEMENTS, AWARDS, AND DETERMINATIONS
In reply to a question in the Assembly on 11 September,’ the Minister of Labour said that there were 159 published industrial council agreements in force, including 71 agreements for the payment of pension, provident, holiday, medical aid, training, and other benefits. Besides these, there were 4 conciliation board awards, 1 arbitration award, and 75 wage board determinations in operation. The numbers of persons affected were: Whites Coloured Asians Africans

Industrial council agreements 210966 147400 41934 468815 Conciliation board awards ... 675 3307 56 5746
Arbitration award .......... 206 - - 2
Wage Board determinations ... 110396 57795 16872 290502
322243 208502 58862 765065
Star, 5 May.
6 Rand Daily Mail, 16 March.
1 Hansard 8 col. 3917.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS. 1970
COMPOSITION AND MEMBERSHIP OF TRADE UNIONS
The Minister said that, as at 31 December 1969, the composition and membership of registered trade unions was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of unions</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured &amp; Asian</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>335 559</td>
<td>335 559</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>68 338</td>
<td>68 338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>55028</td>
<td>110823</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>390587</td>
<td>179161</td>
<td>569748</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the racially-mixed unions, the Minister continued, seven had been exempted indefinitely, and five for stated periods, from having all-white executive committees on the ground that there were too few white members for this to be feasible. A further six had been required to guarantee that there would be some representatives of white members on the executive committee. No exemptions permitting mixed branch committees had been granted.

Nine unions had been exempted indefinitely, six for stated periods, and seven in respect of certain areas only, from the requirement that separate meetings must be held for white and Coloured members.

In all cases where exemptions had been granted for indefinite periods, the local Divisional Inspector of Labour was required to report on the position every twelve months, in order that the exemptions might be reviewed where necessary. Applications for the compulsory deduction of membership fees from pay packets had been approved in the case of sixteen white, six Coloured, and one racially mixed unions. Such applications from one white and one Coloured union had been refused.'

Mr. J. A. Grobbelaar, the general secretary of the Trade Union Council of S.A. (Tucsa) again attended sessions of the International Labour Organization, as an observer (South Africa withdrew from this Organization in 1964). It was described on page 116 of last year's Survey why Tucsa decided to confine its membership to registered trade unions (thus excluding Africans): in view of this decision, Tucsa was informed before Mr. Grobbelaar left that "it would be neither proper nor productive" for its representatives to visit the headquarters of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.'

The views of leaders of Tucsa and of the pro-Government Confederation of Labour on the manpower situation have been given earlier in this chapter. Their views on the advancement of Africans in mining in the homelands are described in the chapter dealing with the African Reserves.

BANTU LABOUR (SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES)
THE WORKING OF THE BANTU LABOUR (SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES) ACT
The Minister of Labour said on 11 September that only 27 Bantu works committees were then functioning. He gave the names of the establishments concerned.

According to the Report of the Department of Labour for 1968, during that year (white) Bantu Labour officials attended 201 industrial council and 6 conciliation board meetings, and scrutinized 123 proposed agreements. They attended 30 sittings of the Wage Board, and directed written representations to the Board in connection with 14 investigations. As a result, it was claimed, wage increases totalling R6 649 608 had been granted to 247 083 Africans.

During the year, 20 labour disputes involving 860 Africans had been settled by the officials without stoppages of work occurring. Thirty-three disputes that involved stoppages of work had been found to be due mainly to misunderstandings. Only 17 other stoppages, involving 665 Africans, could be regarded as strikes in terms of the Act. Two lock-outs involving 30 Africans had occurred.

During August 1970, a dispute took place between the management and more than 400 African workers of McPhail's Coal Yards in Johannesburg, after a foreman dismissed two workers and, it was reported, had threatened to sack others, too. Mr. F. W. Kock, an official of the Department of Labour, attempted to settle the dispute, but when he failed, the police were summoned and arrested 84 workers who were unwilling to resume duties. They were refused bail. About 100 of their fellow-workers then staged a sit-down strike, demanding the release of these men. In agreement with the management, Mr. Kock negotiated through the court for the release of the 84 on payment of R5 admission-of-fault fines.'

Assembly Hansard 8 cols. 3918-9.
Rand Daily Mail, 15 August.
127

THE AFRICAN RESERVES
POSSIBILITY OF FUTURE INDEPENDENCE

Major policy statements on the future status of the African homelands were made during the first session of the newly-elected House of Assembly.

Speaking on 7 September, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development challenged assertions by the United Party that the homelands would have to be strong enough economically to support their own people before independence was granted.

The whole question was being studied, he said, by an Economic Committee, set up as a branch of the Bantu Affairs Commission, which was being assisted by the Bureau for Economic Research and Bantu Development that had its headquarters with the Bantu Investment Corporation.

A great deal of assistance had already been granted to the homelands, and much more help would be required once they became independent, for example with the establishment and maintenance of public administration, the provision of professional, technical and academic manpower, and the allocation of funds or appropriations for their budgets. Assistance was being given, inter alia, with the
development of railways, freeways, posts and telegraphs and radio services. Defence against aggression was available.

In return, the homelands provided the rest of the Republic with labour, certain foodstuffs, and raw materials for processing in factories in white areas. The Minister talked of a future interdependent independence. He added that the African governments would have to go through a process of political evolution. During the debate on his vote, the Prime Minister stated2 that any black state was free to come to Parliament and say that the time had arrived when it wished to follow its own course. "Dozens of matters" would then have to be considered, and talks would probably have to be held over very long periods. The Government would prefer such discussions to be deferred until the states had become more viable economically, but viability would not be a condition for commencing negotiations.

The Prime Minister said that there could be no finality about the boundaries of the African territories until the remainder of the land promised in 1936 had been acquired.

It is clear that the complete consolidation of the various African territories is not contemplated.

Hansard 8 cols. 3501-7.
2 15 September, Hansard 9 col. 4211.

EXTENT OF AFRICAN AREAS
EXTENT OF THE AFRICAN 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 government of that territory in 1966.

(b) 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 (described below). Farms acquired by Africans prior to 1936 are sometimes included in statistics for the scheduled areas if they adjoin existing Reserves; but if they are surrounded by white-owned land they are officially regarded as black spots.

(c) 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.
Quota land that had been acquired by the Trust in the Transkei was handed over to the government of that territory: this apparently amounted to 168 420 morgen. Varying figures have been given for the area of land that is controlled by the Transkeian Government. This, apparently, increases as further towns or parts of towns are zoned for African ownership and occupation (this matter is described later). According to the Transkeian Government’s Annual for 1970, the area it controlled was 4 501 677 morgen.

In the Assembly on 25 September, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development gave the information that follows, relating to the areas of the Reserves in the Republic as at the end of 1969. The columns indicate:
(a) scheduled areas;
(b) land acquired by Africans between 1913 and 1936;
(c) quota land vested in the S.A. Bantu Trust since 1936;
(d) quota land purchased by the Trust since 1936;
(e) quota land bought by Africans since 1936.


A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970

Morgen

Western Natal areas
1 688 141 632 682 343 211 1 190031
161 983
3041245 183 870 89956 423 856 15 893
Ciskei Totals
832218 76 203
9 102 110202
2257
6326959 1 246 356 1 905 051 3 329 574 451 490
4458580 4016048 3 754 820 1029 982 13 259 430

The total of columns (c), (d), and (e), representing land acquired since 1936, is 5 686 115 morgen. As mentioned, another 168 420 morgen that had been acquired were transferred to the Transkeian Government. The combined total is 5 854 535 morgen. If this is subtracted from the additional 7 250 000 morgen provided for in the 1936 Act, it would appear that, at the end of 1969, there were still 1 395 465 morgen to be added to the Reserves.

A different figure was, however, given by the Minister in the Assembly on 18 September and 2 October. He said that by the end of 1969, 5 867 800 morgen had been acquired, leaving 1 382 200 morgen to be purchased. The land bought during 1969, and the land still to be acquired, was as follows:

Cape Transvaal Natal
Bought
... ... 87 094 morgen ...... 14 959 morgen ...... 10 379 morgen
To be acquired
578 101 morgen 715 527 morgen 88 572 morgen
Accepting the figures given by the Minister on 18 September, the total extent of
the African areas at the end of 1969 would appear to have been:

Republic Transkei

Morgen

13 441 115 ... 4501677
17942792

Hectares

11512745 3 855 830
15368575

Sq. miles

44451 14887

59338

The total area represents 12.59 per cent of the area of the Republic.

LAND ALLOCATED TO MEMBERS OF EACH ETHNIC GROUP

On 11 September the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development was
asked how many separate pieces of land cons Hansard 5 col. 1959. and Hansard
11 col. 5555.

Northern
areas

765 355 353 601 1 462 782 1 605 485 271 357
130

BLACK SPOTS

stituted the Reserves for each of the ethnic groups. From his reply' it emerges that
the following is the position:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic group</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>No. of pieces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>N. Transvaal</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsonga (Shangaan)</td>
<td>N. Transvaal</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Sotho</td>
<td>N. Transvaal</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1azi</td>
<td>E. Transvaal</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tswana</td>
<td>W. Transvaal, N. Cape, O.F.S.</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Sotho</td>
<td>N. Cape, O.F.S.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xhosa</td>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xhosa</td>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zulu</td>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The South Ndebele people, the Minister said, were dispersed over three pieces of
land, included in his table under the areas of the Tswana and North Sotho peoples.

In considering the Minister's reply, three factors should be borne in mind:

(a) Some of the "pieces of land" referred to are not compact areas,
but areas of irregular shape, with white farming areas protruding into them in
many places.

(b) Many of the areas are ethnically-mixed (e.g. those of the South
Ndebele, as indicated above). The Minister said that the South Sotho people had
one piece of land, presumably meaning that at Witzieshoek, but numbers of them
live near Taung in the
Northern Cape.
(c) The Minister did not include "black spots" which the Government plans to remove.

FURTHER EXCISIONS OF ISOLATED RESERVES AND OF BLACK SPOTS

People from Richards Bay area
In terms of Proclamation 82 of 20 March, African Reserve No. 6 of Natal, near Richards Bay, was excised. It measures 4 856 hectares (5 669 morgen).
Substituted for this was about 36 354 hectares (42 443 morgen) in the extreme north of Zululand, stated to be of approximately equal pastoral or agricultural value, adjoining the Pongola River, Reserve No. 14, and the Ndumu Game Reserve.

Mr. P. H. Torlage, then of the Bantu Affairs Commission, said that Reserve No. 6 was required for the establishment of townships to serve the new border industrial area at Richards Bay. There were 647 African families living there, consisting of 5 579
£ Assembly Hansard 8 col. 3909.
Assembly 20 February, Hansard 3 cols. 1552-4. Mr. Torlage is now the Commissioner-General for the Zulu people.

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individuals, who owned 2 568 head of large stock and about 400 of small stock. For the time being these people were moving to a corner of Reserve 6. Those who decided to seek industrial employment could eventually move to the new townships in that Reserve, or in Reserves Nos. 5 or 9 (where they would in most cases have to become migratory labourers). They would have to dispose of their stock. Not all of them could be granted alternative farming land "the Reserves are full", Mr. Torlage said.

Speaking for the United Party,' Mr. W. T. Webber pointed out that the compensatory land in Northern Zululand was mainly sandveld, with no grazing. Although it was State land (not part of a Reserve) it was already occupied by a large number of Africans too many for the carrying capacity. And they were of different tribal groupings from the people in Reserve No. 6, thus would not readily mix. The Minister replied9 that it might prove possible to irrigate part of this land.

Black spots
Little information is available about the total extent of "blackspot" removals during 1969 (i.e. the purchase or expropriation of African-owned land that is surrounded by white-owned farms). The Department of Agricultural Credit and Land Tenure stated in its report for 1968-701° that, during the financial year 1 April 1969 to 31 March 1970, it had bought 1 619 hectares (1 890 morgen) of black-spot land, paying R360 123 in compensation.

The (white) Natal Agricultural Union has been pressing for the removal of nearly 100 000 Africans from the Drakensberg Locations 1 and 2, near the Lesotho boundary, since these cover vital watersheds.1
Questioned in the Assembly on 11 September,12 the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that it was the intention to move 406 African families with ownership rights and 392 squatter families from the farm Doornkop, in the district of Middelburg, Transvaal, to the farm Bothashoek No. 276 in the district of Lydenburg. Doornkop was 1 012 morgen (867 hectares) in extent, while the area of Bothashoek, which was uninhabited, was 2 955 morgen (2 531 hectares).

About 100 African families who lived at Macleantown, some 24 miles to the north-west of East London, were, after about five months' warning, moved during March to Chalumna, about 30 miles from the city, on the other side of the main railway to the interior, along the road to Peddie. They had to demolish their previous homes, some of which were brick houses and others mud huts, and sell or take with them any useable building materials. Compensation was paid to those who had title-deeds.

Those who had owned land were given plots at Chalumna measuring about one-half hectare. They were each allowed to take two head of cattle: many had owned more. The others had to dispose of all their livestock at whatever prices these would fetch, and were given residential stands only in the resettlement area. A four-classroom school had been built in advance. Tents were available for temporary accommodation: these were said to have been too small for some of the families, and furniture had to be left in the open. The people had to dig their own latrines. For the first three days the Department of Bantu Administration provided rations of mealie-meal.1

Some years ago African squatters were moved from Wallmansthal, about 20 miles to the north of Pretoria, to the Hammanskraal area. Now the land-owners, who originally bought their plots from the Berlin Mission Society, are to be moved, too. All will receive compensation. Those who own plots smaller than 20 morgen will have to dispose of livestock and move to a township in a homeland, where a free plot will be made available. Those with 20 morgen or more are being offered freehold land of equal agricultural value.

POPULATION OF THE HOMELANDS
In the Assembly on 25 September4 the Minister of Statistics gave preliminary figures for the census that had been conducted in May 1970. The sizes of the various "Bantu national units" (as distinguished from one another by means of home language) were shown to the nearest 1 000, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zulu</td>
<td>3,970,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xhosa</td>
<td>3,907,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tswana</td>
<td>1,702,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sepedi</td>
<td>1,596,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Seshoeshoe (S. Sotho) 1 416 000 Shangaan (Tsonga) ... 731 000 Swazi .........
487 000
Venda .......... 360000
South Ndebele ...... 230 000 North Ndebele ...... 180 000 Other .........
314000
Total ... 14893000
13 From reports in the Daily Dispatch, 19 to 26 March. 14 Hansard 10 cols. 5131-
3.

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The total number of Africans had increased from 10 928 000 in September 1960,
or by 36.3 per cent. (Comparable figures for other racial groups are given in an
earlier chapter.)
In order to attempt an accurate comparison with 1960, the Department of
Statistics adjusted the earlier census figures, by area, in such a way that the
borders of the homelands correspond with those that existed in September 1970.
The results shown were:
White areas Bantu homelands
Number Percentage Number Percentage
of total of total
1960 6827000 62.5 4101000 37.5
1970 7975000 53.5 6918000 46.5
The Department stated that, during the period of approximately ten years, the
percentage of all Africans who were in the white areas had increased by 16.8 per
cent, whereas the increase in the homelands was 68.7 per cent (as against a
general increase in the total number of Africans, in all areas, of 36.3 per cent).
It should be noted that the number in "white areas" consists of those physically
present in towns and farming areas on the day of the census, including migrant
workers.
The census showed that the number of people of other racial groups who were in
the Bantu homelands had decreased in each case, as followed:
1960 1970
Whites ............... 24000 18000
Coloured ............. 15000 13000
Asians ............... 6000 3000
In considering the Department's figures showing the distribution of Africans,
three factors should be borne in mind.
1. It is widely accepted that the Africans in the homelands, in particular, were
under-enumerated in 1960. The coverage
was probably more complete in 1970.
2. Large numbers of Africans who were illegally in towns probably avoided being
included in the census.
3. In a number of areas, the Africans have been moved since 1960 from urban
municipal residential areas to new townships in homelands in the vicinity, or else
"homeland" townships have been built to house Africans employed in the towns.
All these Africans were, in 1970, included in the total for the homelands, although they are workers in the "white" urban areas.
In order to throw some light on this last point, Mr. J. O. N. Thompson (United Party) put questions to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development in the Assembly on 25 September. The Minister said, in reply, that Thlabane township, 2 miles from Rustenburg, was in a white area in 1960, but since then had been incorporated in a homeland by an adjustment of boundaries. Its population had increased in the ten years from about 6,000 to 17,000.
Many of the Africans who work in Pretoria, Durban, East London, and Pietermaritzburg live in homeland townships nearby. The Minister was asked how many Africans reside in municipal residential areas in these towns, and how many Africans reside in homeland townships situated within 20 miles of the towns concerned. (He was not asked where the breadwinners worked.) A summary of his reply is:

Number residing in:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homeland townships</th>
<th>Municipal within a radius of 20 miles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>255,082 46,554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durban</td>
<td>72871 146,443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East London</td>
<td>60517 71,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pietermaritzburg</td>
<td>302,24 50,428</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A point that was not brought out is that all the Africans who work in certain towns have been moved from municipal townships to new townships situated within homelands, within commuting distance. This has taken place at White River and Potgietersrus, and is taking place or is planned for Nelspruit, Zeerust, Pietersburg, Brits, Newcastle, Ladysmith, King William's Town, and Thaba 'Nchu. All the Africans who were in Eshowe, Mafeking, Taung, and Phalaborwa live in homeland townships.
Calculating from figures indicating the total area of the African Reserves and the census figures indicating the distribution of the total population, it would appear that the density of population averages about 117.2 per square mile in the Reserves, and 34.8 per square mile in the remainder of the Republic.

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Powers of Legislative Assembly
The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said during September that the powers of the Transkeian Government were to be extended to include responsibility for police, prisons, and health services.
1 Assembly 7 September. Hansard 9 col. 3504.
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Budget
The Chief Minister, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, announced in the Legislative Assembly during April 2 that the estimate of revenue during 1970-71 was R23,944,000. Of this, R18,248,000 would be received in grants from the Republic.  

Mr. J. H. Abraham, the Commissioner-General for the Xhosa national unit, stated at the opening of the Assembly's 1970 session that the revenue from local sources had increased over seven years from about R3,000,000 to an estimated R5,500,000.  

Estimates of expenditure during 1970-71, as set out in the Appropriation Act, were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chief Minister and Finance</td>
<td>885,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justice</td>
<td>695,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>778,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interior</td>
<td>5,601,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture and forestry</td>
<td>6,669,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roads and works</td>
<td>4,878,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides making annual grants, the Republican Government has continued to spend considerable sums in the Transkei on the salaries of seconded officials, national roads, health, prison and certain police services, transport, postal, audit, and other services. According to the Report of the Controller and Auditor-General for 1968-9, the cost to the Republic (excluding expenditure by the Railways and Postal Administrations) was R10,003,807 during that year.  

Administration
In the speech quoted above, Mr. Abraham said that only 349 of the administrative posts in the Government service were still filled by seconded white personnel. The total number of posts, excluding police, teachers, and workmen, had increased to 3,576. (The total a year previously had been 3,460: 377 white personnel were then being employed.)  

A third African magistrate, Mr. S. M. Toni, has been appointed, for the district of Elliotdale.  

The Transkei Public Service Commission, in its annual report, stated that there were 482 vacant posts in the Administration at the end of 1969. There had been a high rate of resignations: 126  

2 Rand Daily Mall, 22 April.  
3 Transkelan Gazette, 26 June.  
'Bantu, July.  
3 Transkejan Gazette, 29 May.  
6 T. G. 1970.  
7 South African Digest, 9 January.  

THE TRANSKEI
in 1968 and 179 in 1969. A serious view was taken of the incidence of misconduct among public servants.

Towns reserved for occupation or ownership by Africans
In terms of Proclamation 54 of 1970, of 20 February, 20 further towns in the Transkei were wholly reserved for occupation or ownership by African citizens of the Transkei. Ten of these had previously been partially so reserved. Non-Africans living in these towns are not required to move immediately. Certain areas in Umtata, Butterworth, Idutywa, and Umzimkulu were zoned "black". These are the only towns in the territory which are still partially reserved for whites. The African portions of these towns are being extended through the creation of new housing schemes.

Part of the Matatiele District is white-owned, and was not transferred to the Transkeian Government. However, a new African town called Maluti is being planned in the (African) Ramohlakoana area near the town of Matatiele.

Townships Board and councils in the Transkei

Transkeian towns were previously administered by Town Councils or Village Management Boards, elected by rate-payers, the very large majority of whom were white. As mentioned in last year's Survey, some of the Boards in the smaller towns disintegrated because nearly all the white residents left.

Proclamation 41 of 20 February provided for the establishment of a Townships Board for the Transkei, to be a body corporate. The (Republic's) Minister of Bantu Administration and Development would determine the number of members (not to exceed five) and, after consultation with the Transkeian Government, would appoint members and alternates, including the chairman and vice-chairman, for periods of three years. (The racial group of members to be appointed was not stated.) The Minister would determine their rates of remuneration.

This Board would have jurisdiction in all the towns that had been totally reserved for African ownership or occupation. As from a date to be determined by the Minister, the previouslyexisting local authorities in these towns would cease to perform any functions: their functions, together with their assets, would be transferred to the Board. However, the Board might enter into an agreement with a local authority for the latter to continue to perform certain functions, subject to the Minister's approval.

The revenue of the Board would be derived from rates levied, fines imposed by a competent court for contraventions of Acts or regulations in force in its area, licence fees, charges made

I Rand Daily Mail, 22 April.

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for electricity, water and sanitation, and moneys granted by the S.A. Bantu Trust. The Board was authorized to appoint local committees, to which powers might be delegated.

The Transkei Townships Amendment Act (Transkeian Act 9 of 1969) made provision for the establishment of township councils in black-zoned towns. The Chief Minister was empowered to determine the number of members to be elected and selected: the latter must not exceed the former in number. These selected members would be appointed by the Minister to whom the Chief Minister assigned the administration of the Act.
As described in a subsequent chapter, the Republic's Prime Minister announced on 6 February that municipal elections in the Cape, due to be held the following September, would be postponed until 1972. The exclusively white Parliamentary electoral rolls would then be used. According to Press reports, many African ratepayers had hoped that the system of democratically-elected local authorities would be preserved, and that Africans would gain election to, and eventual control of, such bodies in Transkeian towns. In terms of the new system, real power would lie with the Republic's Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, who would appoint the Townships Board. This Board might decide that the existing white local authorities should continue to administer the affairs of the larger towns for a considerable time to come. With the loss of the municipal vote, Africans would be unable to gain election to Town Councils or Village Management Boards (nor would Coloured residents).

The employment of Transkeian citizens
In reply to a question in the Assembly on 21 August the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that 908 027 persons were registered as voters in terms of the Transkei Constitution Act. He was unable to indicate how many of them were actually resident in the territory. The Minister stated on 20 February that, as at 30 June 1969, there were 42401 Africans employed within the Transkei, the largest proportion (numbering 14216) being in government departments. Only 1 280 were engaged in manufacturing. The Transkeian Minister of the Interior told the Legislative Assembly in May that a record number of 174 220 persons were recruited for work outside the Transkei during 1969. More detailed statistics, relating to the year 1968, were given

9 e.g. Rand Daily Mail and Star of 26 February. 10 Hansard 5 col. 2257.
11 Assembly Hansard 3 col. 1523.
12 Daily Dispatch, 12 May.
13
constitutions was given. Since then, Professor H. W. E. Ntsanwisi has been appointed chief executive councillor of the Machangana (or Matshangana) Authority.

In terms of Proclamation 68 of 6 March, a Bantu Authorities Service Board was established, to consist of two officers of the Public Service Commission, two of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, and one of the Bantu Education Department. Its function is to make recommendations in regard to the control and organization of any department of a Territorial Authority.

Each Territorial Authority has passed an enactment embodying its budget for the year ending 31 March 1971. These are as follows:

Territorial Authority
Ciskei   Tswana   Matshangana
R
Authority Affairs and
Finance   * 273500 461000 228000
Community Affairs  1 633 200 2 338 700 752 000
Works           2970500 5254400 1105000
Education and Culture  2 943 000 3 615 000 1196 000
                  Agriculture ...... 1118 900 883 400 753 000
Justice          104 800 196 300 43 000
R9 043 900 12748800 4077000
I Government Notices 794, 795, 797, 989, 990, 993.

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Lebowa (N. Sotho)   Venda
R
Authority Affairs and
Finance           423 500 239 700
Community Affairs  2 518 800 794 500
Works              2693300 1 154700
Education and Culture 3 968 000 1 272 000
Agriculture ...... 1 368 600 623 700
Justice           123 600 56 000
R11 095 800 4140600
Basotho
Ba Borwa
R
Authority Affairs and
Finance         50500
Justice and Community Affairs   139400
Agriculture and Works  938400
Education and Culture   256 000
R1 384 300

Details of the anticipated revenue of these Authorities have not been published. To their Treasuries will be diverted all sums of money previously accruing to the
S.A. Bantu Trust within their areas of jurisdiction. They will have power to impose levies, and they will receive allocations from the Departments of Bantu Administration and Development and of Bantu Education. The Revenue Vote of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, for example, includes an amount of R1 328 000 for services by Bantu Authorities in Bantu areas, while the Loan Vote includes R13 500 000 for development work to be undertaken by these Authorities. The Revenue Vote, further, includes an amount of R2 033 000 for the salaries of 802 members of staff to be seconded to the administrations of the Territorial Authorities. The financing of educational services is dealt with in a subsequent chapter. Furthermore, the Republic will continue to spend large sums on services which are not as yet to be transferred to the control of these Authorities.

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**TERRITORIAL AUTHORITIES**

During a session held in Mafeking during May, the Tswana Territorial Authority decided to press for independence as soon as possible, as a one-party state.

**ZULU TERRITORIAL AUTHORITY**

The background

It has been mentioned in previous issues of this Survey that, for years, the Zulu people have been divided on the question of the acceptance of the Bantu Authorities system. One of the leading chiefs and political personalities, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, took the attitude that as the enabling Act was passed without his people's consent, they were under no obligation to express either acceptance of or objection to the system. They had learned in 1964 that acceptance of the Government policy was compulsory, not optional; consultation only was required. On 9 April, it was announced that a meeting of chiefs had eventually decided upon the establishment of a Territorial Authority. According to Press speculation, the reasons were that they had found themselves excluded from economic progress and political advances being made elsewhere, had little responsibility for their own affairs, and lacked a platform from which to express their views.

Constitution of the Territorial Authority and subordinate authorities

Proclamation No. 139 of 22 May contained new regulations for Zulu Bantu Authorities. Provision was made, at the local level, for either tribal or community authorities, to hold office for periods of five years. A tribal authority would consist of a chief, his traditional councillors, and such others as the chief, in consultation with his councillors, might appoint, the total not to exceed a number fixed by the State President. A community authority might consist of:

(a) the chiefs of each tribe in a community, their traditional councillors, and such others as the elected chairman in consultation with members might appoint, up to a total number fixed by the State President; or

(b) in cases where there was no local chief, a number of persons
elected by the adult males of the community, again up to a fixed total number. The chairman would be elected by the members.
A regional authority would consist of all the chiefs of tribal authorities and the chairmen of community authorities in the region, together with not more than two representatives designated
3 Rand Daily Mail, 27 May.

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by each tribal authority or each community authority of the type described in paragraph (b). In the case of a community authority of type (a), the additional members would be the chiefs of each of the constituent tribes and one other councillor. The regional authority of which the Paramount Chief was a member would include his deputy.
The chairman of a regional authority would be:
(i) the Paramount Chief or his deputy, for the regional authority of which he was a member; or
(ii) if only one chief was a member, this chief would be chairman; or
(iii) if more than one chief were members, the chairman would be a chief nominated by members of the authority, subject to the State President's approval.
Regional authorities might appoint four members who, together with the chairman, would constitute an executive committee. They would have power to appoint staff.
The Territorial Authority would consist of the Paramount Chief and his personal representative, together with not more than five persons appointed by each regional authority from amongst its members, representative, as far as possible, of each of the constituent tribal or community authorities. The five persons chosen must include at least three chiefs (or, if there were fewer than three chiefs on the authority concerned, all the chiefs who were members of it).
The chairman and deputy chairman of the Territorial Authority would be elected by members, subject to the State President's approval.
The Authority would also elect a Chief Executive Officer (who must be a chief) and five other executive committee members, of whom at least two must be chiefs. Again, the State President's approval would be necessary. No portfolios were defined for these executive committee members.
The Paramount Chief and the chiefs would continue to enjoy the personal status they formerly possessed. The Paramount Chief would take precedence over the Chief Executive Officer on ceremonial occasions, except in respect of matters connected with the business of the Territorial Authority.
Provision was made for allowances for members of the Territorial and of regional authorities.
Proclamation No. 141 contained financial regulations for the various authorities. Each would establish a Treasury.
Inaugural ceremony
On 9 June about 200 chiefs and other members of regional authorities met at Nongoma. They unanimously elected Chief Gatsha Buthelezi as Chief Executive Officer, and Chief Clement ka-Solomon Zulu as Chairman of the Territorial Authority.

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development handed to Chief Gatsha Buthelezi a cheque for R12,200 towards the Territorial Authority's expenses for the current financial year. He said, in the course of his speech, that the "Zulu nation" consisted of 280 tribes: thus far, 188 tribal authorities had been created. There were 22 regional authorities (another was established shortly afterwards). In his reply, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said that "all of us are united in assuring the Minister of our co-operation". There might be people who had reservations about certain aspects of the policy of separate development, but divergence of views on any aspect of this policy did not mean disloyalty - nor "communism".

It was in the interest of South Africa, the Chief continued, that the policy must be made to work as soon as possible. "Humanity is so much on the march to-day, when the moon itself has become merely man's next stop of call, that we cannot be expected to move towards self-determination and self-realization at ox-wagon pace".

A priority was for the Government to give the Zulu nation more territory, for without this the scheme would not make sense. (The scattered nature of the Zulu areas is mentioned on page 131.) Not one day passed, the Chief said, without some of the people approaching chiefs for sites and arable lands, "and yet we are already forbidden by the officials of your Department from granting these people land, as our areas are already occupied to their full capacity".

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi made further requests to the Minister.

(a) He asked for help in devising a constitution which would include representatives of Zulus scattered throughout the metropolitan areas of South Africa and in white farming areas.

(b) He welcomed the economic growth-points that were being developed in Zulu territory; trusted that this would result in a reduction of migrant labour; and pleaded for "the rate for the job" in industries at these growth-points.

(c) He urged that, while the migrant labour system was still necessary, officials should exercise more tolerance in applying influx control regulations.

(d) He asked for assistance in introducing free and compulsory education, and for a re-introduction of Afrikaans or English as the medium of instruction from Standard V.

(e) Assistance was requested, too, in a war on malnutrition.

SECOND BANTU LAWS AMENDMENT ACT, No. 27 OF 1970

(a) This Act tightened the procedure relating to the auditing by the Controller and Auditor-General of the books of African governing bodies in the Republic, the Transkei, and South West
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970
(b) The Government was given increased power to make regulations dealing with such audits, and with the conditions of service of employees of territorial and regional authorities.
(c) Provision was made for moveable property to be transferred from State ownership to that of African governing bodies if the property is connected with the functioning of these bodies.
FINANCING OF DEVELOPMENT WORK IN THE HOMELANDS
In the Assembly on 24 February the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that it was impossible from departmental records to distinguish between the homelands and "white" areas in regard to expenditure on administration, social services, and certain other matters. The expenditure by his department on the development of the homelands, however, had increased from R12 519 358 in 1958-9 to R48 028 151 in 1967-8 and R61 073 690 in 1968-9. Certain other government departments, too, had spent considerable sums: the totals were not available.
A break-down of the figure for 1968-9 (which excludes expenditure by the Transkeian Government) was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Contributions to share capital of Corporations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development works</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reclamation of soil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land purchase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compensation to whites in the Transkei</td>
<td>R65 000 000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Department's total estimates of expenditure in 1970-12 are R80 309 000 on Revenue Account and R67 000 000 on Loan Account. This includes expenditure in South West Africa: an amount of R527 500 is included in the Estimates of Expenditure from the South West Africa Account to off-set costs of development works there.

Some of the amounts included in the totals are:

Revenue Account:
General administration
Staff seconded to Territorial Authorities
Grant-in-aid to the S.A. Bantu Trust
Health and hospital services
Hansard 4 col. 1836.

DEVELOPMENT WORK IN THE RESERVES
Loan Account:
Purchase of land ... ... 7250000
Development works by the S.A. Bantu Trust
(including hospital buildings) .......... 39 800 000
Development works by Bantu Authorities ...... 13 500 000
Of the amounts allocated for development works, R19 811 000 is for the
establishment of townships: part of this will come from the funds of the Trust and
of the Bantu Authorities.
Further revenue will include amounts to be contributed from the funds of the S.A.
Bantu Trust (R1 096 000) and of Bantu Authorities (R4 795 000), contributions by
urban local authorities, and expenditure by the Bantu Investment Corporation, the
Xhosa Development Corporation, and the Bantu Mining Development
Corporation (described later).
The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said in the Assembly on 5
February' that, by then, urban local authorities had contributed R3 500 000 from
surpluses in their Bantu Revenue Accounts and R2 052 000 from profits on the
sale of beer for the development of the homelands.
GENERAL PLANNING FOR DEVELOPMENT
It was mentioned earlier that an Economic Committee has been set up as a branch
of the Bantu Affairs Commission, to work in co-operation with the Bantu
Investment Corporation’s Bureau for Economic Research and Bantu
Development.
The Rand Afrikaans University has established an Institute for Development
Studies, to train personnel to assist in this work.
At the request of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development
(which provided financial assistance), the Institute of Social and Economic
Research of Rhodes University is undertaking socio-economic surveys in the
Transkei and the Glen Grey District of the Ciskei, in order to suggest ways of
encouraging advancement. Similar studies are being conducted elsewhere by
other universities.
In an address given at a Council Meeting of the Institute of Race Relations in
January' Dr. P. J. Riekert (Economic Adviser to the Prime Minister) pointed out
that, despite the generally low level of economic development of the various
homelands, significant differences existed in their economic potentials. There
were differences, too, in their respective geographical locations vis-i -vis the
existing and prospective economic growth points outside the homelands. Planners
had, consequently, to bear in mind what was economically possible and desirable
in each area. Dr. Riekert went on to describe the potentialities of each of the
homelands.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970
AGRICULTURE IN THE RESERVES
Planning for use of the land
In the Assembly on 18 September5 the Minister of Bantu Administration and
Development was asked how much of the land in the African Reserves had been
planned by being divided into arable lands, grazing camps, and residential areas. He gave the following estimated figures, as at the end of 1969:
Ciskei ...... 70.8 per cent Natal ...... 46.84 per cent Northern Areas 67.4 per cent Western Areas 42.2 per cent
According to the Transkeian Annual for 1970,6 approximately 45% of the land in that territory has been planned.
Sources of information
Unless otherwise stated, the information in the pages that follow has been condensed from:
Transkeian Annual for 1970;
Articles in the July issue of Bantu;
Information given by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Assembly 15 September, Hansard 9 col. 4167.
Soil conservation measures
By the end of 1968 (or in some cases 1969 in the Transkei) the following soil conservation measures had been completed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Miles</th>
<th>Kilometers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wire fencing</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waterways and weirs</td>
<td>2886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diversion banks and grass strips</td>
<td>191279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contour banks</td>
<td>13736</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number
Boreholes equipped with windmills | 6175 |
Small dams constructed | 4985 |


AGRICULTURE IN THE RESERVES
Traditional and other dryland crops
Addressing the Transkeian Legislative Assembly,7 Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima said it was a matter for great concern that, apart from State undertakings, agricultural production in the territory had shown very little increase over the past thirty years. The Commissioner-General, Mr. J. H. Abraham, stated that, because of the drought, only about one-third of the normal crop of maize had been reaped.
The authorities in the Republic reported that, because of drought conditions during 1968, summer crops were poor, but the yield of winter crops was slightly better. Average yields in bags per morgen, which continued to be very low, were:
Wheat | 3.88 |
Grain sorghum | 1.03 |
Cowpeas | 0.92 |
Groundnuts .......... 1.25
Maize ............. 1.50
Millet ............. 0.90
Dry beans .......... 1.68

Cash crops

About 13 581 morgen (11 633 hectares) are under resilient fibres in the Republic, and 3 000 morgen (2 570 hectares) in the Transkei. Phormium tenax is grown in the Transkei, and this crop as well as sisal in the Republic. Many of the plants are too young for harvesting, or the fibre is being stock-piled pending the installation of brushing and baling facilities and the establishment of a bag factory in the Transkei; but about 1 930 tons of tow and line fibre were sold to manufacturers during 1968. In the Republic, waste material is sent to Chloe in the Northern Transvaal for teasing and sale to mattress manufacturers. The Department operates 9 decorticators and 19 smaller portable units in the Republic. There are two decorticating plants in the Transkei, but one was out of action for several months during 1970 because of an inadequate water supply.

Some 16 391 morgen (14 039 hectares) of land in Natal are under sugar cane: the production reached 409 065 tons of cane in 1968.

Tea-growing is proving successful in the Transkei, in the Lambasi area, where about 600 hectares are being cultivated. These plantations are being extended. Thus far, tea and coffee are being grown on an experimental basis only in the Republic, as are pecan and cashew nuts, and coconuts in Northern Zululand.

Only 527 morgen (451 hectares) of cotton were cultivated in the 1968-9 season (less than during the previous year). There were 1 323 morgen (1 133 hectares) under vegetables, while 731 125 fruit trees had successfully been planted.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970

Assistance with ploughing in the Transkei

The Xhosa Development Corporation owns 150 tractors, employing ten whites and 233 Xhosa seasonal workers to operate units which plough the land for African farmers who wish to hire their services. Work was delayed because of the drought, and a number of farmers who were granted credit facilities have fallen into debt because their crops failed.'

Irrigation schemes

About 24 417 morgen (20 914 hectares) are under irrigation in the Republic. Some of these schemes, for example in Natal, are being extended. The first 1 000 probationary lessees are being settled on land irrigated from the Lubisi Dam in the Qamata area of the Transkei. The Government has called for tenders for the construction of a large dam on the Tsomo River, and a smaller one on the Qumanco River, to irrigate the Ncora Flats.'

Livestock

It was estimated at the end of 1969 that the livestock population of the Reserves was: 3 310 000 cattle, 3 370 000 sheep, 2 840 000 goats, and 300 000 equines. There have been severe losses because of the drought, possibly 12 per cent of the cattle in the Transkei, for example, in the year 1968-9.
In 1968, 532 stock sales were held in the Republic (excluding the Transkei) at which 50,178 head of large stock and 19,085 head of small stock were sold for R3 761 148. Further sales were made direct to butchers. During that year, 746 approved bulls and 344 rams were sold at subsidized prices to Africans for stock improvement schemes.

At the end of 1968 there were only 72 co-operative dairy schemes operating in the Republic (again excluding the Transkei), with 1 172 participants.

Agricultural training and extension officers

There continue to be two agricultural schools in the Transkei and three in the Republic. In addition the Swartkop School near Pietermaritzburg, which previously trained only forestry workers, has started courses, too, in a variety of agricultural subjects." A Faculty of Agriculture has been established at the University of Fort Hare.

Daily Dispatch, 9 June and 19 August.
South African Digest, 17 July.
10 Mr. J. H. Abraham as quoted in the Daily Dispatch, 16 April. 11 Natal Mercury, 6 May.

AFFORESTATION IN THE RESERVES

At the end of 1969, there were 750 qualified African extension officers in the field, 283 of them in the Transkei. About 54 were trained, too, in veterinary work. They set up extension committees among local communities, visit farmers, and organize lectures, demonstrations, and shows.

During 1969, 362 students attended the diploma courses at agricultural schools, 88 of them completing their training at the end of that year.

AFFORESTATION IN THE RESERVES

Forest land in the Republic (excluding the Transkei) which belongs to the S.A. Bantu Trust is administered by the Department of Forestry on the Trust's behalf. Estimates of the total area vary in different reports and may refer to different dates; but the area of forest land at the end of 1969 appears to have been:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morgen</th>
<th>Hectares</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous forest, excluding bushveld savannah forest</td>
<td>158 551</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial plantations</td>
<td>35 619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-commercial woodlots and firewood lots</td>
<td>53 378</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The commercial plantations consist mainly of conifers for softwood sawtimber and wattle for poles. The non-commercial woodlots are designed to produce timber for fencing and firewood.

There are 13 creosote impregnating plants in the African areas of the Republic, which during 1968 treated 139 701 fencing and straining posts and 774 388 droppers and other poles. The Bantu Investment Corporation has established two sawmills. During 1968-9 the Department of Forestry reclaimed 1 375 hectares of driftsands in Zululand by means other than afforestation.
In the Transkei there are 102,500 morgen (87,795 hectares) of indigenous forest and 59,972 morgen (51,368 hectares) of plantations. Of the latter, about 77 per cent produce softwood sawtimber, and the rest poles, kraalwood, and firewood. There is a planing mill in the Transkei, near Umtata, five logmills, and several creosote impregnation plants. Some of the logs are sold to private sawmillers, and pulpwood is supplied to a factory in the Republic.

MINING IN THE AFRICAN RESERVES

Minerals discovered in the Reserves


A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970

to the issue of Bantu for August, the Tswana homelands appear richest in mineral deposits. In the Reserve to the north and northwest of Rustenburg there are two large platinum mines in operation, land has been leased to a third company, and a further platinum mine is situated partly on tribal land and partly in the adjoining white area. At least three chrome mines are operating in this Reserve.

Nearby, in another Tswana area near Brits, is the Ucar vanadium mine. In Tswana Reserves in the North-Western Cape are the Gefco asbestos mine and several smaller asbestos concerns, and iron ore and limestone are being exploited.

Diamond prospecting is in progress in the Western Transvaal and Northern Cape. In the Northern Sotho areas of the Northern Transvaal is the large Penge asbestos mine and several others exploiting this mineral, the Atok platinum mine, several chrome mines, and one exploiting andalusite. Gold is being mined in a Shangaan area further to the north, and there are copper deposits in Vendaland. Other mineral deposits in the Northern Transvaal include crocidolite, corundum, coal, iron, titanium, and vanadium.

Deposits of coal, gypsum, ilmenite, and limestone have been found in Zulu areas. Little mining potential appears to exist in the Ciskei or Transkei.

Bantu Mining Corporation

Dr. H. J. Hanekom has been appointed general manager of the Bantu Mining Corporation, established in March 1969. In a Press interview2 he said that the Corporation was completing geological research in the Tswana homeland, where a further chrome mine was planned. A quarrying operation was being developed near Giyani in the Mashangana area. The Corporation intended assisting private Africans to mine semi-precious stones in the Kaokoveld area of South West Africa.

Prospecting and mining leases granted in African areas

In the Assembly on 4 August3 the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that 261 prospecting permits and 109 mining leases had been granted in African areas. (He gave smaller figures when questioned on 15
MINING IN THE RESERVES

It was stated in the issue of Bantu for August that leases were granted for specific periods ranging from 10 to 35 years, depending on the type of mineral concerned. Mr. Pepler said, in the address mentioned earlier, that during 1968-9 the S.A. Bantu Trust received R707 666 in royalties. The Minister, when questioned, was unable to say what sum accrued to African tribes. Some tribes, however, particularly the Bafokeng tribe in the Rustenburg area, are likely to receive very large amounts. This tribe entered into an agreement with Union Corporation Ltd., which owns the Impala platinum mine, in terms of which the tribe and the S.A. Bantu Trust will receive payment for surface rights and 13 per cent of the taxed profits. (The mine is partly on tribal and partly on Trust land.) According to the chief, Edward Molotlezi advance sums of about R50 000 a year are already being paid during the period when heavy capital expenditure is still being incurred.

The Union platinum mine is situated about 100 Km. to the north, within the same Tswana Reserve; while the Rustenburg platinum mine is on its southern border, partly on tribal land and partly in a white area. The Financial Mail reported on 17 July that these three mines employ about 3 600 whites and 45 000 Africans. The very large majority of these Africans are not Tswana tribesmen, but are recruited from other parts of South Africa and neighbouring territories.

The colour bar on mines in African areas

The Mines and Works Act, and regulations issued thereunder, apply in the homelands as well as in “white” areas. This means that Africans are not permitted to do such jobs as sampling, driving an underground diesel locomotive if whites are being conveyed, doing welding underground, or even building a simple concrete wall underground. After blasting has taken place, gangs of Africans must wait, losing working time, until a white miner has inspected the stope. The Government Mining Engineer has power to grant exemptions from the regulations, enabling Africans to do work such as this, but so far has not done so. (It is of interest that in Swaziland, in an iron ore mine within 3 000 yards of the South African border, Africans are being trained as apprentices, and in September, there were already two African shift bosses and several shift supervisors and assistant chemists.)
It was mentioned in the issue of this Survey for 1968 that the Union Corporation had applied for exemptions, to enable Africans to do certain work that was normally reserved for whites on the Impala platinum mine, but that the (white) Mine Workers' Union had made representations to the Government, objecting to this. According to the Rand Daily Mail of 26 August, the first company to apply for exemptions was the General Mining and Finance Corporation Ltd., in respect of the Gefco asbestos mine. Similar applications were made by the Anglo-Transvaal Consolidated Investment Company Ltd., in respect of the Atok platinum mine, and by another company.

Action by the Government and by white mineworkers

A first statement on the issue was made by the Minister of Mines in the Assembly on 11 September. The Government, he said, had irrevocably committed itself to the gradual and orderly development of the Bantu homelands to eventual full independence. It flowed logically from this that the Government would also make it possible for the Bantu to prepare themselves systematically, in all spheres of life, including mining, for that independence. No ceiling at all would eventually be placed on the Bantu in connection with any work, including mining.

Express provision was made in the Mining Rights Act of 1967, the Minister continued, for the Bantu to obtain and exercise mining rights in the homelands. In addition, provision was made in the Mines and Works Act of 1956 that, in certain circumstances, the Bantu might perform work in mines in Bantu areas which was normally reserved for persons of other racial groups.

The crux of the requirements of the Mines and Works Act was that control of the physical branches of mining could be placed only in the hands of persons who had been fully qualified by training to supervise the security and health of the mine and its workers with authority. A very large investment was involved in the development of a mine.

Various factors would have to be taken into consideration, for example the fact that some mines were situated partly in white areas and partly in homelands, and the position of foreign Africans. Details were being discussed with the interested parties. The Bantu could be trained only if the white mineworkers were prepared to give this training, with enthusiasm. The matter would be handled with the necessary patience and circumspection. The white man would not be displaced, the Minister emphasized.

Further comment was made by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development in the Assembly on 8 September. There were no restrictions on and, in principle, no ceiling for the

MINING IN THE RESERVES

Bantu in their avenues of employment, he said. But in mining, as in other occupations, there should be an organic growth from the bottom upwards. And, in mining, the safety aspect had to be considered, too.

Following talks with the Minister of Mines, the executive committee of the Mineworkers' Union issued a statement saying that it had decided not to support the Government's plan for the gradual advancement of Africans in the homelands.
The committee called upon members of the union to refuse to train African miners.

The union planned a series of protest meetings to be held during the following weeks in Rustenburg, Kuruman, Klerksdorp, Evander, and Odendaalsrus. Some of these proved to be unruly meetings: several National Party Members of Parliament were shouted down.

It was announced on 8 October that the Council of Mining Unions, consisting of nine unions, had decided to support the stand of the Mineworkers' Union and to forbid members to train Africans to carry out semi-skilled or skilled work. (This Council, headed by Mr. Ken du Preez as chairman and Mr. Tom Murray as secretary, included the Amalgamated Engineering Union of S.A., the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers, the Mineworkers' Union, the S.A. Boilermakers', Iron and Steel Workers', and Ship-builders' Society, the S.A. Electrical Workers' Association, the S.A. Engine Drivers' and Firemen's Association, the S.A. Ironmoulders' Society, and the S.A. Reduction Workers Association.)

Two of these unions, representing Boilermakers and Iron Moulders, were also affiliated to the middle-of-the-road Trade Union Council of S.A. (Tucsa). A few days later, Tucsa issued a statement saying that while it was in favour of the gradual advancement of Bantu workers, it demanded the right to protect the interests of its members. It would not tolerate any changes in the black-white labour patterns without full consultation. There must be a planned and clearly formulated policy to ensure the protection of white workers. As no consultations had been held between the Chamber of Mines, all the trade unions concerned, and the Government, Tucsa rejected the scheme for Bantu advancement in mining in the homelands.

On 13 October the Minister of Mines made public the text of a letter and memorandum he had sent to the general secretary of the Mineworkers' Union, Mr. Arrie Paulis, a week previously. This contained proposals which were not final, but were intended

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A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970

as a basis for further discussion. A copy had been sent, too, to the Chamber of Mines.

It had been made clear, in the memorandum, that the Government was irrevocably committed to the eventual independence of the homelands. Any other course of action would imply the negation of the principles of separate development. But the Government had bound itself, too, to "protect the birthright of the white worker in the white areas".

The Minister gave the following assurances:

(a) No white miner would lose his job.
(b) No white miner would be placed under the authority of a non-white worker. If, in time, the same work was done by some whites and some blacks, it would be carried out in separate shifts or separate sections of a mine.

(c) Exemptions from the mining regulations would not be given automatically, but granted only on application by individual mines, after careful consideration and consultation with employers and employees.

(d) Safety and health would remain matters of paramount importance. Exemptions would be given only gradually, with due consideration of these aspects.

(e) Exemptions would be considered only for Africans who were members of the ethnic group concerned.

(f) Special consideration would be given to mines which fell partly in white and partly in black areas.

(g) The Government would increase its vigilance to ensure that the white worker retained his rightful place in white areas.

The Press pointed out that in point (e) the Minister had introduced a completely new factor which meant that very few Africans would qualify for advancement. There were about 42,000 Africans employed in the Impala and Rustenburg mines, it was stated, but only about two per cent or less of them were local Tswana. The Tswana people have preferred other types of employment. An estimated 50 to 60 per cent of the Africans were from other states, mainly Malawi and Mozambique. At the Gefco asbestos mine almost 68 per cent of the 3,317 Africans employed were from Malawi and Lesotho.

At a political meeting in Kimberley on 15 October, the Prime Minister regretted that the Mineworkers' Union had raised the whole issue on the eve of the provincial elections. There could be no other policy, he said, than that the white man should be protected in his areas, and that the black man should be allowed to advance in his own areas in all fields of endeavour.

Development of the Reserves

Shortly afterwards, the Minister of Mines held discussions with representatives of the Federation of Mine Production Workers (which consists of the Mineworkers' Union, the S.A. Engine Drivers' and Firemens' Association, and the S.A. Reduction Workers' Association). Thereafter, a joint statement was issued on 22 October.

The Minister assured the Federation that no final decision had yet been taken. He stated that the Government could not compel white mineworkers to train Africans for more skilled work to be carried out in the homelands: this would be a matter for negotiation between the employers and employees. That same day, Mr. Paulis told a meeting of mineworkers that the Union would continue to oppose exemptions from restrictions on the employment of Africans on mines in the homelands that were owned by mining groups based in white
areas. It would, however, not object to such exemptions on mines which Africans themselves had started. (Thus far, no mining leases have been granted to Africans. It is not clear what Mr. Paulis's attitude will be in respect of mines operated by the Bantu Mining Corporation.)

After a further meeting, the Minister announced on 30 October that each application for exemptions would be discussed by the State Mining Engineer, the trade unions concerned, and the applicant. A report would then be sent to him personally. (It was reported that such an application had already been received.) Further discussions between the Minister and the Mineworkers' Union are to be held in January 1971.

SUSPENSION OF CERTAIN INDUSTRIAL CONCILIATION

MACHINERY IN AFRICAN AREAS

In terms of Proclamation No. 84 of 24 March, the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956 was repealed in the homelands, excluding the Transkei, and the State President declared that no wage determinations made under the Wage Act of 1957 would apply in these areas. (The Transkeian Government is free to make its own decisions on such matters.)

The Proclamation provided that no employee, while employed by the same employer, would be liable to any reduction of the wages or other benefits that he was receiving as at 24 March.

FIVE-YEAR PLAN FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE IN AFRICAN AREAS

It was mentioned earlier that the Department of Bantu Administration and Development plans to spend nearly R20 000 000 in the 1970-1 financial year on the establishment of townships in the Reserves.

The managing director of the Bantu Investment Corporation, 16 Rand Daily Mail, 23 October.

17 Star of that date.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970

Dr. J. Adendorff, announced in April that a five-year plan had been drawn up in terms of which this Corporation would spend R104 000 000 over this period (R86 000 000 in the Republic, including the Transkei, and R18 000 000 in South West Africa). The budget for the first year, 1970-1, was R14 500 000. It was anticipated that private white entrepreneurs, with the assistance of the Industrial Development Corporation, would spend further large sums in establishing manufacturing concerns at selected growth-points. The authorities hoped that employment would thus be created for 24 000 Africans, almost 17 000 of them in the industrial sector.

Of the R86 000 000 earmarked for the Republic:
R12 000 000 would be spent on the development of the necessary infrastructure at the growth-points (initially four in number);
R31 000 000 would be spent on the erection of 233 factories, for leasing to entrepreneurs;
R22 000 000 would be spent by the Corporation in developing about
136 undertakings, some of which were already in existence. Twelve of them were manufacturing concerns, but the main concentration would be on the provision of wholesale merchandising businesses, bus services, breweries, etc.: R6 000 000 would be devoted to the erection of business premises and housing, for leasing to Africans; R14000000 would be available for making loans to African business and professional men; R 1000 000 would be used for the extension of savings banks.

COMMERCIAL UNDERTAKINGS IN THE AFRICAN AREAS

According to the Daily Dispatch,2 by August the Xhosa Development Corporation had taken over 345 trading stations formerly owned by whites in the Transkei. More than 60 of them had been sold to Transkeian citizens, while about 260 were being managed by Africans under temporary white supervision. Some of the others had, for the time being, been leased to whites or in a few cases, to Coloured men. At three of the stations, training courses of about three months' duration were being conducted for Africans who wished eventually to take over stores. The Corporation stated, in its report for the year ended 31 March 1969, that 112 Africans had been trained during that year. Questioned in the Assembly on 1 September,3 the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that during 1968 and 1969 the Corporation had sold 27 and leased 73 business concerns to Africans.

In its report, the Corporation stated that during 1968-9 it had granted 11 loans to African businessmen for buying stock-in-trade: another 43 applications had been approved in principle. Altogether, I Rand Daily Mail, 10 April and 29 August; Financial Mail, 24 April. 2 16 April and 19 August. 3 Hansard 7 col. 3037.

COMMERCE IN THE RESERVES

since its establishment in 1966, it had granted 321 loans amounting to R1 774 506, mainly for the establishment and stocking of general dealers' businesses, for transport services, and for housing purposes. The Xhosa Development Corporation is establishing a buying distribution unit at Flagstaff to service trading stations that it controls and those individual African traders who wish to participate in the scheme. The Bantu Investment Corporation, which commenced functioning in 1959, operates mainly outside the Transkei and Ciskei. The Deputy Minister of Bantu Development said on 24 February' that it had established twelve wholesale depots (four of these in South West Africa or the Eastern Caprivi), which employed 43 whites and 476 Africans. It continues to make loans available to individual African businessmen and to erect buildings for leasing to them. According to the Minister's reply to questions on 1 September, during 1968 and 1969 this Corporation sold three business concerns to Africans, and rented another 266.
Various Press reports' indicate that the Bantu Investment Corporation refuses to sell trading properties to Africans who do not belong to the ethnic group to which a particular homeland has been allocated, and, in general, prefers to lease properties, rather than to sell them, until such time as it is satisfied that the man concerned is likely to make a success of the business.

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 11 September, the Minister said that, by then, the Xhosa Development Corporation had acquired from whites in the Transkei eleven hotels, one private hotel, and two boarding houses. It had itself built a large hotel for Africans, at Umtata. The names and addresses of the establishments concerned were given.

This Corporation is stated7 to have acquired 21 garages from whites, 15 of which were being managed by Africans in August. These concerns were employing 72 whites and 232 Africans, and had begun training African motor mechanics: six were in training at the end of 1969.

The Xhosa Development Corporation runs a large brewery, and had in 1969 placed 22 Africans in charge of beerhalls.

MANUFACTURING CONCERNS IN THE AFRICAN AREAS

These two Corporations have taken over or themselves established a number of small manufacturing concerns, for example, in the Transkei, a maize roller mill, a sweet factory, a soft drink plant, several brickworks and stone-crushers, a sheet metal works, a furniture factory, a spinning and weaving factory, and a honey and bees wax project. For a time the Xhosa Development Corporation ran a meat deboning plant at Umtata, but this lost money steadily, and at the end of 1968 was sold to a white-owned company.

In other areas, the Bantu Investment Corporation has established or taken over two furniture factories, two vehicle repair works, three bakeries, and a maize roller mill.

A few Africans have been assisted to set up light industrial undertakings, for example several furniture factories and cabinet making concerns.

The Government's plan to invite whites to serve as agents or contractors to the Trust or a Corporation in establishing manufacturing concerns within the African Reserves, the conditions that are imposed, and the concessions made available, were described on page 140 of last year's Survey. These concessions are slightly more advantageous than those available in border industrial areas.

Speaking in the House of Assembly on 16 September,8 the Prime Minister said that if any industrialist who was participating in this agency scheme suffered any loss as a result of the homeland concerned becoming independent prior to the expiration of his contract, the Government would recompense him. On 18 September9 the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development was asked how much the Government and the Stateowned corporations had spent on
developing the necessary infrastructure for industrial development in the homelands. He replied that, as at 31 August, R169 657 had been spent on the development of industrial townships, R188 930 on water schemes, R84 000 on electricity supplies, R2 057 036 on factory buildings, R1 361 448 on housing for key white personnel, and R25 372 on the subsidization of transport for such personnel.

One of the first entrepreneurs to agree to participate in the agency scheme was a manufacturer from Paarl, who is building a grain bag factory at Butterworth. He will use fibre produced in the African areas, more specifically the Transkei. According to the Minister, the eventual capital outlay will be R3 074 455, and about 34 whites and 800 Africans will be employed.

A British firm is establishing a tea factory at Lambasi near Lusikisiki in the Transkei, adjoining tea plantations that have been developed by the government of that territory.

On 4 and 11 August, the Minister was questioned in the Assembly about the agreements that had thus far been entered into with white agents. He replied that 11 agreements had been concluded (including the one for the bag factory), while 65 further applications were being investigated. The other ten finalized agreements were for two sawmills, one crusher, two steel products concerns, and factories to manufacture, respectively, furniture, wigs, s Hansard 9 col. 4294.
9 Hansard 9 col. 4493.
10 24 February, Hansard 4 col. 1835; 4 August, Hansard 3 col. 998. 11 Hansard 3 col. 998; Hansard 4 col. 1452.

MANUFACTURING IN THE RESERVES
aluminium structures, paper, and carpets and wood carvings. It was anticipated that these ten enterprises would eventually employ about 74 whites and 880 Africans.

It has been announced that the authorities are to develop four growth-points (outside the Transkei) for a start. The first is Babelegi, about three miles from Hammanskraal, in a Tswana area to the north of Pretoria. The second is at Sitebe, near the SAPPI paper mill at Mandeni in Zululand. The third may be among the Northern Sotho people in the Potgietersrus area. A site for the fourth has not been decided at the time of writing.

Babelegi possesses natural advantages in that the industrialists will be able to live in Pretoria. It is served by a branch railway line. Dr. J. Adendorff, the managing director of the Bantu Investment Corporation, is reported to have said that, by August, 65 of the 80 available industrial sites had been allocated. It was anticipated that employment for about 7 500 Africans would have been created by the end of 1971. Roads, water reticulation, and sewerage services had been completed. (In the Senate on 1 October the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said that R2 425 000 had been spent on the infrastructure.)

Dr. Adendorff added that his Corporation planned initially to invest some R2 000 000 in developing 60 industrial sites at Sitebe. On 7 May the Natal Mercury reported that the African workers at Sitebe, as well as those at Mandini, would be
housed in the Sumdumbili township, which was being extended. Limited water and power supplies would be available by the end of 1970.

Umtata and Butterworth are being developed as growthpoints in the Transkei.

NEW JOBS NEEDED IN THE HOMELAND AND BORDER AREAS

In his address at the Council meeting of the Institute of Race Relations in January 14 Dr. P. J. Riekert, the Prime Minister's Economic Adviser, gave estimates of the number of jobs that would have to be created annually to absorb new entrants to the labour market who originate from the homelands. (The calculations did not take into account new entrants from the towns or white farming areas who might be required, in terms of Government policy, to seek work in the homelands instead of in the areas from where they originated.)

Three different assumptions were made in the calculations. 1. The first estimate was based on the assumption that all new entrants to the labour market from the homelands were to be employed inside the homelands, or in border areas. On this basis, 44 000 new jobs would have to be created annually.

2. The second assumption was that the actual number of Africans temporarily away from their homelands would remain constant. (This would mean that the percentage of the total labour force that was away would decline gradually.) On this basis, 36 000 new jobs would be needed per year.

3. Lastly, it was assumed that the existing percentage of new workers who at present find employment in the white areas would remain constant. This would entail the creation of 21 000 new jobs per annum.

The greater proportion of these new jobs, it was considered, would become available in agriculture, mining, and the tertiary sectors of the homelands and border areas as their economies developed. It was calculated that the number of new jobs that would have to be created in secondary industry in these areas annually would be 21 000, or 15 000, or 5 000, depending on which of the three alternative assumptions was accepted. This would require that 24 per cent, or 17 per cent, or 5 per cent, respectively, of South Africa's industrial development (including construction) would have to be channelled to the homelands or border areas.

Available information indicated that the third target, of 5 per cent, had already been exceeded: by the end of 1968 the proportion of industrial and construction activities that had been attracted to the homelands and border areas was about 10 per cent. The second target figure, of 17 per cent, was already well in sight, Dr. Riekert considered.

(These calculations were made before the preliminary results of the 1970 census were released.)
Other estimates have been made of the number of jobs that will have to be created annually to meet certain conditions. According to the Rand Daily Mail of 17 November, Professor J. L. Sadie has calculated that 181 000 new jobs will have to be provided in the homelands each year if the African population of the cities is to be reduced by 5 per cent per year. Professor Ben Pick estimated that 85 000 new jobs annually would enable the homelands to absorb their own natural increase. Dr. A. S. Jacobs, former economic adviser to the Prime Minister, estimated that by the year 2 000, 5 800 000 jobs will have to be provided in the homelands and border areas (i.e. about 193 000 a year) if 70 per cent of the natural increase in the total African population is to be absorbed in these areas.

In an address given on 22 October, Professor H. J. J. Reynders, head of the Department of Business Administration at the University of Pretoria, said that it would cost an estimated R72 000 000 to place 20 000 Africans a year in decentralized industries over the next three years. He calculated that, from 1970 to 1980, a total of 88 000 Africans would enter the labour market annually, increasing to 114 000 a year during the following decade.

TOWNSHIPS IN THE RESERVES

In the Assembly on 29 September (Hansard 11 col. 5264) the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that there were 69 townships in various stages of development in the homelands. More were in the planning stage. Some had been provided with full services, while others had but rudimentary services. There are various types of townships in the Reserves. Some are close to cities or border industrial areas, where adequate employment opportunities exist. Others serve administrative or educational centres, or house workers employed in specific agricultural projects. But there are, as well, increasing numbers of closer settlement areas in more remote parts of the Reserves. Removal schemes to some of these areas, and the conditions under which the people initially lived when they arrived, have been described in previous issues of this Survey.

During 1970 the Christian Institute of Southern Africa published The Discarded People, by Father Cosmas Desmond, O.F.M. In this book Father Desmond gave a moving and shocking account of conditions in about sixty of the resettlement villages, which he visited between March and November 1969. There is not space in this Survey to consider these villages individually. Reports sent by people who have visited them, and replies to questions in the Assembly, indicate that conditions are slowly improving at places such as Madikwe (Morgat), Stinkwater, Dimbas (previously called Mnxesha), and others: permanent dwellings are gradually replacing shanties or tents, and more clinics and schools and better water supplies and sanitation are being provided. Further new townships are being created: they have received little publicity, and one trusts that the initial conditions are an improvement on those that existed at Limehill, for example. In some cases, Africans who were previously destitute undoubtedly welcome the opportunity of settling in these places, where they at least have shelter, basic rations if they are especially needy, or pensions if they
qualify for them. But many of the inhabitants are bewildered people, endorsed out of towns and unaccustomed to life in a Reserve, or ejected from farms or "black spots" and no longer able to keep cattle or cultivate plots of land. The basic problem, in most of these villages, remains the lack of local employment opportunities. A high proportion of the men and younger women are forced to seek work elsewhere, as migrant labourers, or as daily or weekly commuters who must spend too high a proportion of their time and money on travel.

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During the week the villages are inhabited mainly by old people, women and children, and the disabled. The Department makes relief work or rations available, so that there is no actual starvation; but there undoubtedly is under- or malnutrition, poverty, and boredom. Not all of those who need work are able to find it.

HEALTH SERVICES IN THE RESERVES

Proclamation R96 of 26 March provided that, as from 1 April, all the powers, functions, and duties affecting the administration of health matters, including hospitalization, in Bantu areas would be transferred to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development. (Control had, previously, been divided between the Department of Health, the provincial administrations, and local authorities.) The Department of Health would be the executive authority; but the expenditure it incurred in Bantu areas would be subject to the approval of the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, and defrayed from the S.A. Bantu Trust Fund. The Second Finance Act, No. 97 of 1970, empowered the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, with the concurrence of the Minister of Finance, and, if appropriate, the provincial administrator concerned, to direct that any assets, liabilities, rights, or obligations of the Department of Health or the provincial administrations which were connected with the administration of health matters in the Bantu areas should devolve on the S.A. Bantu Trust. The Minister of Finance was empowered to reduce the loan indebtedness of a provincial administration to the Treasury by an amount representing their indebtedness in respect of assets transferred. It was stated in an Explanatory Memorandum that the S.A. Bantu Trust will not be required to repay any outstanding loans that were incurred by the provinces for the erection of hospitals for Africans. Similarly, annual amounts payable by the Treasury to the provinces will be reduced by sums representing the subsidies that would have been paid for health services in the Bantu areas.

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 18 August, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development gave a list of twelve hospitals that had been transferred from the provinces to the control of his department: 557 white and 4091 persons of other racial groups were employed in these institutions, he said. According to the official Estimates for 1970-1, the Department has budgeted for an expenditure of R24 000 000 on health services and hospitalization in Bantu areas, and of R6 500 000 on
HEALTH SERVICES IN THE RESERVES
the erection of hospital buildings, during the current year. The Department has assumed responsibility for capital expenditure on the erection, expansion, and maintenance of mission hospitals in the Reserves, for the costs of major items of equipment, and for paying subsidies towards the administrative costs. The salaries of members of staff have been raised.
Questioned on 15 September,'7 the Minister replied that 7 129 beds were available to Africans in Departmental hospitals in the Reserves, together with 15 986 in other hospitals.
In an address given on 7 August,'8 the Minister of Health outlined plans for a comprehensive health service in Bantu areas, to be centred on the hospitals. Curative and preventive clinics would operate as "satellites" of the hospitals, also providing treatment, where necessary, for discharged patients. From these clinics, nurses would take health services "direct to the people". They would work in co-operation with school nursing services. Social workers and health inspectors would be appointed to operate as members of the health teams. The National Council for the Care of Cripples has enabled the Sisters of the Holy Cross near Umtata to open an orthopaedic centre to serve the Transkei.

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PROSECUTIONS
The latest report of the Commissioner of the S.A. Police, for 1968-9,' showed that 632 077 persons were that year sent for trial for infringements of the "pass laws". (Officially, there are no pass laws: the report lists the various Acts and regulations concerned.) These cases represented 26.5 per cent of the total number of prosecutions of persons of all races, for all offences. The average number prosecuted per day for infringements of the pass laws was 1 732. Prosecutions for Bantu tax law infringements numbered 188 361, or 7.9 per cent of the total.
These figures are lower than those for the previous year, when the total number of prosecutions for pass law infringements was 693 661, (33.0 per cent of the total), and for poll tax infringements 243 437 (11.6 per cent).

PERSONS REMOVED FROM URBAN AREAS
In the Assembly on 5 February2 the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said that in the year 1968-69, 40 095 Africans had been sent back to the Reserves from urban prescribed areas: this figure included 21 631 sent to the Transkei and Ciskei, and 11 034 sent to Reserves in Natal.
Questioned on 15 September,3 the Minister replied that he was unable to say how many contract workers from the homelands were employed in, or were removed from, "white" urban areas during 1969. He did, however, state that the following
numbers were removed from the areas indicated: Area
Female  Total  Male
Witwatersrand ........  25 733  1 542  27 275
Cape Peninsula .......  99  22  121
Pretoria ...............  1 543  256  1 799
Durban .................  2817  1 197  4014
Port Elizabeth .......  46  2  48
30238  3019  33257
(It seems possible that this question did not elicit full information. In the light of reports from the Athlone Advice Office in
2 Hansard 1 col. 291.
3 Hansard 9 col. 4167.

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Cape Town, and of the information provided by the Deputy Minister, the figures given for removals from the Cape Peninsula would appear to be unduly low.)

It was reported during May4 that the Transkeian Legislative Assembly had resolved to ask the South African Government not to send Africans back to its territory unless suitable accommodation and employment facilities were available.

BANTU ADMINISTRATION BOARDS BILL
The draft Bantu Administration Boards Bill that was circulated to local authorities during 19691 has not been presented to Parliament. The Bill was published in December.

BANTU LAWS AMENDMENT ACT, No. 19 OF 1970
Certain sections of this Act are dealt with in other chapters, as appropriate. The sections affecting the affairs of Africans in urban areas were described on pages 148-150 of last year's Survey.

The Bill was passed at its second reading during 1969. Despite objections by the Opposition, it was resumed at the committee stage in 1970.

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 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 1970 Act made 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.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said that, thus far, there were no rehabilitation centres in the homelands. Section 29 of the principal Act already provided that Africans who were deemed to be idle or undesirable could, if a court so ordered, be sent to a work colony or similar institution. The same would, in the court's discretion, now apply to Africans who remained unlawfully in prescribed areas.
Another section of the new Act deleted a provision previously contained in the Bantu Labour Act to the effect that an African must not be refused permission to re-enter a prescribed area after an absence therefrom of not more than twelve months, for the purpose of taking up employment with his previous employer if a vacancy existed, or, if there was no such vacancy and

4 Rand Daily Mail, 22 May.

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if the Bantu Affairs Commissioner had no objection, with any other employer in the area.

The Deputy Minister contended' that no right was being removed. In any case, he said, an African wishing to re-enter a prescribed area had to make arrangements through a labour bureau. There had been misunderstanding about the "call-in card" system.' (An African worker recruited from a homeland must return home after completing a contract of service, normally of a year, but may be permitted to return to his previous employer if a call-in card is completed in advance.) The form to be filled in stated that the African must return within a month, the Deputy Minister said, but this period could be extended up to, but not exceeding, twelve months. If an African had left the service of an employer, but decided that he would like to return, and the employer and the Bantu Affairs Commissioner were agreeable, a call-in card could be obtained.

PRODUCTION OF REFERENCE BOOKS

The Bantu (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act of 1952, which substituted reference books for a variety of documents that had previously been required, stated that any authorized officer may at any time call upon any Bantu to produce to him a reference book. (All Africans who are South African citizens and have attained the age of sixteen years are required to possess these books.) The Act did not state that these books must be produced instantaneously on demand.

In mid-1970 a man was arrested in Durban for not having his reference book with him: he had left it in his office during a temporary absence, but was given no opportunity of fetching it. A magistrate convicted him; but the sentence was set aside by two judges of the Natal Supreme Court, Mr. Justice Fannin and Mr. Justice Miller, who ruled that an African was not obliged to produce his book "forthwith" on demand. If he so requested he must be given the opportunity to fetch it.10

Senior police officials stated" that a general circular had been issued in 1954 instructing policemen to use discretion in dealing with offences of a purely technical nature. These instructions had been repeated from time to time. The Minister of Police said in the Assembly12 that on several occasions members of the police had been instructed to afford Africans who did not have their reference books on them the opportunity of getting into touch with their employers and/or of getting their books.

I Cols. 1638-41.
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It became clear that, although Africans have the right to ask to be allowed to fetch their books, some policemen disregarded the instructions and do not permit this. In other cases, consent depends on the distance that would have to be travelled. It is left to the police to determine what constitutes a reasonable distance. A man or woman who is arrested may subsequently be cautioned and discharged by the court, but in most cases has already spent several days in gaol awaiting trial.

Mrs. Helen Suzman raised this whole matter in the Assembly on 11 August.3 (A few weeks previously her own maid had been arrested when she merely stepped outside the gate for a few minutes without taking her reference book with her.) She asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development whether he had considered amending the relevant section of the Act to incorporate the provisions of the general circular that had been issued to policemen in 1954 and subsequently, and if not, why not. The Minister replied that an amendment to the section was not deemed necessary in view of the administrative instructions that were issued from time to time.

After the tragedies at Sharpeville and Langa in 1960, the police for a time suspended reference book raids. On 5 September The Star urged that ”the police should go back to the 1960 position and ask Africans for their passes only when they are suspects of some crime other than not having the right documents”.

At the annual conference of the Methodist Church in October Mrs. Thea Reece, the national president of the church's Women's Auxiliary, said that a letter was to be sent to the Minister of Police urging him to ensure that police officers allowed Africans a period of 72 hours within which to produce their reference books, after having been ordered to do so."

AFRICAN POPULATION OF THE WESTERN CAPE

The Minister said in the Assembly on 11 September15 that, of the 114 183 Africans resident in the Cape Peninsula, 22 416 were contract workers. On 7 August he stated1" that during the twelve months ended 31 June, 21 826 Africans had been recruited for contract work in the four control areas of the south-western Cape: the Cape, Stellenbosch, Malmesbury, and Worcester. Of these workers, 512 had absconded before the expiry of the contract period, but 209 had been traced and arrested.

On 18 September'7 he added that at the end of 1969 there were 29 270 men of the age of 16 years and over accommodated

13 Hansard 4 col. 1441.
14 Rand Daily Mail, 23 October.
15 Hansard 8 col. 3913.
16 Hansard 3 cols. 1235-6.
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in bachelors' quarters in the three townships serving greater Cape Town. (Many of these men had wives and families in the Transkei or Ciskei.)

SOME CASES OF HARDSHIP

The voluntary Athlone Advice Office in Cape Town (run by the Black Sash with the co-operation of the Institute of Race Relations) and the Advice Office in Johannesburg (Black Sash) have continued to try to help Africans who are in trouble. Very often there is nothing they can do to help Africans who are experiencing difficulties and tragedies through the operation of the pass laws and influx control, but occasionally they do achieve success, for example in helping people to obtain documentary proof of their right to be in certain areas. Both offices issue monthly reports describing problems with which they have dealt. Some examples from these reports are given.

Men whose jobs involve transfer from one area to another have difficulty in getting permission for their families to move with them, and it is quite impossible for these men and families to acquire residential rights anywhere in "white" South Africa.

Those who are sent away to rural African areas, on the completion of their contracts, are likely to be kept waiting for months awaiting new contracts (unless the "call-in card" system has been used), and meanwhile they earn nothing - and this at a time of one of the worst droughts in South African history. Thousands of families in the Reserves are, in consequence, in dire need: yet city employers are short of labour.

Young people born in a city, whose parents live there lawfully, are often unable to produce documentary proof of their domicile there since birth. Consequently, when they reach the age of 16 years they are refused reference books, and their presence in the area becomes unlawful. If they, nevertheless, remain, they are liable to arrest, but after paying the fine or serving the sentence imposed, the whole process starts again. If they do decide to leave, as required, they are not told where to go. They "become stateless, displaced persons".

Ex-prisoners out on parole try to rehabilitate themselves, but "they come up against almost insuperable difficulties. Their being allowed to remain in the area is dependent upon their finding employment. Most doors are closed to them because of their history, and when they do find an employer prepared to give them a chance, the authorities frequently refuse to allow them to perform the particular type of work offered".

Many "temporary bachelors" become attached to women in the towns (thus adding to the very high illegitimacy rate), and then fail to support their families in the Reserves. Their wives

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can apply for jobs in towns in categories of work that are permitted, but must leave their children behind. Regulations for the entry of women into the Western Cape are complex and particularly strict. The only women in towns who "have a minimum of a sense of security" are single women who qualify in their own right to be there (in terms of Section 10(1) of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act), and married women whose husbands are alive, living with them, and lawfully in the area. Women who are unfortunate enough to lose their husbands through death, desertion, or divorce cannot be registered tenants of municipal houses. They are evicted from their homes, together with their children and, often, elderly dependents. If these women qualify in their own right to be in the area they may lodge with other families, but largely because of Government policy (described later) there is a serious shortage of family accommodation. If they cannot find accommodation, or do not qualify to remain, they are "endorsed out". Their children must go with them: those who were born in the area then forfeit their residential rights. Their schooling is interrupted.

Women who are sent away cannot go to their own parents if the latter live in another town or in a homeland allocated to Africans of an ethnic group different from that into which the woman may have been classified, through marriage. Many are forced to go to stay with in-laws whom they had not known previously, and who may be desperately poor. Even if a woman moves to a township situated in a homeland (e.g. Mdantsane near East London) she may not be allowed to acquire permanent residential rights there or to take up employment nearby. The names of unmarried mothers who have reached the age of sixteen years are removed from the permits issued to their parents for occupation of the family home. If the girls qualify to be in the area they are given lodgers' permits: this may prejudice their children's chances of obtaining work in the town concerned. If they are endorsed out, they have no means of supporting their children. "Whole generations of young people will turn into lawless, rootless, bitter people".

Women who come to towns on visitors' permits to see their husbands, and become ill there, may obtain extensions to their permits only if they are receiving specialized treatment that is not available in rural hospitals. They have to obtain certificates to this effect from the hospital in town, counter-signed by the hospital superintendent.

Some cities, for example greater Cape Town and Johannesburg, are divided into two separate areas for administrative purposes, which further complicates residential rights. If, for example, a woman from the municipal area of Cape Town marries a man living in bachelor quarters in the adjoining Divisional Council area, she cannot go to live with him, even if both qualify to be in Cape Town, because no family housing is available in the latter area. Some Johannesburg families moved in former years to Alexandra Township, not realizing that this was a separate prescribed area, and thereby broke their continuous residence in Johannesburg.
FOREIGN AFRICANS
In his annual report Dr. F. J. de Villiers, chairman of the Africa Institute of South Africa, estimated that there are at least 600 000 Africans from other Southern African countries within the boundaries of the Republic at any given moment. A high proportion comes from Lesotho.
The large majority of them come on contract, to work for specific periods; but there are some who have been in the country for many years and have South African-born wives and children. They are not allowed to rent a house in a municipal township, nor to live in any of the homelands. Unless their wives have residential rights in the specific area where they are allowed to be, the families cannot live together. Even if they can, they must find accommodation as sub-tenants.19

RESPONSIBILITY OF EMPLOYERS
The Black Sash points out that the pass laws (besides their effects on Africans) impose moral demands on all white employers. Many of the latter, unwittingly or deliberately, make life difficult for their employees by not following the legal procedures laid down for the registration of workers.

WEEK-END SHUTTLE TRANSPORT SERVICES TO THE HOMELANDS
The Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development said in March that an inter-departmental committee had been appointed to investigate the provision of weekend transport facilities, where feasible, for African workers to visit their homelands, in order that they might strengthen ties with their families and their homelands and homeland governments.
The Railways provide various weekend bus services and special trains for this purpose, for example between the Witwatersrand and other parts of the Transvaal and the north-western Cape. Privately-owned bus companies supplement these services.
This arrangement is, however, not feasible in many parts of the country. In the statement quoted earlier, the Secretary said that, as an experiment, the Department was to air-lift 25 Africans.

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from the Vaal Triangle to Witzieshoek over the Easter weekend: the State would subsidize their fares. It was reported during May that a group of businessmen was investigating the possibility of easing the labour problems of the Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage complex by arranging an air-ferry service between there and the homelands in the Transkei and Ciskei. They are stated to have discussed the matter with the Deputy Minister of Transport. However, when questioned on the matter in the Assembly on 18 August, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development replied that his Department had no intention of instituting or subsidizing a system whereby African workers in the Republic would be conveyed to and from their homelands by air.

COMMENTS ON THE MIGRATORY LABOUR SYSTEM
The Missiological Institute of the Lutheran Theological College at Umpumulo in Zululand and the Christian Academy held a multi-racial conference from 27 August to 3 September on Migrant Labour and Church Involvement. It was attended by representatives of other churches, universities, the Institute of Race Relations, the S.A. Bureau of Racial Affairs, and others. Among the papers given was one by the Director of the Institute of Race Relations, Mr. F. J. van Wyk.

In a statement issued at the conclusion, the system was condemned as being "morally undesirable". It should be eliminated as soon as possible. Urbanization should be accepted as a fact, and the energies of the country "be directed towards easing the transition from subsistence economy to an industrial society by making it possible for those who are needed as workers in urban areas, both in the white areas and in the homelands, to live there with their families".

At its four-yearly meeting, the General Synod of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk again expressed deep concern about family disintegration, moral decay, and the disruption of religious life among Africans, which was worsened by the system of migratory labour. It urged the Government to investigate this system thoroughly with a view to eliminating the disadvantages as far as possible.

The Institute of Race Relations has published an address given by Mr. Joel Carlson (representative in South Africa of the International Commission of Jurists). In this he said, "The pass laws are the greatest single cause of disruption of race relations in our society, creating more hatred and fear, sowing more suspicion, and causing more insecurity, than any other single cause of injustice in South Africa. The pass laws are a cancerous growth, causing the depersonalisation of human beings, and degrading not only the persons suffering under them, but also those enforcing them".

Another talk published by the Institute of Race Relations during the year was by Mrs. Sheena Duncan of the Black Sash, entitled The Plight of the Urban African. In this she described the multitude of discriminatory laws and regulations, and their effects on the lives of urban African people.

GENERAL MATTERS
URBAN BANTU COUNCILS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF CHIEFS IN URBAN AREAS

The Promotion of Bantu Self-government Act of 1959 provided that self-governing African territories within the Republic, and territorial authorities, might
(in consultation with the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development and with the State President’s approval) nominate Africans to be their representatives in the area or areas of one or more urban local authorities. These nominees would act in a liaison capacity with members of the national unit concerned. A board might be constituted to assist these representatives.

In terms of the 1970 Act, each self-governing territory and territorial authority will nominate only one representative for urban areas in general. They may also nominate as many persons as are deemed necessary to assist this representative. Boards may be constituted for specific urban areas, or there may be one board for a combination of urban areas. This will be decided in the light of the number of members of the relevant national unit in any particular area.

When introducing the Bill,1 the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said that a properly representative board would be able to function alongside the urban Bantu council.

2. Constitution of urban Bantu councils
The Urban Bantu Councils Act of 1961 made provision for councils, to replace advisory boards, in urban areas where the African so wished. A council was to consist of some elected members and others selected by and from representatives of chiefs in the urban area concerned.

In terms of the Act of 1970, there will no longer be selected members (except that serving members will retain their seats for the period for which they were selected). All the members will be elected.

An Explanatory Memorandum stated that liaison with the homelands would in future be effected through the government or territorial authority concerned or its representative for urban areas.

1 Assembly, 30 July, Hansard 3 col. 728.

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The Deputy Minister said2 that difficulties had arisen under the old system in the larger cities where a number of chiefs had representatives.

In reply to questions in the Assembly,3 the Minister indicated that only 23 urban Bantu councils had been constituted: thirteen in Transvaal towns, seven in the Free State, two in the Cape, and one in Natal. None had, thus far, been vested with powers of civil and criminal jurisdiction. No new advisory boards have been constituted since 1961.

Dissatisfaction among members of the Soweto Urban Bantu Council
It was reported in last year's Survey4 that the Department of Bantu Administration and Development had rejected two recommendations by the Soweto Urban Bantu Council: that such councils and remaining advisory boards on the Witwatersrand should occasionally hold regional meetings to discuss questions 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 and other administrative problems.

Renewed requests along these lines have again been refused. The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration is reported5 to have replied that only territorial
authorities or their representatives could represent residents in such matters. This has caused much dissatisfaction.

THE CAPE COLOURED MUNICIPAL FRANCHISE
Coloured municipal ratepayers in Natal ceased to qualify as municipal voters in 1956. The Coloured communities of the Transvaal and Free State had never been granted the municipal franchise. But, subject to certain conditions, Coloured ratepayers in the Cape have continued to qualify.
During the No-Confidence Debate in the Assembly, however, the Prime Minister announced that the life of existing municipal councils in the Cape, which was due to expire in September, was to be extended until 1972. The existing "mixed" voters' rolls would be scrapped. In 1972, the exclusively white Parliamentary voters' rolls would be used. This move, the Prime Minister said, was a logical extension of government policy, and was designed to eradicate friction between white and Coloured people.

The Leader of the Opposition, Sir de Villiers Graaff, commented that it was far more likely to cause friction. There were numerous statements of protest, including one by the President of

2 Col. 862.
3 8 September, Hansard 8 col. 3600; 4 August, Hansard 3 cols. 977-8.
4 Page 155.
5 Star, 30 July.
' In terms of the Separate Representation of Voters Act.
7 6 February, Hansard 1 col. 462.
8 Col. 475.

CAPE COLOURED MUNICIPAL FRANCHISE
the Institute of Race Relations, Professor Sheila T. van der Horst, who said that this was the final step "in the tragic story of the deprivation of the Coloured people of their common franchise rights", and would "add to the tension between the white and the Coloured people which has become more intense with each successive move taken by the Government".

On 12 February the Minister of Coloured Affairs said that an inter-departmental committee of senior public servants was to work out details of Coloured local government in Coloured group areas. Eventually, independent town or city councils would emerge. It was announced in the Cape Times on 19 August that the Cape Provincial Administration had asked the local authorities of areas where there were Coloured management or consultative committees to include, in their next budgets, separate sub-budgets for their Coloured group areas. The newspaper commented that it was most difficult to separate the costs of electricity, water, and other services.

In his statements, quoted above, the Minister is reported to have said that the "mother" (white) city or town councils would supply such services on an agency basis, and would have to transfer to the Coloured councils capital works in Coloured townships. The Government, he added, might be prepared to assist Coloured councils that had insufficient revenue from rates to function properly.
Questioned in the Assembly on 4 September, the Minister of Community Development said that 22 Coloured management committees, 51 consultative committees, and one local affairs committee had thus far been constituted. Seven of the management committees had elected as well as nominated members: these were in Bellville, Graaff Reinet, Johannesburg, Kimberley, Paarl, Port Elizabeth, and Worcester.

INDIAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT
Some years ago the whole of the town of Verulam in Natal was proclaimed an Indian group area. The first municipal elections for an all-Indian town board were held in 1969. It was reported that a town planning scheme is in operation, industrial development is taking place, and new housing, roads, and amenities are being provided.

As a municipal authority, the Verulam Town Board became a member of the Natal Municipal Association. In 1969, two representatives attended the annual meeting of the N.M.A., but voluntarily refrained from attending social gatherings. Their attendance caused resentment among some municipalities in the north of the province.

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In the event, the Verulam Board decided that, because of this attitude, it would not send representatives to the 1970 meeting, held in Newcastle, but would retain membership of the N.M.A., and would attend future meetings that were held in more friendly centres. At the meeting the Glencoe representatives introduced a motion designed to exclude Verulam from the Association. It was supported only by another 4 of the 32 local authorities that voted (Vryheid, Ladysmith, Paulpietersburg, and Empangeni).

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 4 September, the Minister of Community Development said that thus far there were 15 Indian local affairs committees in Natal, 11 of which had elected as well as nominated members, and 7 Indian consultative committees, all in the Transvaal.

STATE EXPENDITURE ON AFRICANS
The Report of the Controller and Auditor-General for 1968-9's sets out the expenditure by the State that year on behalf of Africans in the Republic. Excluded are payments to the Transkeian Government and the costs of services rendered there, expenditure by the Railways and Postal Administrations, and contributions to housing funds and to the capital of the Bantu Investment and Xhosa Development Corporation. 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</th>
<th>Social</th>
<th>Capital</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>1969-70 Budget</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Administration &amp; Development</td>
<td>R22 098 581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bantu Trust</td>
<td>90550284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>45389008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health and hospitals</td>
<td>158037873</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>236 466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other departments</td>
<td>314 961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total budget</td>
<td>R22 098 581</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total budgets of the Departments of Bantu Administration and Development and of Bantu Education for 1970-1 are set out in relevant chapters of this Survey.

In an election meeting held at Vryheid during March 16 the Minister responsible for these two

13 Star and Rand Daily Mail of 20 March; Natal Witness, 21 March. 14 Hansard 7 col. 3352.
16 The Friend. 14 March.

STATE EXPENDITURE ON AFRICANS

departments is reported to have stated that he was replying to "those who say the Government is doing too much for the Bantu". His departments, he said, received only 6.9 per cent of the country's budget for 1969-70 to spend on the 15 000 000 Bantu in South Africa and South West Africa. Part of this amount came from taxes paid by the Bantu.

But far from all the money budgeted went to the Bantu, he pointed out. R8 500 000 went in salaries to white personnel in his departments. Another R16 000 000, spent on building materials and vehicles for use in the homelands, went to white manufacturers. About R8 000 000 had been paid to whites for farms bought for the S.A. Bantu Trust.

Money for the housing of Bantu in white areas was advanced to the municipalities from State funds. But the ground belonged to the local authorities, who received rent from the African tenants. The State paid for the erection of separate hospitals and schools because it believed in separate development.

THE TAXATION OF AFRICANS

Bantu Taxation Act, No. 92 of 1969

The terms of the Bantu Taxation Act of 1969 were described on page 156 of last year's Survey.

In terms of Proclamation 80 of 13 March, the provisions of this Act were applied to the Transkei, too.

As mentioned last year, all African men and women whose taxable incomes exceed R360 a year have to pay a graded tax, on the PAYE system if they are in employment. Besides this, all African men between the ages of 18 and 64 years must pay a basic general or poll tax unless they are indigent or are full-time students. This tax must be paid by the men personally in respect of each calendar
year, payment being noted in their reference books. An authorized officer may call upon a man to produce proof of payment, and may arrest him without warrant if he fails to do so.

Regulations under the Act were gazetted as Government Notice 272 of 20 February. It was laid down that, before an authorized officer exercises his power of arrest:
(a) he must first investigate any reasonable explanation offered by the African that can readily be verified (unless the African refuses to accompany the officer);
(b) he must get into touch with the man's employer if the African produces a reference book or travel document which indicates that he is in the service of an employer whose name and address are recorded (provided that the African may be summonsed or warned to appear in court to answer to a charge under the Act).

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970
It was stipulated, too, that no request to produce a tax receipt shall be made until after 31 May of a particular year, in respect of that year. Questioned in the Assembly on 28 July the Minister of Police said that the number of Africans who were sent for trial for infringements of the Bantu tax law was 243,219 in 1967-8, and 188,361 in 1968-9 (Republic and Transkei).

A comparison of the rates of taxation
After the rates of taxation for persons of other racial groups had been changed, as from 1 April, the writer made a comparison of the various rates. (In the summary below, the term "white" includes Coloured and Asian people.)
The gross income is calculated on the same basis for all. Benefits paid in kind are not included. From this gross income, certain deductions are allowed:
(a) Whites: contributions to pension and annuity funds (but not provident funds), and a basic amount for medical expenses, of R150 for married couples and R75 for single persons (plus R75 if the single person has someone wholly dependent on him). Married couples may deduct a further R100 during the year in which a child is born.
(b) Africans: contributions to pension or provident funds only if membership of such funds is a condition of employment, and contributions towards an unemployment fund in terms of any law. (There is no deduction for medical expenses.)
The gross income less these deductions constituted the taxable income. The gross tax payable on this taxable income is then calculated, according to tables which differ for whites and Africans.
Whites (but not Africans) are allowed certain rebates which are deducted from the gross tax payable:
(a) a primary rebate of R40 for single persons and R50 for married couples;
(b) a rebate of R35 for each of the first two dependent children, and R45 each for the third and successive children, plus R8
in a year during which a child is born alive;
(c) subject to certain conditions, further rebates for other dependants;
(d) an amount (up to R30 as a maximum) equivalent to 8 per cent
of sums paid in life, accident, or sickness insurance premiums, (excluding motor
car insurance), endowment policy premiums, and contributions to provident
funds, unemployment insurance,
and medical aid funds.
I Hansard 2 col. 538.

TAXATION
The incomes of married Africans are taxed separately. Those of married whites
are taxed jointly, but R500 of the amount earned by the wife is excluded from the
joint taxable income of people in the lower income groups. This amount is
reduced progressively when the combined income exceeds R8 000.
Besides the net tax (i.e. gross tax less rebates where applicable),
(a) African men pay the general or poll tax;
(b) Whites pay a loan levy and a surcharge if the net tax exceeds
R100, a provincial tax, and a provincial personal tax.
Various examples of the total taxes payable by whites and by Africans in similar
circumstances were worked out, including the poll tax for African men, and, for
whites, using the provincial tax figures for the Transvaal in 1970-1.
These examples showed that between the R360 and R480 income groups, an
African man pays R3.70 a year, and an African woman R1.20. Whites are exempt
from income tax at this level, because of the rebates.
In calculating further examples it was assumed that both whites and Africans paid
certain small contributions to pension, provident, unemployment, life assurance,
and medical aid funds. The appropriate source deductions and (for whites) rebates
were allowed for.
It then transpired that at the R700 a year gross income level, a single white person
pays about the same as does an African man. An African woman pays about half
as much. A married white couple is exempt from taxation.
Above the R1 000 a year level, single whites pay more than Africans do; but it is
only from just below the R2 000 level that married whites with no children are
taxed at higher rates than are Africans. But a married white man earning R2 000,
who has one or more children, pays very much less than is payable by an African
man in similar circumstances.
At higher income levels, whites pay more than Africans do unless they have
several dependent children.
Employers and African employees registered in
terms of the PAYE system
In reply to questions in the Assembly2 the Minister of Bantu Administration and
Development said that, at the end of June, 48 947 employers had registered in
terms of the Bantu Taxation Act. They paid PAYE tax deductions in respect of 1
337 542 Africans.
The total amounts of taxes paid by means of this system were R998 171 in April,
R1 297 550 in May, and R1 379 864 in June.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970

Amounts previously paid by Africans in income and additional general taxes

It already seems clear that the new system will yield a larger amount of tax than the old did. Previously, if the incomes of Africans exceeded R360 a year they were liable to pay an additional general tax on a sliding scale, instead of the provincial personal taxes paid by persons of other racial groups. But this tax was generally not collected on the PAYE system.

African men and women were liable for normal and provincial income taxes on the same basis as were others, except that the amounts paid might be off-set against the additional general tax.

In the Assembly on 13 February the Minister of Finance said that 3136 Africans were assessed for income tax in 1967-8, these assessments totalling R308 601 (rebates for dependants, etc. were then allowed). The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that Africans paid R101 102 in the additional general tax in 1967-8, and R307 185 in 1968-9.

Amounts paid by men in general (or poll) tax

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development added that in 1968-9, African men paid R9 941 338 in general tax. (It is not clear whether this includes amounts paid by Transkeian citizens. According to the Controller and Auditor-General, the Transkeian Government received R761 136 from general taxes in 1968-9.)

Other taxes paid by Africans

There are other taxes which Africans, but not members of other racial groups, are called upon to pay. According to the Minister and the Controller and Auditor-General, as quoted above, some of these additional sums that were paid in 1968-9 were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Republic</th>
<th>Transkei</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hospital levies</td>
<td>64768</td>
<td>64768</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribal levies</td>
<td>2 056 547</td>
<td>683 034</td>
<td>2 739 581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General levy</td>
<td>121315</td>
<td>900647</td>
<td>3021962</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sums paid by Africans in local tax and quitrent are not included in this table, since they might be equated with amounts that others pay in rents and rates. However, the total that Africans thus paid in 1968-9 was, apparently, R702 921.

AFRICAN MARRIAGES

The contributions made by Africans to the cost of educational services are described in the chapter on education. No recent estimate is available of their share of the indirect taxes that accrue to the central government and the provinces.

AFRICAN MARRIAGES
The Marriage Amendment Act, No. 51 of 1970, provided inter alia, that the administration of the principal Act, so far as Africans are concerned, is to be transferred from the Minister of the Interior to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development.

Thus far, it is only in Natal that customary unions can be registered, although such registration is not compulsory. Section 22 bis of the Bantu Administration Act does empower the State President to make regulations for the registration of such unions and their annulment or dissolution, but this has not been done.

The Third Bantu Laws Amendment Act, No. 49 of 1970, empowered the Transkeian Government to make laws in this connection.

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, those to receive this training being selected by a special board. A training centre was opened at Faure in the Western Cape at the end of May 1969.

In the Assembly on 13 February the Minister of Coloured Affairs said that, during 1969, 792 cadets were admitted to this centre. Of these, 727 completed the initial three months' training, when 625 were placed with carefully selected employers for further training, while 102 were retained at the centre for a further period. Of those placed in employment, 98 were instructed to return to the centre. A cadet could change his employment during the probationary period, the Minister said, if he or the employer requested this and the circumstances justified a change.

The Minister commented that conventional training courses could not be offered because of the low scholastic level of the large majority of the cadets. Part-time classes in elementary reading, writing, and arithmetic had been introduced for those who were illiterate or had passed only the lower school grades.

It was reported during February that eleven cadets, found guilty by a court martial at the centre of wilfully defying a lawful command, had each been sentenced to 60 days' detention, half suspended for two years.


A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970

In its report for 1968-9, the Coloured Affairs Department stated that smaller youth camps existed at Weltevreden (Wellington) and Vredenburg, where youths were trained for employment.

COLOURED DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

Questioned in the Assembly on 15 September, the Minister of Coloured Affairs gave information about the activities of the Coloured Development Corporation in the Republic and South West Africa since its establishment in August 1962.

It had provided 127 loans, totalling R2 878 269, to Coloured businessmen and light industrialists. These loans included 62 for retail shops, 21 for liquor establishments, 8 for hotels, 5 for transport businesses, 5 for building concerns, and 5 to manufacturers.
Altogether the Corporation or, with its assistance, Coloured persons, had established or taken over eleven hotels (one of them in Windhoek) and three cinemas. Building plans for another hotel had been approved. The Corporation had itself established a proprietary company, a supermarket, and the Spes Bona Bank in Athlone, Cape Town, at a combined cost of R1 314 960, and, in South West Africa, three retail businesses which cost R27 400. On 29 September the Minister said that all the liquor licences issued to Coloured men were conditional upon the provision of restaurant and lounge facilities, and hot bars. The aim was to improve drinking patterns.

According to the Corporation's report for the year ended 30 September 1969, the Athlone supermarket had incurred a total loss of R99 324. With a change in control, however, matters were improving. During the year, the Corporation made a profit of R 16 911 on its interest in the rock lobster export market, and received R 114 181 for diamond concessions in rural Coloured areas. Replying to further questions in the Assembly on 15 September, the Minister said that all prospecting and mining rights for precious stones in Coloured rural areas were retained by the Corporation, which contracted with private firms or individuals to carry out the activities. Prospecting and mining rights for base minerals were granted to companies or individual persons. The majority of those who had been granted such rights were whites, but among the 39 holders of prospecting rights were eight Coloured men and one company in which Coloured persons held a small minority interest. Mining rights for precious stones had been granted (to whites) in the Komaggas and Richtersveld areas of Namaqualand.

RURAL COLOURED AREAS

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2 Hansard 9 cols. 4174-5.
3 As reported in The Star, 22 September.
4 Hansard 9 cols. 4175-6.
NATURALIZATION OF INDIANS
During the year ended 31 October a further 129 stateless persons born in India, and one originally from the (now) Malagasy Republic, were granted South African citizenship. They had settled in the Republic before the new constitutions for these countries came into effect, and had consequently lost their citizenship rights there.

INITER-PROVINCIAL TRAVEL PERMITS FOR INDIANS
In reply to questions in the Assembly on 14 August,8 the Minister of Indian Affairs said that since its inception in August 1961, his department had not prosecuted any Indian for not being in possession of an inter-provincial travel permit. The department issued 25 733 such permits in 1969. Others had been issued by magistrates and police stations, but statistics were not available. In 1969, 93 Indians had been allowed to change their residence from one province to another.

STATUS OF THE CHINESE COMMUNITY
According to the Minister of Statistics,’ there are estimated to be about 8 300 Chinese people in South Africa, 4 900 of them in the Transvaal, 3 260 in the Cape, and 140 in Natal. Possibly more than one-third of them live in Johannesburg, the next highest concentration being in Port Elizabeth. It is reported° that a number of the younger, best-educated members of the community, perhaps about 300, have in recent years emigrated to Canada and other countries. The Minister of Community Development said in the Assembly1’ that only three Chinese group areas have been proclaimed in the country: in Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, and Kimberley. The numbers of Coloured families resident in these group areas in mid-1970 were 60, 7, and 2, respectively. In other towns, the Chinese people live, under permit, in areas allocated to other groups or not yet zoned. Questioned on the matter in the Assembly on 28 July,’2 the Minister of Community Development said that, if no complaints were received about the occupation of premises by Chinese, they were left in peace. Otherwise, his department helped them to find alternative accommodation. In Johannesburg, the department, in co-operation with the Chinese Consul-General, was helping the community to develop the existing China Town, to the west of the Magistrates’ courts, by providing flats and a school. When urban renewal schemes necessitated the removal of businesses, the department helped the traders to find other premises. (This is stated’ to be very difficult in Johannesburg.) The status of the community has been anomalous. In general, they use white buses, patronise white cinemas and restaurants, may be treated in white hospitals, and with official permission may attend white church schools. They are debarred

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A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970
concentration being in Port Elizabeth. It is reported° that a number of the younger, best-educated members of the community, perhaps about 300, have in recent years emigrated to Canada and other countries. The Minister of Community Development said in the Assembly1’ that only three Chinese group areas have been proclaimed in the country: in Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, and Kimberley. The numbers of Coloured families resident in these group areas in mid-1970 were 60, 7, and 2, respectively. In other towns, the Chinese people live, under permit, in areas allocated to other groups or not yet zoned. Questioned on the matter in the Assembly on 28 July,’2 the Minister of Community Development said that, if no complaints were received about the occupation of premises by Chinese, they were left in peace. Otherwise, his department helped them to find alternative accommodation. In Johannesburg, the department, in co-operation with the Chinese Consul-General, was helping the community to develop the existing China Town, to the west of the Magistrates' courts, by providing flats and a school. When urban renewal schemes necessitated the removal of businesses, the department helped the traders to find other premises. (This is stated’ to be very difficult in Johannesburg.) The status of the community has been anomalous. In general, they use white buses, patronise white cinemas and restaurants, may be treated in white hospitals, and with official permission may attend white church schools. They are debarred
from provincial and government trade schools. The "open" universities accept them: according to the Registrars concerned there were 239 Chinese students at the Universities of the Witwatersrand, Rhodes, Cape Town, and Natal in mid-1970.

In most parts of the country it has been customary for Chinese people to take part in sporting activities together with whites. During the first half of 1970, however, apparently as the result of complaints made by certain whites, officials of the Department of Community Development are stated to have debarred Chinese people from joining whites in ice-skating and playing billiards and putt-putt in Port Elizabeth and from participating in basket ball league matches there. A Chinese girl was ordered to withdraw from a white school tennis tournament in Aliwal North, and, after publicity had been given to the matter, a Chinese student at Rhodes University felt compelled to withdraw from the rag queen competition. Intervarsity weight-lifting championships that were to have been held at the University of the Orange Free State were cancelled after this university refused to accept a team from the University of the Witwatersrand that included two Chinese students, one of them the reigning intervarsity champion. It was reported that a tour by a Rhodesian university rugby team was called off because an official indicated that a Chinese member of the team would not be granted a visa.

Early in July, apparently following a complaint by a white person, an official of the department ordered the withdrawal of eight small Chinese children from a creche in Port Elizabeth that was also attended by twelve white children. This action received much Press publicity.

In the Assembly on 22 July, the Minister of Community Development said that the matter had been handled by a new official who did not know that all such cases should be referred to the Minister personally. Because of the publicity he had consulted the Cabinet, and it was decided that the Chinese children should be allowed to remain in the creche. A number of applications had recently been received from Chinese residents of Port Elizabeth to participate in various sporting and recreational facilities there, the Minister said. He reiterated a statement that had been made in the Senate by the then Minister of the Interior about five years previously. The Chinese, he said, "are a separate population group with an identity of their own, and it is the aim of the Government to establish those facilities of their own for them to use ... However, owing to the fact that they comprise such a small group and the fact that they are distributed throughout the country, it has not been possible and it is unpractical to provide separate facilities for them everywhere. As a result of this it has happened that they have used some of the facilities of other major population groups,
including the white group, where this is permitted by the community. This direction seems the proper one to follow." He intended dealing with each case on an ad hoc basis and on its merits, the Minister declared.

He made a further statement on 19 August, to the effect that blanket exemptions would be granted to Chinese people, throughout the country, allowing them to take part together with whites in sporting and social gatherings. Where Chinese and white people had been mixing amicably in the past, the situation would remain unchanged. Permits in terms of Proclamation No. R26 of 1965 would no longer be necessary. He would deal personally with any problems that arose, the Minister said, and would take no notice of "crackpot objectors and isolated trouble makers."

It was announced on 2 November that the Minister had granted a permit allowing the Chinese community in Port Elizabeth to use white swimming pools, on condition that the City Council took steps without delay to provide a pool in the Chinese area. (There is, as yet, no pool for the much larger Indian community there.)

* Hansard 1 col. 217. 16 Rand Daily Mail, 20 August.

GROUP AREAS AND HOUSING
PEOPLE RESETTLED UNDER THE GROUP AREAS ACT

Replying to a question in the Assembly on 17 February, the Minister of Community Development gave figures indicating the number of families who had become disqualified to remain in their homes by virtue of group areas proclamations, and the number who had been resettled, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of:</th>
<th>Disqualified families</th>
<th>Families resettled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>1 318</td>
<td>1196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>68 897</td>
<td>34240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>37653</td>
<td>21939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>899</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that he was unable to provide similar information in respect of Africans.

In his opening address at the commencement of the first Parliamentary session in 1970, the State President said that the Government hoped to complete the group areas programme within the next seven years.

PROVISION OF HOUSING

On 31 July the Minister of Community Development gave Parliament detailed information about the provision of housing since 1950-1. His figures for 1969-70 were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Built by:</th>
<th>Number of houses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>Coloured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local authorities from the National Housing Fund</td>
<td>2969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Housing Commission</td>
<td>495</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In its report for 1969, the Department of Community Development stated that a number of Coloured, Indian, and Chinese families who had incomes above the
PROPERTY TRANSACTIONS

unable to build new homes in their own group areas. The Department had decided to grant them loans to a maximum of R8 000, repayable over 30 years at current rates of interest.

Questioned on 25 August, the Minister said that white families with up to two dependent children, and Coloured, Indian, and Chinese families, qualified for assisted housing if their incomes did not exceed R225 a month. The limit for white families with more than two dependent children was R300.

On 6 February, the Minister said his department estimated that the demand for dwellings for people who qualified for housing financed from the National Housing Fund was:

Whites .......... 4680 Coloured .......... 21410
Indians ....... 11 330 Africans .......... 25 780

PROPERTY CONTROLLED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

In reply to questions on 7 August, the Minister said that in 1969 his department held properties valued at R21 300 000 in Johannesburg, R15 703 538 in Durban, R10 012 143 in Cape Town, and R3 542 042 in Port Elizabeth. (He was not asked about other towns.)

PRICES OBTAINED AND PAID FOR PROPERTIES

On 17 February the Minister said that during the previous financial year the Community Development Board had paid R462 840 in depreciation contributions, when properties were bought for lower sums than the basic values determined by valuators. It made only one payment, of R1 712, to a white man in respect of goodwill. Nothing was received in the form of appreciation contributions.

On several occasions Mr. Eric Winchester, M.P. (United Party) has maintained that people who are forced to sell their properties are not getting fair prices or adequate alternative accommodation, and are being moved before proper amenities are available in the new areas. Replies to questions he put to the Minister revealed that an Indian-owned property in Pietermaritzburg which the Department bought for R45 000 had been sold for R85 000. Another Indian-owned property, in Durban, expropriated for R20 000, had subsequently been sold for R47 000: the Minister said its value had increased because of the replanning of the area.'
A municipal official in Johannesburg announced in March that 6,500 dwellings had been provided for the Coloured community, but another 7,000 would be needed over the next eight to ten years to cater for the natural increase, influx into the city, and removal and slum clearance schemes still to be carried out.

One of the City Council's first moves, on taking over the Indian township of Lenasia early in 1970, was to plan for the improvement of its roads and stormwater drains. Social amenities there are still highly inadequate. Mrs. Helen Suzman complained in the Assembly that conditions were very bad indeed in a portion of Lenasia where there are sub-economic houses. She realized that many of the people there came from slum areas in the city, but that was no reason for moving them 20 miles and then creating another slum. The Minister of Community Development said in the Assembly on 19 August that about 1,421 Indian families had still to be resettled. Some of them, in Fordsburg, have been served with notices to leave, to make way for an Oriental Bazaar; but they complain that adequate alternative housing is not available, and that the traders concerned are losing custom because of the blocking-off of streets.

On 4 December the Diagonal Street complex was declared a white group area. This is one of the main, traditional Indian trading areas in the city. Planning is continuing for an Oriental Bazaar in Pretoria, to the north-west of Church Square. The Indian township of Laudium is being extended.

At the Benoni municipality's request, a socio-economic survey of the Indian communities of the East Rand was carried out by Mr. G. G. Maasdorp and Mr. P. N. Pillay of Natal University's Department of Economics. They found that the existing Indian area of Actonville was clearly much too small, and recommended the proclamation of at least three more Indian group areas, possibly at Germiston, Springs, and Nigel. Indians from these and other towns were unwilling to move to Benoni. Many of the traders would be unable to re-locate their businesses. The authors of the report recommended the better provision of social amenities before people are moved, and pointed to the increase in the cost of living that movement usually entails.

It was announced on 27 August that Palmietfontein is to be developed as a group area for the Coloured people from parts of the East Rand, to supplement the housing provided in Boksburg.

The Indian community of Potchefstroom, numbering about 700 people, are being required to leave their well-developed area near the centre of the town, on leasehold ground granted to them.

GROUP AREAS IN THE TRANSVAAL
in 1896. The new Mohadin township is being created for them, 4 miles away; but the owners of prosperous businesses are fearful for the future.

9 Star. 16 March.
10 1 September, Hansard 7 col. 3088.
11 Hansard 5 col. 2090.
The Indians of Bethal, too, will have to move to a new group area, still to be developed. The local Chamber of Commerce urged that they be allowed to retain their existing trading area on the fringe of the town. Oogies near Witbank, has been proclaimed an entirely white group area. About 37 Indian families there will be displaced. All the residents of Bank had to leave because of the danger of the cave-in of ground following dewatering by the gold mines. Compensation was paid; but it was far more difficult for the Indians than the whites to find alternative accommodation.

During the year under review, group areas for whites and Indians have been proclaimed at Kinross, and an Indian area has been set aside at Coligny. Devon, Trichardt, and Komatipoort have been declared areas for whites only. NOTES ON GROUP AREAS IN THE CAPE Cape Town

With financial assistance from the Christian Institute, Mr. M. G. Whisson and Mr. S. Kahn of the University of Cape Town prepared a report on Coloured housing in greater Cape Town. They estimated that about 27 000 Coloured households were in need of rehousing. The Minister of Community Development said in the Assembly on 19 August12 that, by then, just over 15 000 Coloured families had been resettled. On 17 September13 he announced that 8 118 dwellings were in the course of construction, with 12 300 more planned during the next three years. Because of the shortage, new shanty towns are springing up, for example in the area ironically called the "Valley of Plenty" near Retreat. Conditions are highly insanitary.

As mentioned in previous Surveys, District Six has been proclaimed a white group area. The Minister said in the Assembly on 6 February and 24 July11 that between 1967 and 1969, inclusive, the Group Areas Board purchased 1 309 properties there, 1 082 of which were expropriated. The total cost would be about R13 350 000. By the beginning of the year finality in regard to compensation had been reached in 348 cases, at a cost to the Board of R3 254 662. The current rateable value of these properties had been R2 616 988. None had been resold: many of them are being demolished.

In reply to questions on 25 August,5 the Minister said that the Board had acquired 74 houses from disqualified non-white owners in Simonstown. It was impossible to predict how many more it would acquire, for disqualified owners could sell direct to white people.

Some of the Coloured people who have moved to proclaimed Coloured suburbs, for example near the east side of the Cape Flats railway line, are still feeling insecure, for there are pockets of white houses in these areas.

In Cape Town, as elsewhere, people have been moved to new townships, such as Manenberg, Heideveld, Bonteheuvel, and others before proper social amenities.
have been provided. Sand blows through the dwellings, and there is inadequate police protection and medical and other services."

The Minister said on 15 Februaryx" that he had received two applications for permits to provide restaurants for Coloured patrons in the city area (proclaimed for whites). One of these had been granted, the other being under consideration.

Other towns in the Western Cape
The houses of many of the people in Ceres were destroyed or badly damaged in an earthquake disaster in September 1969. More damage was done by tremors during April. Relief funds were contributed by people throughout the country. It was not too long before the white families concerned were re-housed, temporarily at any rate, because land was available, and some could afford to help themselves. But, a year later, many of the Coloured families were still living in tents, having been there throughout a particularly cold, rainy winter.

According to information given by the Ministers of Community Development and of Planning in reply to questions by Mrs. Helen Suzman, and contained in Press reports, "480 Coloured families had to be accommodated in tents. Some of them could have remained in their damaged houses, but were afraid to do so. A minority of the families had, apparently, come to Ceres from neighbouring areas where their homes had been destroyed, hoping for work on building projects. It proved possible to repair more than 200 of the damaged Coloured homes, but by early August there were still 129 families in tents, and about 17 families in unventilated goods trucks. Cooking and washing had to be done outside, and people had difficulty in storing furniture.

The delay in providing housing was partly because of weather conditions and the fact that tenders received were considered to be too high, but was mainly because white residents could not agree where the Coloured housing should be sited. A Coloured group area had been proclaimed in 1959, but there were disputes about this. The Group Areas Board held two inconclusive hearings. A decision was, apparently, eventually made at Cabinet level, a Coloured group area being proclaimed on 15 May.

On 7 August the Minister of Community Development said that 72 Coloured families had been provided with temporary housing (apparently pre-fabricated); and 80 permanent economic and 291 sub-economic dwellings were in the course of construction.

In the Assembly on 26 August Mrs. Suzman again raised the plight of these people. The Minister immediately visited Ceres. On 17 September Mrs. Suzman thanked him, saying that there was no longer a tent to be seen, and that windows had been cut in the railway trucks.

The Minister announced"9 that more houses were being built in villages and farming areas in the Ceres district.
On the same occasion," the Minister said that 1 335 houses for Coloured residents were being built at Paarl, a further 1 300 being planned over the next three years. There is very great need. The Sunday Times reported on 1 November that a doctor working among the Coloured community there had, on 20 October, sent a telegram to the Minister of Health reading, "I have to inform Your Excellency that the overcrowding of Coloured houses in Paarl has taken on such proportions that there is hardly a Coloured house to be found with less than 20 occupants." He warned of the grave dangers of an epidemic. It is still uncertain whether or not the School Street area of Noorder Paarl, originally allocated to Coloured people, will be reproclaimed a white group area.

In the speech referred to earlier, the Minister said that, in Stellenbosch, 488 houses were being built for Coloured families, with 5 400 more planned during the next three years. The squatters at Cloetesdal had all been rehoused. A group area for the Coloured community at Wellington was proclaimed on 24 April.

On 18 September," the Ministers of Planning and of Community Development stated that in 1964 the Onder-Sonder area of Heidelberg and land to the south of this had been allocated to Coloured people, while the rest of the town had been zoned for whites. As a result, 202 Coloured families became disqualified residents of the white area. Thus far, 95 of the families had been resettled.

In the Assembly on 28 September22 the Deputy Minister of Coloured Affairs referred to the need for a "growth-point" for the Coloured people living to the north of Cape Town. The area from Mamre to the sea at Silwerboom Strand had been selected, he said. This would meet the need for another urban complex as well as for beach facilities.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970
The Midlands and Eastern Cape

There is still a great shortage of housing for the Coloured and Indian people of Port Elizabeth, aggravated by removals, which are continuing, of disqualified residents of the white-zoned South End area. Housing schemes for Coloured families are being extended in the Bethelsdorp area, inland from the city.

An article by the Rev. R. J. D. Robertson on group areas in East London was published in the Daily Dispatch on 16 February. In terms of a proclamation in December 1967, he said, 347 Coloured families, 247 Indian and 9 Chinese families - and no whites would have to move. A further proclamation of August 1969, affecting North End, involved the displacement of about another 500 non-white families - again, no whites. There is still no Indian or Chinese group area, yet properties owned by some of them were being expropriated to make way for an urban renewal scheme. One out of every five Coloured and Asian families was "living-in" with another family because of the shortage of accommodation.
In terms of a proclamation of 26 March, part of North End became a "specified" area, to be used for business purposes only. Mr. Robertson reported that only 12 of the approximately 100 Indian and Chinese stores were situated in this area. Others would, presumably, move there; but the area could certainly not accommodate them all.

As the group areas proclamation for Grahamstown affected mainly Africans, it is described later in this chapter.

During the past year an area for Indians has been demarcated in Queenstown, while group areas for whites and Coloured have been proclaimed in Calvinia and Arniston. Oyster Bay, in the Humansdorp area, has been allocated to whites.

North-Western Cape

Indian traders in Kimberley are reported to be in difficulties, too. Some have been forced to sell to whites, or close. The Community Development Board has built a business block where Indians can rent premises, but this is a mile from the centre of the town. A few still operate under permit in white areas, uncertain about their future.

The 40 Indian traders of Vryburg have been told that they will have to move to the Indian group area.

The boundaries of the Coloured group area at Carnarvon, proclaimed in 1955, are to be altered. Group areas for whites and Coloured have been proclaimed at Pofadder in the Kenhardt district.

There are, apparently, a number of homeless Coloured "squatter" families in the Lower Orange River area, who are being settled in "emergency camps". Two more such camps have been established in the Kenhardt district during 1970.

GROUP AREAS IN NATAL

NOTES ON GROUP AREAS IN NATAL Durban

The Minister of Community Development said on 3 February and 19 August that the estimated demand for dwellings in the Durban complex by families falling within the National Housing Commission's income limits was 990 for whites, 1 000 for Coloured, and 7 040 for Indian families. The number of Indian families who had been resettled totalled 13 733.

The number of Indians who need accommodation will grow considerably as more are displaced from areas zoned for whites, the Glen Anvil area, for example, the Warwick Avenue complex, and Block AK, where properties are being expropriated. No decision has yet been reached about the future of the Grey Street complex. According to the Press there are 418 properties there, 95 per cent of them Indian-owned. Indian market gardeners at Gilletts Valley, near Durban, have heard rumours that this area is to be allocated to Coloured people.

On 2 September the Minister said that 16 453 housing units had been constructed for Indians at Chatsworth, while 1 572 more had still to be built under the existing contract. It is reported that the Industrial Council for the Building Industry has agreed to a suggestion by the City Engineer that semi-skilled and unskilled Indian labour be used on the erection of dwellings costing up to R3 000.
Questioned on 25 September,0 the Minister gave a list of the number of Indian traders who had been given notice to vacate their premises in various towns of Natal. In some cases the Department made alternative premises available; but when this was not possible the men were allowed to continue their businesses under temporary permit.

Asked about the Coloured population of Durban,3' the Minister replied that more houses and flats were being built at Wentworth to assist in overcoming the shortage, and the Mariannhill area was soon to be developed for Coloured occupation.

Pietermaritzburg

The Woodlands area of Pietermaritzburg was allocated to Coloured people but, according to the Minister of Planning,32 it is already full. An adjoining area may be added to it to allow for natural expansion. It is possible that Coloured families from smaller Natal centres will be moved there too.

23 Hansard I col. 106; Hansard 5 col. 2090.
nr Star, 21 August.
28 Hansard 11 col. 5551.
29 Natal Mercury, 16 May.
30 Hansard 10 cols. 5019-20.
31 Hansard 11 col. 5252.
32 Hansard 11 col. 5190.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970

Ladysmith3"

In terms of a proclamation of 1962, the Indians of Ladysmith retained the Forbes Street area and their shops along Murchison Street (the main street), although new housing development was to take place on the other side of the Klip River. The Town Council supported this decision in 1961 and again in 1966. Feeling secure, the Indians developed the Forbes Street area. It was stated in 1966 that they owned 139 buildings there, valued by the municipality at R430 760. There were about 52 traders, in a community of some 500. The Indians had built temples, mosques, schools, and a community centre.

In 1966 the Group Areas Board re-investigated the position. A new proclamation was gazetted in 1969, making the Klip River the boundary between whites and Indians, allocating the Forbes Street area to whites, but providing for a small open trading area two blocks away from Murchison Street. All the Indians would have to move by the end of 1970.

The Indian Local Affairs Committee urged the Town Council to ask the Government to reverse this decision, but this time the Council did not support them. A petition to the Minister of Planning was, however, sent by the Anglican, Roman Catholic, Methodist, and Presbyterian Churches.

A Government Notice gazetted on 17 April stated that no trading licences might be issued for a first time to Indians in Ladysmith or Colenso unless a certificate of approval was granted by the Department of Community Development.

Greytown and Dannhauser
It was reported on 3 July that the Greytown Town Council had asked the Department of Community Development to remove the town's entire Coloured community of 32 families, totalling 112 people. There were too few of them to warrant a separate group area, it was stated.

The Indian group area at Dannhauser, demarcated in 1966, has been deproclaimed. About 120 families, who are poorly-off, will have to move about three miles further out of town.

Zululand

According to statements by the Minister of and Secretary for Planning and the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, the government departments concerned are gradually to "canalize" the Indians and Coloured people in Zululand to areas south of the Tugela River. As from the beginning of 1970, employers of people of these racial groups were required to apply for permits to retain their services.


GROUP AREAS IN THE FREE STATE

The Minister of Planning said that there were 835 Coloured people in Eshowe, already under permit, and 707 in the rest of Zululand. (He did not mention the number of Indians there: they are employed mainly in the sugar and paper mills.)

The Dunn community of 265 people, at Mangeti and Mojeni, will not be affected. The land they occupy is to be registered in their name.

The Department of Bantu Education was requested to give special attention to the provision of additional training facilities for Africans in Zululand, with a view to relieving the shortage of skilled and semi-skilled workers there.

The towns of Mahlabatini, Nqutu, and Nondweni have been zoned "black": the S.A. Bantu Trust is gradually buying the properties of whites there, with a view to selling them to Africans.

Expansion of white holiday facilities at Kosi Bay is to be controlled.

NOTES ON GROUP AREAS IN THE FREE STATE

A study of the likely effects on local communities of Government plans to resettle the Coloured people of the Free State on a regional basis is being undertaken by the Institute for SocioEconomic Research of the University of the Orange Free State. It is reported that the Government has been asked to delay this plan until the results of the study can be considered.

 Already, however, the approximately 250 Coloured residents of Parys have been told that they will have to leave before the end of 1972 and move to a town, such as Heilbron, where there is a Coloured group area.

BANTU LAWS AMENDMENT ACT, No. 19 OF 1970

Control of urban housing schemes

A section of the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill of 1970 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 financed from the National Housing Fund or by means of other loans obtained by the local authority. During the Parliamentary debate the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration indicated that the Trust might take over the township of Kwa Mashu in Durban, and the Bantu area near Brits, incorporating them in homelands nearby. The Africans would then be able to own plots of land and live on a family basis. United Party spokesmen pointed out that this redrawing of boundaries would not reduce the number of Africans working in white areas.

33 The Friend, 2 October.
I Assembly, 13 to 20 February, Hansard 2 cols. 1048-67; Hansard 3 cols. 1472-1573.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970
Removal or abolition of Bantu residential areas
These sections of the Act were described fully on page 164 of last year's Survey. Briefly, they removed the necessity for a public enquiry to be held before the Minister can order a local authority to remove, curtail or abolish an African township or hostel, in the interests of planning schemes, or because it is considered that a health or safety hazard exists. When such an order is given, the Minister will fix a date after which a Bantu Affairs Commissioner may instruct the police to remove any African who, in his opinion, is in the township or hostel without permission to be there. The African may be moved to any place where adequate accommodation is deemed to exist. Buildings erected after the fixed date may be demolished, no compensation being payable. After notice has been given that a township or hostel has been abolished, it will be an offence for an African to be there without permission. In addition to any penalty a court may impose, the African may be removed to any place where there is accommodation for him. The Opposition objected to these provisions, pointing out, inter alia, that there might be cases where Africans with permanent residential rights and in legal employment would be ordered out of the town concerned because there was no alternative accommodation there. The Deputy Minister said that when a township was demolished, compensation for their homes or improvements made to dwellings would be paid to all the occupants who could be traced.

Vacation and demolition of condemned dwellings
The principal Act empowered a local authority to condemn a dwelling if the Medical Officer of Health considers this to be necessary, offering the occupants alternative accommodation in the urban area concerned. In terms of the 1970 amendment, the alternative accommodation offered may be in any urban township or Bantu village, as the Minister may approve. The Opposition pointed out that this provision, too, might deprive an African of his job and his residential rights.

Use of Bantu beer profits
The Amendment Act provided 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.

HOUSING FOR AFRICANS, IN URBAN AREAS
The Deputy Minister commented that social "luxuries" should be provided in the homelands, and not in urban areas.

NOTES ON HOUSING FOR AFRICANS IN URBAN AREAS Johannesburg
In a letter to the Johannesburg City Council sent during May by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development it was stated, "It is not possible to keep on extending the Bantu residential areas in the white areas because of insufficient land and the costs of providing housing and other facilities". The letter went on to deal with the strict influx control measures upon which the Government insisted.'

Dr. Patrick Lewis, chairman of the City Council's Management Committee, said on 12 November that it was becoming increasingly difficult to obtain National Housing loans. In the year 1957-8, 11 074 houses were built. By 1961-2 the total had fallen to 3 336, while during the next seven years only 8 676 new dwellings were provided (an average of 1 231 a year). There was at present a shortage of 13 400 houses: at a conservative estimate some 67 000 people were having to crowd in with other families. To make matters worse, 2 000 new houses were needed annually just to cater for the natural increase in population.

With the aid of a loan of R750 000 from mining houses, Pimville, long declared a slum, is being rebuilt. The remaining costs of the scheme are being met from the Bantu Services Levy, the National Housing Fund, and the City Council's own loan funds. More than 2 000 new houses have been built, and compensation of an estimated R500 000 is being paid for dwellings to be demolished. Elsewhere, a new hostel for men and extensions to the women's hostels are being built with National Housing funds. The Department of Community Development insists on austerity standards for the hostels.

The Bantu Laws Amendment Act of 1963 provided that, unless permission was granted, private householders might not accommodate more than one African domestic servant, and owners of flats, hotels, and other businesses not more than five. The rest would have to sleep in African townships. During June, about 1 200 white householders living to the south of the Houghton Ridge received notices from the Johannesburg Municipality, stating that, on instructions from the Government, a start was to be made with the implementation of this "white by night" policy. As accommodation for African men had become available at the Diepkloof Hostel, all those in excess of one per household were to move to this hostel by 1 August, travelling to work daily.

It was stated4 that 1 284 African men had already been removed from flats.

2 Star, 23 May.
3 Rand Daily Mail, 13 November.
4 Star, 1 July.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970
There were widespread protests, particularly when the quality of the accommodation at the Diepkloof Hostel became known. It is in an area controlled by the Resettlement Board (not the City Council), and was built according to standards specified by the Department of Community Development. The hostel will eventually accommodate 5 200 men: by June there were some 3 300 places available.

According to Press reports,' there are a few small single rooms, completely devoid of furniture, and with no cross-ventilation, for which residents pay R3.25 a month. The rest, who pay R2.25, live in 16-bed dormitories, ventilated by airbricks between adjoining rooms and small windows in one wall. The beds are hollow brick boxes overlaid with planks: the men supply their own mattresses and bedding. There are no pegs or cupboards: each man has only a small locker under his bed. Each group of four beds is near a coal stove. Residents have to buy their own coal, and have nowhere to store it.

Cooking is done on privately-owned paraffin stoves in a common room adjoining each dormitory. There are small lockers for food. Showers, troughs for washing dishes and clothes, and latrines are grouped together in one wing, so that men in the rooms furthest away have to walk about 400 yards to get there. The toilets are in communal sets of seven, with no partitions. Until about August, hot water was provided only at weekends. No recreational facilities exist.

Following a public outcry, the Department of Bantu Administration and Development agreed to a municipal suggestion that the removal of domestic servants should be postponed, but stipulated that the City Council must prepare plans for a reduction of the number of domestic servants living in white areas. Instead, "excess" men were moved to the hostel from office buildings, commercial compounds, sports clubs, and other institutions.

Work is in progress on the erection of the first two of 12 hotels, each to provide 2 500 beds, that will eventually replace all the family housing at Alexandra Township (administered by the Transvaal Board for the Development of Peri-Urban Areas).

Other Transvaal towns
Some other towns, for example Germiston and Pietersburg, have agreed to introduce the "white-by-night" policy as hostel accommodation becomes available in their African townships or those in homelands nearby.

It is Government policy that no further family housing for Africans should be built in Pretoria. Instead, the City Council is acting as the Government's agent in developing a very large new 5 Star, 10 June; Rand Daily Mail, 11 July. Representatives of the Institute of Race Relations were refused permission to visit the hostel.

HOUSING FOR AFRICANS IN URBAN AREAS

township called Mabopane, about 16 miles north-west of the city in a Tswana homeland.
Seventeen small local authorities in the Western Transvaal have appointed a committee to plan a regional township in a homeland near Lichtenburg to accommodate the Africans employed in these towns.6

The Cape
No further African family housing is being provided in the Western Cape. National Housing loans may be obtained for hostels only. The situation in Cape Town has been described in the chapter on the pass laws. The position in the Cape Midlands (also a Coloured labour preference area) is similar. Family dwellings in Port Elizabeth are severely congested. There is stated to be a shortage of about 12,000 houses. Hundreds of shacks have sprung up in back yards.

Group areas for Grahamstown were proclaimed on 26 March. Very few whites or Coloured people are affected. The Africans live in the Fingo Village and in three municipal townships. The latter were not mentioned in the proclamation; but the Fingo Village east of the railway line was allocated to Coloured people. This Village was given to the Africans in 1855; it is estimated that more than 6,000 live there. The Government's plan is that they should be removed to a township to be created at Committees Drift, about 20 miles to the east, in a homeland across the Fish River. This scheme has been very strongly opposed by the white residents of Grahamstown. One small part of the Fingo Village has been advertised by the Department of Planning for zoning as either Indian or white or both.

In Grahamstown, too, the family houses are seriously overcrowded because of the restriction on further building. About 9,000 Africans live in some 1,300 unauthorized shacks, and a squatter camp has recently sprung up near the city. A fuller report of conditions in the area was published in the issue of Race Relations News for October.

The removal of Africans from the municipal townships of East London to the Government township of Mdantsane, in a homeland about ten miles north of the city, is being continued. They are being joined there by Africans removed from the Western Cape. The population of Mdantsane has mounted to an official figure of about 100,000, but is stated actually to be somewhere in the region of 160,000. Other homeland townships in the Ciskei, such as Ilinge, Dimbas, and Sada, have been mentioned in a previous chapter. It was reported in June7 that the Department of Bantu Administration and Development had asked local authorities in the Eastern Cape to help provide financial and technical assistance for the provision of housing in these and other new villages, apparently to accommodate all Africans who are not "economically active" in the towns concerned.

Natal
There continue to be many thousands of homeless Africans in Natal. Some are ordered to go to the homelands; but large numbers stream to the towns in defiance

Rand Daily Mail, 21 May.
Eastern Province Herald. 16 and 20 June.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970
of housing in these and other new villages, apparently to accommodate all Africans who are not "economically active" in the towns concerned.

Natal
There continue to be many thousands of homeless Africans in Natal. Some are ordered to go to the homelands; but large numbers stream to the towns in defiance
of influx control regulations, hoping for work there. There are reported to be between 200 000 and 250 000 squatters in the Durban-Pinetown area alone, living in highly insanitary conditions. The Government is planning new homeland townships such as Dassenhoek near Pinetown and Wembezi near Estcourt to house some of them.

TRANSPORT FOR AFRICAN COMMUTERS

The majority of the passengers carried by the Railways are Africans, mainly because so many of them have to commute to work daily by train and, if they are recruited from the homelands, must return there for annual visits. A very high proportion of the third-class passengers and many of the second-class ones, in the tables given below, would have been Africans. These tables are extracted from the Report of the Railways and Harbours Board for 1969 and indicate the number of passenger journeys during that year.

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<th>Rail transport</th>
<th>Road transport</th>
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In the official Estimates of Expenditure for 1970-11 a sum of R 13 500 000 was budgeted for subsidizing railway services for urban African commuters. It was stated in the Report of the National Transport Commission for 1968-911 that, during that year, R1 468 208 was paid to the operators of bus services in various areas to help to keep the fares down. According to the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, over the past few years (the exact period was not stated) a further R677 084 was paid from profits on the sale of liquor in urban African townships.

Yet the fares have again been increased. In October 1969 the price of weekly rail tickets rose by between 10 and 30 cents. A further increase came into effect from the beginning of October

1 Rand Daily Mail, 10 September.
12 Assembly, 24 February, Hansard 4 col. 1811.

TRANSPORT FOR AFRICAN COMMUTERS

1970: the price of a worker's monthly ticket (excluding Sundays) from Soweto rose from R2.50 to R2.85. Bus fare have risen, too.

The railway services between Soweto and Johannesburg, and to a lesser extent between Kwa Mashu and Durban, become ever increasingly congested. In a talk given in November13 Dr. Patrick Lewis, chairman of the Johannesburg City Council's Management Committee, said that Africans from Soweto start out very early because of the crush. About 68 000 come by train between 4 a.m. and 6 a.m.
every working day; and another 35 000 between 6 a.m. and 6.30 a.m. The daily total of rail commuters is about 190 000.
Calculating from figures given by the Minister of Transport in the Assembly on 4 August,'4 during the peak period the coaches in use have seats for about only 23 per cent of the passengers using them. The rest cram in as best they can, or hang on the outside.
On 31 October at least twelve Africans were killed and about 230 taken to hospital when a crowded passenger train that was coming to Johannesburg ploughed into the back of one that was stationary. Little more than a month before, eleven died and thirty were injured when a goods train crashed onto a platform where Africans were waiting for trains. In December 1969 and in February, five were killed and more than 400 injured in stampedes across narrow railway foot-bridges. When the most recent accident occurred Johannesburg's Mayor, Mr. Sam Moss, sped to the scene and talked to the angry on-lookers through a loud-speaker, succeeding in calming them. He said afterwards"5 that he had feared another Sharpeville.
The Railways set up a departmental enquiry; but the Johannesburg City Council called on the Prime Minister to appoint a judicial enquiry into the causes of the accidents and to investigate how they could be avoided. Dr. Patrick Lewis emphasized that the people of Soweto were most uneasy and resentful.
During the Railways budget debate the Minister of Transport said that he had no objection to private companies introducing as many bus services as they wished between Soweto and Johannesburg. Putco (the Public Utility Transport Corporation) does operate such a service, but, because of opposition by the Railways, the National Transport Commission will not allow it to use a new highway that links Soweto and Johannesburg, reducing the distance to be travelled. Instead, the Putco buses have to travel along the congested Booysens Road.
On 30 September the General Manager of the Railways announced that a departmental committee was investigating improvements to the Soweto train service which would cost about R80 000 000. They would include two new major rail links, running underground in places.
13 Rand Daily Mail, 13 November.
14 Hansard 3 col. 995.
15 Rand Daily Mail 5 November.

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BANTU SCHOOL EDUCATION
BANTU EDUCATION AMENDMENT ACT, No. 44 OF 1970
This Act provided that, as from dates determined by the Minister of Bantu Education, schools which are not Government schools and are situated in the areas of jurisdiction of territorial authorities (or legislative councils in South West Africa) will not have to be registered in terms of the principal Act. The bodies concerned will themselves be able to establish, register, and control schools. Under the main Act, power to appoint, promote, transfer, or dismiss teachers in a community school is vested in a school board or such other body as the Minister
may designate. In terms of the amendments, it will be possible to vest these functions in the education departments of the territorial authorities.

EXPENDITURE ON BANTU EDUCATION

Revenue of Bantu Education Account

As originally decided when the system of Bantu Education was introduced, fixed sums of R13 000 000 a year for general expenditure and R1 500 000 a year for the universities have continued to be paid annually from the Consolidated Revenue Fund into the Bantu Education Account. In more recent years these amounts have been supplemented in other ways: the salaries of the Minister and Deputy Minister, the costs of special education for handicapped children, and loans made to medical students, have been charged to the Consolidated Revenue or Loan Accounts instead of the Bantu Education Account.

Money has been advanced from the country's Loan Account for capital expenditure on school and university buildings. Each year, a redemption instalment is paid from the Bantu Education Account, but the net debt has continued to rise: according to the 1968-9 Report of the Controller and Auditor-General it had mounted to R 11562 915 by 31 March 1969. In theory, any current expenditure above the R14 500 000 contributed by the State, including the loan redemption instalments, was supposed to come from the proceeds of African taxation plus miscellaneous receipts, for example from boarding fees. But it became clear that this revenue was far from adequate. It was I R.P. 59/1969. page 302.

FINANCING OF BANTU EDUCATION

consequently provided, in terms of the Finance Act of 1968, that annual deficits would be met by means of interest-free recoverable advances from the Loan Account. According to the Deputy Minister of Finance,2 the total amount thus advanced had reached R33 600000 by 31 March 1970.

In his Budget speech on 12 August3 the Minister of Finance said that this method of financing the Bantu Education Account was unsatisfactory. It was impossible to work out a better system until the results of the new basis for African taxation were known. Meanwhile, however, it would be pointless to continue increasing the indebtedness of the account by advancing further loans. He proposed that a sum of R17 000 000 that was required to supplement the account's normal revenue for the current year should be transferred from the Consolidated Revenue Fund. (This amount was subsequently increased to R17 500 000 to allow for salary increases.)

The Minister's proposals were put into effect in terms of the Second Finance Act, No. 97 of 1970. It was stipulated that this arrangement would continue only until 30 March 1972, by which time it was hoped that a revised permanent basis for financing Bantu Education would have been devised.

The estimated revenue of the Bantu Education Account for 1970-1 is.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fixed amounts from the Consolidated Revenue Account</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
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<tr>
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<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14500000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Estimated proceeds of African taxation ...... 11 000 000 Boarding and examination fees, etc 1 000 000
Balance carried forward from 1969-70 ...... 1 182 000
Special contribution from Consolidated Revenue Account ...... 17 500 000
R45 182 000

Expenditure from Bantu Education Account
The budgeted expenditure from the Bantu Education Account (which excludes expenditure in the Transkei and in South West Africa other than the Caprivi Strip) is:

Assembly. 1 October, Hansard 11 col. 5535.
5 Hansard 4 col. 1537.
203

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R
Salaries, wages, and allowances .......... 5 539 000
General administration 1 020 000 Supplies, services, and maintenance of buildings 763 000
Bursaries and loans ........ 117 000
Examination expenses ........... 281 000
Subsidies to schools ........ 19 547 000
Grant-in-aid to the S.A. Bantu Trust ........ 12 600 000
Expenditure on universities ........ 3 202 000
Provision for retirement benefits .......... 1 648 000
Redemption of loans for capital expenditure ... 465 000
R45 182 000

The grant-in-aid of the S.A. Bantu Trust is for expenditure on education by the territorial authorities: for this reason the figure for subsidies to schools is lower than it was in 1969-70.
The amount for salaries, wages, and allowances includes the salaries of personnel who are being seconded to the service of the territorial authorities which have established Departments of Education and Culture (six Directors and tine Senior Inspectors).

Of the total amount, R554 000 is recoverable from fees paid by university students and boarders at schools. A further R72 900 is being advanced in loans to students. (R44 100 is budgeted for bursaries that need not be repaid.)

Anticipated expenditure from other sources
The Republic's Estimates of Expenditure from Revenue and Loan Accounts include the following additional sums:

Revenue Account
Special education ....
Natal Medical School ....

Loan Account
Capital costs of university buildings ......
Loans to medical students (part repayable)
R
572000 550000 1000000
28 750
R2 150 750

As mentioned earlier, a grant-in-aid of R12 600 000 was provided for, to be paid to the S.A. Bantu Trust towards the expenditure on education and culture to be incurred by territorial authorities.

FINANCING OF BANTU EDUCATION
These authorities plan to spend an additional R650 000 from their own resources, the total budgeted amounts for 1970-1 being:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IsiXhosa</th>
<th>Tswana</th>
<th>Matshangana Lebowa (Northern Sotho)</th>
<th>Venda</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td></td>
<td>Matshangana Lebowa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tswana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basotho Ba Borwa</td>
<td></td>
<td>Matshangana Lebowa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Transkei Government estimates that R7 783 000 will be spent on education in 1970-1; while the anticipated expenditure on Africans in South West Africa is R2 560 000."

Total expenditure from governmental sources
The total anticipated expenditure on Bantu education from governmental sources in South Africa in 1970-1 (including the Caprivi Strip but not the rest of South West Africa) is:

Bantu Education Account ..................
Revenue and Loan Accounts Additional expenditure by territorial authorities
Transkei Government  ....... .... ... ...
R
45182000 2150750
650000
7783000
R55 765 750

The method of financing the erection of schools in urban Bantu townships, and the contributions made by parents towards the costs of education, are described later.

Unit costs
Questioned in the Assembly about the unit costs of Bantu education, the Minister replied that the approximate costs per pupil, based on expenditure in the 1968-9 financial year and the enrolment in 1968, were:
Primary pupils ... Secondary pupils General average ...
R
13.55 55.00 14.48
8 20 February, Hansard 3 col. 1529; and 14 August, Hansard 4 col. 1737.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970
Estimated figures for 1969-70 were:
R
Primary pupils ...... 14.00 Secondary pupils ... 79.30
The Director of Education for the Transkei informed the Institute of Race Relations that equivalent figures for that territory in 1969-70 were:
R
Primary pupils ...... 13.89 Secondary pupils ... 83.38

Official comment on the cost of Bantu education
During July the Secretary for Bantu Education, Dr. H. J. van Zyl, wrote to the "Burger" in reaction to a reader's letter which had criticized the expenditure on Bantu education. If the unit costs currently applicable to whites were to be applied to the Bantu education system, he said, the cost of the latter would amount to about R400 000 000 a year.

COSTS OF SCHOOL BUILDINGS IN URBAN BANTU TOWNSHIPS
As described on page 186 of last year's Survey, the financing of the erection of primary and lower secondary schools in urban areas has become the responsibility of urban local authorities, which are expected to impose a levy of not more than 20 cents a month on all African heads of families to cover, or help pay for, the costs. The erection of further high schools in urban areas is being discouraged: urban pupils are expected, in the main, to go as boarders to schools in the homelands for high school education.
The ratio of lower primary, higher primary, and secondary schools to be provided in urban townships was described last year.
Principals of secondary and high schools, and the parents of the children, have become deeply concerned about the shortage of classrooms, the consequent overcrowding, and the fact that so many would-be pupils have to be turned away.
Towards the end of 1970 the Anglo-American Corporation offered R3 000 to a secondary school in Soweto for the erection of additional classrooms, but the Department of Bantu Education blocked this offer. A number of principals applied to private organizations for assistance.
The Department then issued a circular through circuit inspectors stating that approaches by principals or school boards for financial assistance to build classrooms was "not at all recommended or approved... The Department of Bantu Education is not opposed..." Quoted in The Star, 24 July.
to African schools receiving money from private bodies or individuals if donations are made through the proper channels. In urban areas, it is the responsibility of local authorities to provide school sites and buildings. It stands to reason that local authorities must be fully informed about the building of extra classrooms, which should not be put up at random by unauthorized bodies. To exercise proper control over school expansion, any substantial donation offered to a school should be submitted . . . for Ministerial approval. Once a donation is approved, it will be passed on to the local authority and used to provide the needs of the school concerned. The Department has no objection to schools receiving small donations of up to about R50."

Parents of pupils raised sufficient money for the erection of additional classrooms at a high school in Soweto, but the Department refused to allow expansion because, it stated, the school was already too large.12

It would appear that the reasons for the Department's attitude are that:

(a) it wants local authorities to adhere to its ratio for the provision of schools at the various levels;
(b) it does not want a school to become too large, and unmanageable;
(c) it wants donations to be distributed equitably, according to the needs;
(d) it has decided that further high schools should be situated in the homelands.

A number of offers of private assistance have been transmitted to the Department for approval, but decision has been considerably delayed. No statistics are available about the expenditure on schools in urban areas.

Many of even the primary schools in urban areas are seriously overcrowded, with two classes of children sharing one room, or hired accommodation outside being pressed into use. There are still not nearly enough desks: it is reported from many centres that children have to squat on the floor, using benches on which to write. Private efforts to supply more desks have been described earlier. Conditions are particularly bad in the smaller towns where no new housing schemes have been in progress, the local authorities consequently being unable to apply for National Housing loans to finance new classrooms as well as dwellings. Children from urban areas who cannot be admitted to high schools are supposed to apply to attend schools in the homelands.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970

where more accommodation exists. This, naturally, adds considerably to the expenses that have to be incurred by parents. But in recent years would-be students have been turned away from homeland schools, too, because of a shortage of hostel accommodation. This was acknowledged by the Secretary for Bantu Education in Press interviews.13 He
suggested that parents should try to arrange for their children to board with private families until such time as more hostels became available. On 17 November the Secretary stated that principals of secondary and high schools in the large urban areas would be instructed not to admit more pupils in 1971 than the staff could teach properly. (The quota is 50 to a class in secondary schools and 55 in primary schools.) Overcrowding led to poor examination results. Where there were twice the number of children who could be accommodated in a school, two principals could use the same building - one in the morning and the other in the afternoon. Where church buildings could be obtained they should be used as extra classrooms.

An editorial in the Bantu Education Journal for September stated that "the Bantu teacher has to carry an abnormally heavy burden. Those that are teaching double sessions in the sub-standards, or classes of 55 or more in the high schools, have a very difficult task. The Department is conscious of the struggle they have to wage and has the greatest appreciation for the devotion and diligence that they show under extremely difficult circumstances".

In reply to a question on 24 February, the Minister of Bantu Education said that, in 1969, double sessions were operating in 4,246 schools, involving 8,361 teachers and 750,428 pupils. Besides this, 17 schools used the platoon system in 1968, the classrooms being used by two sets of pupils a day, each with its own teacher.16

The Transkeian Education Department informed the writer that, in 1970 there were double sessions in 505 schools in its territory, involving 515 classes from Sub A to Std. IV, and 38,935 pupils.

These figures indicate that about 73 per cent of the children in the sub-standards in 1969 (Republic and Transkei) were attending double-session classes.

NUMBER AND DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOLS
The May issue of the Journal contained statistics relating to the type and control of schools. Separate figures in respect of the Venda, Lebowa, and Matshangana Territorial Authorities had not yet become available. The number of schools was as follows:

13 Star, 18 February; Natal Witness, 25 May.
14 Rand Daily Mail, 18 and 19 November.
1-1 Hansard 4 col. 1821.


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SCHOOLS FOR AFRICANS
Education Department
Central Transkei Ciskei Tswana S. Sotho Total Department and other homelands
Government and aided:
Government ......
Community ......
Farm ...... ......
Mine and factory ......
Hospital ...... ......


The categories of schools were as given below, from those in the preceding table, as some schools one division.

Lower primary  ...  Higher primary  ...  Primary  ...  Junior secondary  ...  Senior secondary  ...  Technical secondary  Vocational training  Teacher training  ...  Special schools  ...  Schools in the Caprivi  The totals differ have more than 3 037 536 5 870 295 95 9 948  
In the September and November issues of the Journal a full list was given of senior secondary schools that had hostels for boarders. The totals were: Natal  ...  ...  Transvaal  ...  ...  Ciskei  ...  ...  Lebowa Basotho-ba-Borwa Matshangana  ...  Tswana  ...  ...  Venda  ...  ...  ...  11 5 7 8 2 12 4 50 1 756 4 470 2 968 107 40 28 484

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The Roman Catholic Sisters of the Holy Cross have raised almost R218 000 to rebuild, near Soweto, their school at Alexandra Township that is to be demolished as families are moved away."

FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS BY SCHOOL BOARDS AND COMMITTEES, AND BY PARENTS

Questioned in the Assembly on 11 September, the Minister of Bantu Education stated it was estimated that, in 1969, school boards and committees in the Republic (excluding the Transkei) raised R1 475 000 towards the erection, maintenance, and running costs of schools, together with R1 345 000 to pay the salaries of teachers additional to those who are employed by the education departments.

Mr. M. T. Moerane has succeeded the late Mr. P. Q. Vundla as president of the Association for the Educational and Cultural Advancement of the African People.
of S.A. (Asseca). In an address at a national conference of the association, held in May, he said that the people could not wait until the Government had a change of heart towards African education. The Association hopes to raise R1 000 000 by a voluntary levy of 10 cents from every African adult in the country. By May, it had ten branches in various centres. It continues to arrange night classes for school drop-outs, to provide equipment for schools, and to advance the cause of African education in various other ways."

Arrangements for the supply of text books for African pupils are described later: the parents have to pay for many of these. On 28 January The Star estimated that the cost of text books and stationery for a Standard III pupil was R10.22 a year (white children receive these free of charge). Other estimates, for pupils in various classes, were given on page 188 of last year's Survey.

STATISTICS RELATING TO PUPILS

In the April issue of the Bantu Education Journal a detailed analysis was provided of the enrolment of pupils by standard in the Republic and the Transkei. In the summary table given below, pupils taking teacher training courses are excluded and the percentages, consequently, recalculated. The figures relate to the first Tuesday of June in 1969.

17 Star, 30 October.
11 Hansard 8 col. 3928.
t1 Star, 30 May and 1 June.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Sub A</th>
<th>Sub B</th>
<th>Std. I</th>
<th>Std. II</th>
<th>Total lower primary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. I</td>
<td>624946</td>
<td>24.55</td>
<td>460542</td>
<td>18.09</td>
<td>397062</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. II</td>
<td>299199</td>
<td>11.75</td>
<td>781749</td>
<td>69.99</td>
<td>1560299199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. III</td>
<td>234407</td>
<td>9.21</td>
<td></td>
<td>* 168011</td>
<td>6.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. IV</td>
<td>119704</td>
<td>4.70</td>
<td></td>
<td>* 119704</td>
<td>4.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1809397062</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. VI ..</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1560299199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical and vocational ..</td>
<td>211</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SCHOOL REQUISITES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Total secondary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1781749</td>
<td>69.99</td>
<td>397062</td>
<td>15.60</td>
<td>299199</td>
<td>11.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
At the same date, the number of secondary pupils in the Republic (excluding the Transkei) who were in urban and rural schools, respectively, were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Type</th>
<th>Forms I to III</th>
<th>Forms IV to V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>35976</td>
<td>2517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>46658</td>
<td>3595</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Included in the total number of pupils are 367 who were attending four schools for the sons of chiefs.

At the same date, 87,316 African pupils were attending schools in South West Africa; their enrolment by standard was not stated.

**PROVISION OF TEXT BOOKS, LIBRARY BOOKS, AND TEACHING AIDS**

For some years, African pupils in primary schools have been provided with graded class readers in English, Afrikaans, and the appropriate African language. Each new school is supplied with enough copies for all the pupils. Annually, thereafter, the allocation is one new book per three pupils in the sub-standards, and one book per four pupils in Standards I to VI. The children may not take these home: they have to buy copies if they want to use them for homework. Bibles are sold at subsidized prices.

More recently, primary schools have been provided with limited quantities of graded text-books in such subjects as arithmetic, general science, social studies, and grammar. According to an official publication, one book is supplied annually per two pupils.

The Minister said in the Assembly on 28 July that the costs to the Department had been:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Readers Textbooks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1967-8</td>
<td>R 258300 100900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-9</td>
<td>R 273500 105000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From 1970, a start has been made with the supply of limited numbers of text books to secondary schools. These are intended for loan to the poorer pupils. The Minister said that the cost of library books issued to schools in the Republic had been R99 500 in 1967-8, R94 300 in 1968-9, and R99 600 in 1969-70. A number of private organizations and individuals have continued to collect books for distribution to African schools. This must be done through the inspectors of schools. In the February issue of the Bantu Education Journal attention was again drawn to the fact that schools may apply for R-for-R subsidies for audio-visual teaching aids.

**MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS**

It was stated in the Department's Annual Report for 1968-26 that its policy that half of the secondary school subjects were to be taught through the medium of Afrikaans and the other half through the English-medium could not be fully implemented because of a shortage of teachers who were thoroughly proficient in both official languages.

A recent survey had shown that this policy was carried out fully in only 26 per cent of the schools. Detailed statistics were given.

**SUBJECTS TAKEN FOR MATRICULATION**

A full analysis of the subjects being taken by pupils in secondary and technical secondary schools in June 1969 was published in the Bantu Education Journal for September. Some extracts, relating to Form V pupils only, are:

24 Hansard 2 cols. 510-1.
212

**AFRICAN EXAMINATION RESULTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Standard VI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Afrikaans A</td>
<td>375550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afrikaans B</td>
<td>515000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English A</td>
<td>2268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English B</td>
<td>2140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African languages</td>
<td>2299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arithmetical subjects</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science subjects</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social sciences</td>
<td>786</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial subjects</td>
<td>2635</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practical subjects</td>
<td>2646</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biblical studies</td>
<td>570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUMBER OF PUPILS</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(This table excludes expenditure in the Transkei.)
The information that follows, relating to 1969 examination results, was furnished by the Minister in the Assembly on 15 September.27

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Republic</th>
<th>Transkei</th>
<th>Caprivi</th>
<th>South West Africa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Passed:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st class</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd class</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School leaving</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Passed:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st class</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd class</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd class</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970

Matriculation or Senior Certificate

According to the Bantu Education Journal for March, the results for all the territories mentioned above at the end of 1969, of full-time candidates in the matriculation examination of the Joint Matriculation Board and the Senior Certificate of the Department of Higher Education were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Matriculation School Leaving Totals exemption Certificate</th>
<th>Candidates</th>
<th>Passed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>608</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passed:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st class</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd class</td>
<td>758</td>
<td>615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd class</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only the 869, or 33.3 per cent of the candidates, who passed with Matriculation exemption, qualified to enter universities for degree courses. Of these, 199 passed in mathematics, 41 in Latin, 178 in physical science, and 645 in biology.

In addition to those mentioned above there were 8817 private, part-time candidates. The results they achieved were not mentioned.

TEACHERS

The issue of the Journal for June stated that in 1969 there were 43638 teachers employed in schools for Africans (including the Transkei).

According to this article and to information furnished by the Transkeian Education Department, the categories of schools in which these teachers were employed were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of teachers</th>
<th>Republic</th>
<th>Transkei</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Category of school</td>
<td>33280</td>
<td>6335</td>
<td>39615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>2892</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>3442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher training</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical and vocational training</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>36694</td>
<td>6987</td>
<td>43681</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(There is a small, unexplained, difference in the totals.)

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 11 September, the Minister said that 7947 of the teachers employed in June 1969 were privately paid (including 1740 at private - mainly churcha schools).

AFRICAN TEACHERS

No later information than that contained on page 195 of last year's Survey is available in regard to the qualifications of the teachers.

The Departmental courses available for the training of teachers are:

(a) Lowler Primary Course: three years' post-Standard VI;
(b) Primary Teachers' Course: two years' post-Junior Certificate;
(c) Junior Secondary Teachers' Course: two years' post-Senior
Certificate.
At the universities, students may take a two year post-Matriculation secondary
teachers' diploma course, or a university education diploma course (graduate or
non-graduate). These courses take four or three years, respectively.
The numbers who passed the various courses at the end of 1969, in the Republic
and Transkei (excluding South West Africa) were:
Lower Primary Certificate ................. 156
Primary Teachers' Certificate ...............2 883
Junior Secondary Teachers' Certificate ........ 94
Secondary Teachers' Diploma .......... 79
University Education Diploma (non-graduate) ... 9
University Education Diploma (graduate) ....... 39
The Department has produced text-books for teachers, dealing with the prescribed
subject matter step by step. Useful articles on teaching methods appear each
month in the Bantu Education Journal. Refresher courses are conducted
periodically at various centres; and a special in-service training centre has been
opened at Mamelodi, Pretoria, where full-time experts in the various fields of
teaching give refresher courses to selected teachers at the Department's expense.
According to the Minister and to information sent by the Transkeian
Government, 59 Africans are employed as inspectors of schools. and 191 as
assistant inspectors. Some of the senior posts on the inspectorate are still occupied
by whites.
Salary scales for teachers of all racial groups are being revised. Details of the new
scales for Africans were published in the November issue of the Journal. Two
examples are: Matriculation plus two years' further training:
Man: R840 x 60 - 1800 x 90 - 2160
Woman: R720 x 60 - 1740
Matriculation plus four years' further training:
Man: R1200x 60- 1800x 90-2520
Woman: R1080 x 60- 1800 x 90- 2070
Bantu Education Journal, March; and Minister of Bantu Education, Assembly 15
September,
Hansard 9 cc], 4159.
' Hansard 8 col. 3912.
- Provided that the teacher is employed in a higher primary or secondary school.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970
On 7 August the Minister said there was a restriction that applied to African
teachers, but not to African university lecturers or teaching personnel of other
racial groups: it was considered to be misconduct if an African teacher identified
himself with a political party or body, or participated actively in political affairs.
Teachers could, however, become members of territorial authorities.

ADULT EDUCATION
With the assistance of experts, the Bureau of Literacy and Literature has revised
and brought up to date its literacy primers in seven African languages used in
South Africa, as well as its primers for the teaching of English and Afrikaans. A study has been made of three indigenous languages of South West Africa with a view to publishing grammars and primers. The material is used, among others, by churches, mining groups, voluntary workers, and prison authorities. According to the November issue of the Journal, 4,671 students were attending night school and continuation classes in 1969, 966 of them in secondary classes. Of the total of 59 classes, 41 were in municipal areas. Many of the classes are conducted on a voluntary basis by African women's organizations, the churches, university students, and organizations such as branches of the National Council of Women in various centres, "Operation Upgrade" in Durban, and others.

LITERACY RATES

It was stated in the Annual Report of the Department of Bantu Education for 19681 that "the literacy figure for the Bantu population in the 11 to 20 years age group is placed at about 85 per cent. In establishing this figure, fundamental literacy has been taken into account." Studies had been made of available literature on the definition of literacy. "According to this (study), a person is regarded as literate if he can read with understanding and can write a short, simple sentence relating to his daily life. Literacy is not to be considered adequate merely in terms of the completion of the fourth school year."

(The estimated percentage may have to be revised as a result of the 1970 census, which showed the African population to be larger than had been expected.) In any case, the estimate has been challenged by Mr. F. E. Auerbach in an article in The Transvaal Educational News in April. Because of the double-session system, he said, African children lost about 600 hours of schooling in the four-year lower primary course. These hours were made up only midway through Standard III. As African children could usually not be admitted to school until they had turned seven years (instead of 51 years for whites) the lowest limit for calculating literacy rates for Africans should be thirteen rather than eleven years.

Taking these factors into account, Mr. Auerbach calculated that, in 1967, only 57.5 per cent of Africans in the 13 to 22 years age group were functionally literate in their mother tongue.

AFRICAN LITERACY RATES

SCHOOL EDUCATION FOR MEMBERS OF THE COLOURED COMMUNITY

NATIONAL CONFERENCE

The Institute of Race Relations is to convene a National Conference in January 1971 on the theme "Education for Progress, with special reference to the needs of the Coloured Community". In preparation for this, the Institute has published a book entitled The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa, 1652 to 1970.1

CONTROL OF EDUCATION
As from 1970 the immediate responsibility for Coloured education (excluding university education) will lie with the Coloured Persons' Representative Council. A member of the Council's Executive Committee will deal specifically with educational matters. He will be advised by the Administration of Coloured Affairs. For the time being most of the senior posts (including that of the Director of Education) will be occupied by seconded white personnel, but members of the Coloured community are gradually taking over some of these posts. According to information furnished by the Administration, in July 1970 there were seven Coloured inspectors of education and five assistant inspectors (out of a total of 124).

The Coloured Persons' Representative Council has power to draft laws relating to education; but no proposed law may be introduced except with the approval of the Minister of Coloured Affairs, acting in consultation with the Minister of Finance. According to the Administration, the ownership of schools in 1968-9 was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cape Town</th>
<th>Natal</th>
<th>Transvaal</th>
<th>Free State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State schools</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aided schools (mainly run by churches)</td>
<td>1330</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private, unaided schools</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FINANCING OF EDUCATION

Thus far, it has been impossible to determine exactly how much is being spent on Coloured education, for the budget has been combined with that for the remainder of the Department of Coloured Affairs (now divided into the Administration of Coloured Affairs and the Department of Coloured Relations).

According to the Republic's Estimates of Expenditure for the year ending 31 March 1971 (R.P. 2 and 3 of 1970, Revenue Vote 49 and Loan Vote B), the Departments of Coloured Relations and of Public Works will spend approximately the following amounts on Coloured education during that year (certain assumptions have been made by the writer):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Revenue Vote</th>
<th>Loan Vote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Salaries and subsistence for educational staff (including white inspectors and teachers temporarily seconded to the Coloured Persons' Representative Council)</td>
<td>3 151 500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of the Western Cape (one-tenth recoverable from boarding and class fees)</td>
<td>950 000 50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erection of schools</td>
<td>5 969 650</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural training</td>
<td>33 000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4134500 5969700
The amount to be spent, in addition, on postal services and printing is impossible to determine.

A sum of R67 515 000 was allocated by Parliament to the Coloured Persons' Representative Council for the current year. At a session held in November, the Council decided to spend R38 658 160 of this amount on education.

From 1964 (when it took over control from the Provincial Administrations) to 1969 the Department of Coloured Affairs made various improvements in the financing of services. Grants-in-aid to State-aided schools were increased, and school fees abolished.

Since the beginning of 1969 pupils have been provided with free text books, stationery, and basic equipment free of charge throughout their school careers. The cost to the Administration was R1 240 000 in 1969-70. More generous grants and supplies of books have been made for school libraries, and the range and amounts of bursaries increased. These are described later. Plans are in hand to extend the provision of boarding or travelling allowances that are available to needy children from country areas.

"Minister, Assembly 31 July. Hansard 2 col. 803.

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220 A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970

TYPES OF SCHOOLS

Calculating from the Administration's lists, the types of schools at the end of 1969 were as given below. Private schools are excluded, as are vocational schools and teacher-training schools with high school classes.

Cape Natal Transvaal Free State Total

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infant classes only or Sub A to Std. II</th>
<th>Ending at Stds. III, IV, or V Primary schools including Std. V I</th>
<th>Secondary schools to Std. VIII High schools to Std. X</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>1 355</td>
<td>1 355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
<td>4 1 264 22</td>
<td>4 1 264 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>211</td>
<td>24 20 2 53 7</td>
<td>24 20 2 53 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1691</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>1863</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NUMBER AND DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS

In the Assembly on 31 July the Minister gave the figures that are quoted in the table that follows (the percentages having been calculated by the writer). Pupils in adaptation classes (1 424) and in private schools (3 544) are omitted. The figures relate to the first school quarter of 1970.

Class

Sub A ...
Sub B ...
Std. I ...
Std. II ...
COLOURED PUPILS
PERCENTAGES OF CHILDREN ATTENDING SCHOOL, DOUBLE SESSIONS, AND THE GRADUAL EXTENSION OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION

In an interview kindly granted to the writer in July 1970, officials of the Administration of Coloured Affairs said that, on a general average, 80 to 85 per cent of the children of school-going age were by then in school, at the beginning
of a school year. The proportion varied with the age group: possibly 98 to 99 per cent of those aged nine or ten years were enrolled. Children could, legally, be admitted at the age of 5 years. Since 1964 this had been done if accommodation was available. If not, applicants were listed in order that the provision of additional classrooms might be planned. Throughout the country, most of the applicants who were 6 years of age could be accepted. It appeared, however, that there was still confusion at the beginning of a school year, many children being turned away from the schools that they had planned to attend. The problem of accommodation is most acute in the fast-developing housing schemes round Cape Town, and in small country towns. The officials told the writer that, up to Standard V, most of the applicants could be admitted. In 1970 there was still difficulty in accepting all those who wished to proceed to Standard VI in secondary or high schools. Thereafter, due in part to the rapid dropout, there was plenty of accommodation up to and including Standard X.

In order to accept as many as possible of the six-year-old applicants, double sessions are increasingly being introduced. (Afternoon sessions are not permitted if they are needed only to accommodate children aged 5 years.) In 1970 these double sessions were mainly in Sub-standards A and B, but were rarely necessary in classes above Standard I. (It remained to be seen whether they would be required in classes above this level as the pupils were promoted.) Each session has its own teacher, and the school hours in double session classes are not reduced. The Minister of Coloured Affairs said in the Assembly on 24 February 4th that the double sessions in force in 1969 (excluding the Transkei) were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Republic</th>
<th>South West Africa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Schools ......</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers ......</td>
<td>922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupils ......</td>
<td>30531</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As mentioned on page 228 of the 1968 Survey, education has not been made compulsory in any areas additional to those where it was in force in 1953. From 1968, however, it has been compulsory 'Hansard 4 col. 1822.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970

for any child who lives within three miles of a school, and who enrolls in any class at the beginning of a school year, to attend regularly until the end of that year (unless especially exempted). This ruling has considerably reduced the drop-out rate during a school year. According to Departmental reports the decrease in enrolment between the first and fourth quarters of 1967 averaged 6.3 per cent in primary classes and 10.4 per cent in secondary classes. Equivalent figures for 1968 were 1.5 per cent and 2.6 per cent respectively.

SYLLABUSES

Detailed syllabuses, with guides for teachers, have been published for primary schools and for some 28 subjects that may be studied in secondary and high
schools. The intention is that, after Standard VI, pupils should be able to take an academic, a commercial, or a technical course at a comprehensive high school. Thus far, however, mainly because of the lack of suitably qualified teachers, some of these syllabuses exist on paper only. At the end of 1968, only four high schools were offering the technical secondary courses, and twenty-eight the commercial courses.

EXAMINATION RESULTS

According to the Administration, 8,533 Coloured candidates in the Republic entered for the Junior Certificate examination in 1969, of whom 5,782, or 67.8 per cent, passed. The Minister stated that there were 106 successful entrants in South West Africa: he did not say how many candidates there had been.

On this occasion and earlier, in the Assembly, the Minister said that 1,446 candidates in the Republic passed the Matriculation or Senior Certificate examinations at the end of 1969 (excluding those who were successful in supplementary examinations). Of these, 413 obtained university entrance passes. There were 20 successful candidates in South West Africa, of whom 6 qualified for university entrance.

TEACHERS

The Administration states that, in June 1969, there were 15,055 teachers employed in schools for Coloured children, of whom 254 were whites and 46 Asians. Most of the whites were employed in training colleges, high schools, or aided church schools.

At the end of 1969, notice of termination of services was issued to about 122 white women teachers who were employed in schools where there were Coloured principals or inspectors. Many of them were holding key positions in training colleges or schools, or were specialists in high school subjects such as mathematics, languages, or domestic science, and, it transpired, could not immediately be replaced by suitably qualified Coloured teachers. About 70 of the white women were, thus, re-engaged on a temporary basis.

The pupil-teacher ratio is about 31:1.

No later information than that given on page 199 of last year's Survey is available about the qualifications of the teachers.

Teacher-training courses are being revised. From 1972 the following courses will be available at training colleges or schools:

(a) Lower Primary Teachers' Certificate, open to women only: a two-year post-Junior Certificate course;
(b) A one-year specialist course in music, fine art, physical education, domestic science, needlework, or kindergarten work, for teachers with the L.P.T.C.;
(c) Primary Teachers' Certificate: a two-year post-Senior Certificate course.

COLOURED TEACHERS

replaced by suitably qualified Coloured teachers. About 70 of the white women were, thus, re-engaged on a temporary basis.

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(b) A one-year specialist course in music, fine art, physical education, domestic science, needlework, or kindergarten work, for teachers with the L.P.T.C.;
(c) Primary Teachers' Certificate: a two-year post-Senior Certificate course.
(d) Primary Teachers' Diploma: a three-year post-Senior Certificate course, during which the students specialize in academic work, kindergarten teaching, or special subjects.

At the Peninsula Technical College, trained teachers may take a one-year course qualifying them to teach commercial or technical subjects in secondary schools. There is also a three-year post-Matriculation diploma course in secondary education (commercial or technical).

The following courses are available at the University of the Western Cape:

(a) Lower Secondary Teachers' Diploma, in Arts, Science or Commerce (a three-year course);
(b) Secondary Teachers' Diploma (graduate or non-graduate): this was previously known as the University Education Diploma (these courses take four or three years, respectively);
(c) Adaptation Classes Teachers' Diploma: a one-year course for trained teachers;
(d) Post-graduate degree courses in education.

According to the Department's report and the Administration, at the end of 1969 there were 528 who passed the L.P.T.C. course; 427 who passed more senior examinations for primary school work; 12 who obtained the Lower Secondary Teachers' Diploma; 20 the Secondary Teachers' Diploma; and 4 who obtained B.Ed. or M.Ed. degrees.

The Administration arranges orientation classes for teachers who are required to adapt themselves to new syllabuses and methods, and part-time classes to assist serving teachers to improve their qualifications. During 1969, 37 such teachers passed courses designed for work in the higher classes of primary schools. Study leave may be granted.

The amounts of the study grants that are available to student teachers have been increased to maxima of R200 a year for the L.P.T.C. course, R240 a year for other courses at the training colleges and schools, R300 a year for courses at the Peninsula Technical College, and R400 a year for university courses in education.

The amounts made available need not be repaid if the recipients subsequently teach in the Department's service for at least one year more than the number of years for which the bursary was awarded.

It is a matter for concern that so few teachers are qualifying for secondary and high school work (they constituted only 3.7 per cent of those who passed teachers' examinations in 1968). Meanwhile, available figures indicate that as many secondary teachers may be resigning from the service annually as those who become newly qualified. The result is that the large majority of Coloured teachers in post-primary schools are not qualified for this work.

Two examples of salary scales that applied from 1 April 1970 are given:
Matriculated teacher with two years' further training:

Man:  
Ri 260 x 60-1 800 x 90-2 790
Matriculated teacher with four years' further training:

Woman: R1 140 x 60-1 800 x 90-2 340
Man: R1 680 x 60-1 800 x 90-2 800 x 120-3 240
Woman: Ri 360 x 60-1 800 x 90-2 790

Since then, the scales have been revised. Details have not been published; but on 3 October a statement by the Transvaal Association of Coloured Teachers described the new scales as being "totally unacceptable".

At a meeting held in December 1969 the Coloured Teachers' Associations of the four provinces and of South West Africa set up a central federal body, the Union of Teachers' Associations of South Africa (Utasa).

SPECIAL SCHOOLS FOR HANDICAPPED CHILDREN

The earlier-established State-aided special schools, and their enrolment in the last quarter of 1968, were:

**Enrolment**
- Athlone School for the Blind, Bellville ........ 148
- Dominican School for the Deaf, Wittebome ...... 318
- School for Coloured Deaf, Worcester ........... 239
- School for Coloured Epileptics, Worcester ....... 49

Since then, the Eros Cerebral Palsy School has been opened at Wynberg in the Cape. It is run by the Cerebral Palsy Association with the aid of a subsidy, and is a pilot project to train staff to serve in a school that is planned for Heideveld in the Athlone area.

8 Star of that date.

ADULT EDUCATION FOR COLOURED PEOPLE

where it will be run in co-operation with the Moravian Church. Twenty children have been admitted, and transport provided to take them to and from their homes."0

NURSERY SCHOOLS

There are now thirty-three schools in the Cape and three each in the Transvaal and Natal that qualify for official subsidies. The rate of these subsidies has been increased. Courses of training for nursery school assistants exist at Crawford in the Western Cape and the Blouvlei School, and the training of instructors in kindergarten methods has been commenced.

ADULT EDUCATION

After the change in control of Coloured education, the Department increased the grants-in-aid that are payable to the organizers of privately-conducted classes for adults.

Further, it established an Adult Education Section which, at the end of 1968, was running 137 classes with 4213 primary and 6 619 secondary students taking academic subjects. During that year a further 454 students attended short courses in subjects such as dressmaking, handwork, or art.

A Council for Culture and Recreation was appointed by the Minister in 1968. During the 1968-9 financial year the Department allocated R45 000 to this Council, to assist the following activities:

R
Besides this, special grants-in-aid of R40 000 in 1968-9 and R70 000 in 1969-70 have been made to the Eoan Group to assist in the financing of its cultural centre at Athlone.

One of the activities of the Council for Culture and Recreation has been to run a course at Athlone called "Education to Leadership", for boys and girls in Standards IX and X from high schools in the Western Province.

The Council has arranged for the Performing Arts Companies in the various provinces to give lecture-demonstrations in ballet at schools, and, in conjunction with the Ballet School of the University of Cape Town, has run courses for the training of ballet teachers.

Exhibitions of works by Coloured artists have been held.

"0 Alpha, March; and 1969-70 report of the National Council for the Care of Cripples in South Africa.

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SCHOOL EDUCATION FOR INDIANS

CONTROL IN THE CAPE

Until the current year, the Department of Indian Affairs has controlled Indian education in Natal and the Transvaal only. (There are no Indian residents of the Free State.)

Proclamation No. 3, of 9 January, provided that the Indians Education Act of 1965 would come into operation in the Cape Province as from 1 April 1970. Until now, Indian children in that province have attended schools for Coloured pupils. The Minister of Indian Affairs announced that separate schools would be established gradually in Indian group areas, the first of them to be opened in Port Elizabeth early in 1971.

(A full account of education for Indians was contained in the issue of Fiat Lux for November. This was received too late for the inclusion of its material in the account that follows.)

FINANCING OF INDIAN EDUCATION

At a graduation ceremony held at the M. L. Sultan Technical College the then Administrator of Natal said that more than R 15 000 000 was being spent on Indian education in the Republic. 'This would appear to be an under-estimate. The exact costs are impossible to determine, for some of them are included in the Department's general budget. The writer has, however, extracted certain items relating to education from the Departmental budget for 1970-1:1

Revenue Account

R
Salaries of administrative staff and teachers ... 12 328 500 Contributions to
pension and provident funds ... 59460 Maintenance of schools, and supplies ......
2 510600 Training of teachers .................. 515 000
Special education: subsidies ............... 98 300
M. L. Sultan Technical College .......... 687 000
University of Durban-Westville ............1 775 000
Miscellaneous ... ...................... 154 100
R18 127 960
Loan Account
Schools to be built by Public Works Department R9 155 600
1 Star, 8 January.
2 Fiat Lux, April.
3 R.P. 2/1970 Vote 21; R.P. 311970 Vote B.

SCHOOLS FOR INDIANS
Replying to questions in the Assembly on 28 July,' the Minister said that Indian
pupils received free text books and writing materials. The estimated costs to the
Department in 1970-1 were R590 565 for text books and R58 000 for library
books. The amount to be spent on writing materials for pupils was not stated.
On 20 February5 the Minister said that unit costs in 1968-9 (excluding capital
expenditure) were estimated to be:
R
Per primary pupil Per secondary pupil General average ...
... 58.00
... 89.00
... 70.30

SCHOOL ACCOMMODATION
The Chief Planner of Indian Education said in January6 that the Department was
geread to provide accommodation for every Indian child who was seeking
admission to school for a first time.
The number of classes in which double sessions operate has again been reduced.
The Minister said on 11 September that 541 teachers and 13 047 pupils were
involved in this system, in the following classes:
Sub-standards ............ 199
Standards I and II ............ 122
Standards III and IV .......... 47 Standards V and VI ............ 3
classes
P9

ENROLMENT AND DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS
The following figures were given by the Minister the percentages having been
calculated by the writer:
Clas,
Class I Class 2 Std. I Std. I Std. III
Std. IV Std. V
Number
18 483 15 196
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970

EXAMINATION RESULTS

On 11 September the Minister gave the information quoted below, relating to the examination results at the end of 1969 of Indian pupils in Natal and the Transvaal.

Natal  Transvaal  Total
Percentage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard VI</th>
<th>Candidates</th>
<th>Passed advanced grade</th>
<th>P9 ordinary grade</th>
<th>Failed</th>
<th>Junior Certificate</th>
<th>Candidates</th>
<th>Passed advanced grade</th>
<th>.. ordinary grade</th>
<th>Failed</th>
<th>11 020 4643 5 744 633 6 167 2627 1 271 2269</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

6 Natal Mercury, 20 January.
7 Hansard 8 col. 3922. 1 Hansard 2 cols. 528-9.
76.11 Combined total 157 891 100.00
227
Matriculation or Senior Certificate Candidates

- 1° Passed with merit
- A grade without merit
- 0 Grade

Qualified for university entrance

- 1 807

TEACHERS

The Minister said on 11 September" that 5 951 teachers were employed in schools for Indian students. Their qualifications were:

Primary schools

- Degree and professional training
- Degree without professional training
- Professional qualifications
- Matriculation or equivalent without professional training
- Other qualifications
- Below Matriculation and no professional training

Post-primary and teacher-training schools

No. % 234 5.5
12 3615
0.3 85.5
155 3.7 214 5.0

No. % 546 31.7
2.3 1031 59.9
28 1.6
4230 100.0 1 721 99.9

2 Hansard 8 cols. 3922-3. 10 There appears to be a minor error in the Hansard report, tentatively corrected here. 11 Hansard 8 cols. 3923-4.

INDIAN TEACHERS
On the same occasion the Minister said that the following senior posts were held by Indians:

Inspectors of schools ... 10 Acting Inspector ...... 1 Acting Subject Inspectors
2 Education Planner ...... 1 Principals .......... 349
Vice-Principals ...... 308 Heads of Departments ... 5 Professor ........ 1
Senior Lecturers ...... 20 Lecturers ........... 43
Junior Lecturers ...... 11

The salaries of Indian teachers are the same as for Coloured, described earlier. According to the issue of Fiat Lux for February, the two-year post-Junior Certificate course for Indian teachers was abolished in Natal in 1963 and in the Transvaal in 1968. The two-year postSenior Certificate course was abolished at the end of 1969.

The minimum course is now three years' post-Senior Certificate, during the third year of which the students specialize in kindergarten, or primary school, or lower secondary school work. These courses are available at the Springfield College in Durban and the Transvaal College of Education.

The M. L. Sultan Technical College in Durban provides a three-year post-Senior Certificate course for teachers of vocational or technical subjects and of physical education. Trained teachers may take one-year diploma courses in physical education or industrial arts at this college.

From 1970 the bursaries provided for these courses have been increased to R300 a year (they were previously R110 for each of the first two years and R130 for the third year).

The courses and the bursaries available at the University of Durban-Westville are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bursaries</th>
<th>Previous rate</th>
<th>New rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Three-year diploma courses for</td>
<td>R1 10 first year</td>
<td>R310 p.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>higher primary and second-year</td>
<td>R120 second year</td>
<td>R310 p.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or teachers of commercial subjects</td>
<td>R130 third year</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970
The new rates cover all expenses, including books. Transport bursaries and travelling loans are available, too. In 1970-1 the Department set aside about R500
000 for bursaries for student teachers, as against R212 400 the previous year. The sums awarded are not repayable if the teachers serve with the Department for at least one year more than the period during which the bursary was awarded. There are courses available at the University, too, in remedial education and school librarianship.

The Minister said on 11 September 12 that, at the end of 1969, 233 students qualified for primary school work, and 300 for high school work, at the Departmental Training Colleges. According to the issue of Fiat Lux for June the following teachers qualified at the university:
38 for primary school work;
13 for secondary school work;
1 for teaching commercial subjects;
10 obtained the U.E.D. (non-graduate);

ADULT EDUCATION
The Minister said on 11 September 14 that 1 809 Indian adults were attending academic secondary part-time classes.

12 Hansard 8 col. 3908.
13 Star, 10 and 12 December 1969.
14 Hansard 8 col. 3908.

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SCHOOL EDUCATION FOR
WHITE CHILDREN
FINANCING OF EDUCATION
The President of the Human Sciences Research Council informed the Institute of Race Relations' that in the fiscal year 1966-7 the expenditure by the State and the Provinces on education for whites was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Expenditure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cape</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free State</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Department of Higher Education
(including grants to universities and colleges) ... ... ...
To this amount should be added the capital expenditure and interest and redemption: the gross amount, for all racial groups combined, was R61 021 529. No information was available about the expenditure from private sources. On 20 February3 the Minister of National Education said that the unit costs in 1968-9 were:

Transvaal ............
Natal .... .... .... ....
Cape .... .... .... ....
Free State .... .... ....
State special schools ...... State schools of industries Reform schools .........

Average Secondary pupils

R  
191.00 248.00
285.85 369.42
266.38 243.70 1 261.08 1158.21 2 126.75

1 Letter W 8.5 of 21 August.
2 Now renamed Department of National Education.
3 Hansard 3 col. 1529.

Primary pupils

R 189.00 243.79

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Using these figures together with enrolment figures given by the Minister for 1968, Mr. Franz Auerbach has calculated that the provincial expenditure that year amounted to about R180 261 000, or R228.38 per pupil. All white school pupils receive text-books and stationery free of charge: according to the Minister of National Education, the cost to the provinces was R6 687 767 in 1969-70.1

ENROLMENT AND DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS

The following table has been compiled from figures furnished by the Human Sciences Research Council. It relates to the enrolment of white pupils in 1968 in provincial, provincial-aided, and private schools, and reformatories and industrial schools.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>% Class No. %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sub A ......</td>
<td>82 585</td>
<td>10.16 Std. VI .... 70726  8.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub B ......</td>
<td>75 977</td>
<td>9.35 Std. VII ...... 64 280  7.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. I ......</td>
<td>79 797</td>
<td>9.82 Std. VIII ...... 53 055  6.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. II ....</td>
<td>77 955</td>
<td>9.59 Std. IX ...... 38 227  4.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. III ...</td>
<td>76 086</td>
<td>9.36 Std. X ...... 29 898  3.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. IV ......</td>
<td>74 104</td>
<td>9.11 Special classes .... 8 333  1.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. V ...</td>
<td>68 540</td>
<td>8.43 Special and ad-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
justment classes 10 652  1.31 Unclassified ...  2 746  0.34
Total primary ...  545 696  67.13 Combined totals  812 961  100.00
In addition, 1 839 pupils were enrolled in special schools for handicapped children.
Questioned on 28 July the Minister of National Education said that the enrolment in the four provinces was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>505794</td>
<td>61.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>311 793</td>
<td>38.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>817587</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister did not indicate to what date these figures referred, nor the types of schools that were included.

MATRICULATION RESULTS

The Matriculation results in 1968, according to the Human Sciences Research Council, were:

WHITE TEACHERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Full-time</th>
<th>Part-time</th>
<th>Totals</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Candidates</td>
<td>36 940</td>
<td>4 199</td>
<td>41139</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

University entrance passes:

- 1st class ......... 4948  11  4959  12.1
- 2nd class .......... 8 239   258  8 497   20.6

School leaving passes:
- 1st class .......... 2054   31  2085   5.1
- 2nd or 3rd class ... 15466  1315  16781  40.8
- Failures .......... 6233   2584  8817  21.4

TEACHERS

The Council stated that the number of teachers in 1968 was:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Provincial schools</td>
<td>32 848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincial-aided schools</td>
<td>1 005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private schools</td>
<td>2424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special schools, reformatories, industrial schools ... 834 Vocational and technical schools (full-time teachers only) ... 1 930 Technical Colleges (full-time and part-time) ..........1 608</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40649</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Questioned in the Assembly on 28 July, the Minister of National Education gave the following information about the white teachers who qualified in 1969:

- 2 447 women and 692 men qualified.

Of these, 798 women and 328 men were university graduates.

Of the graduates, 80 women and 86 men had mathematics, physics, or chemistry as one or more of their major subjects.

There has been increasing public concern about the shortage of teachers in schools for white pupils. Large numbers have been resigning.
Salary increases were decided upon in 1969. These were originally to have been brought into effect over three years in some cases, but the Minister announced on 21 July that both the second and the third increments would come into effect from 1 April 1970.

Two examples of salary scales that applied to assistant teachers in high schools with at least three years' experience, just before this third increment was granted, are:

Teacher with matriculation and two years' further training:
- Man: R1 920 x 180 - 3 900
- Woman: R1470 x 90- 1560 x 180- 3360

Teacher with matriculation and four years' further training:
- Man: R3 000 x 180 - 4 620
- Woman: R2640 x 180 - 4080

Teachers in primary schools with equivalent qualifications were paid at slightly lower rates.

6 Hansard 2 cols 541-2.

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ADULT EDUCATION

According to the Report of the Department of Higher Education for 1969,’ during that year 24 392 white adults were attending part-time academic continuation classes.

7 R.P. 861 1969 pages 95 and 161.

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TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

WHITES

The Human Sciences Research Council states that, in 1968, there were 29 569 white pupils enrolled in Standard VI to X at vocational and technical schools, while technical colleges had 3 511 full-time and 30073 part-time students.

According to the 1969 Report of the Department of Higher Education,’ 98 adults were enrolled the previous year at the National Trade School for Adults at Westlake in the Cape.

Information about apprentices has been given in an earlier chapter. The Minister of National Education said on 15 September2 that the numbers of white students who passed the full National Technical Certificate examinations in 1969 were:

- N.T.C. I ........ 2312
- N.T.C. II .......... 3593
- N.T.C. III ....... 3324
- N.T.C. IV ........ 1523
- N.T.C. V .......... 678

No information is available about the number who were awarded technical or technological diplomas or certificates in various subjects.
COLOURED STUDENTS’
Departmental Vocational Schools
The Administration of Coloured Affairs provides technical education for apprentices at schools in Cape Town, Durban, Johannesburg, Kimberley, and Port Elizabeth. The combined enrolment at the end of 1968 was 2,324. Hostel accommodation is available. At these schools students prepare for examinations leading to the Administration's Technical Vocational Certificates Parts I, II and III (equivalent to the Department of National Education's Elementary Technical Certificate and N.T.C. I and II, respectively).

State-aided schools and continuation classes
Grants-in-aid are provided for indigent pupils who are attending R.P. 86/1969 page 159.
- Hansard 9 col. 4171.

This material is extracted from the book The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa: 1652 to 1970, published by the Institute of Race Relations, in which full references to sources of information are given.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970
vocational schools run by the churches. All of these are in the Cape. Six provide commercial and/or domestic science and needlework classes for girls, to the Standard VIII or X levels. Another three include in the curriculum commercial or technical subjects for boys. The total enrolment in May 1969 was 1,035 students. The Administration subsidizes continuation classes for apprentices, conducted at Grahamstown and Pietermaritzburg. At the end of 1968 there were 134 enrolled.

Comprehensive high schools
Four of the high schools, situated in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Worcester, and Kimberley, offer a technical Junior Certificate or Senior Certificate course, in which technical as well as academic subjects are included. If those who pass subsequently become indentured, the period of apprenticeship is shortened. At the end of 1968, 310 boys were taking technical subjects at these schools.

Twenty-eight high schools provide commercial as well as academic Junior and Senior Certificate courses.

Peninsula Technical College
The Peninsula Technical College offers full-time courses for teachers of commercial or technical subjects, or leading to the national diplomas for health inspectors or public health nurses. Bursaries, covering the full costs, are available. Part-time or full-time courses exist for apprentices in the printing, hairdressing, building, engineering, and other trades, in some cases to the N.T.C. V level. There are part-time or correspondence classes in public administration, accounting, and auditing.

The total enrolment early in 1969 was 68 full-time and 320 part-time students.

Technical examinations passed in 1969
The technical examinations passed by 1968 were:

| N.T.C. I | .......... |
| N.T.C. II | ........... |
N.T.C. III ... ... ... ... ... 
N.T.C. IV ... ... ... ... ... 
N.T.C. V ... 
National Technical Diploma ...
Elementary technical certificates Technical Senior Certificate ...
Printing diplomas ........
Public Health Nursing Diploma
Coloured students in 
... ... 366
... ... 184
.... .. 39
6
.... .. 85
4
... ... 67
... ... 11
The first five health inspectors qualified in 1970.
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TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Other courses
Short courses for caterers are available at Beiville, near Cape Town. The Peninsula Technical College provides training for boatswains, mates, skippers, and marine enginemen. Farm workers are trained at Kromme Rhee, near Stellenbosch.

INDIANS
Technical and vocational trade classes
The Minister of Indian Affairs said on 11 September' that the M. L. Sultan Technical College in Durban was providing technical or trade classes in 17 different subjects (which were listed). The M. L. Sultan High School at Stanger trained motor mechanics; while training in tailoring and carpentry was available at the School of Industries in Newcastle.
On the same occasion, the Minister said that at the Technical College in Durban there were 265 pupils enrolled in technical and 342 in commercial classes from Standard VI to X. The following examinations were passed at the end of 1969:
Commercial ... Technical ...
Junior Certificate
26 12
Senior Certificate
10
Other courses passed at the M. L. Sultan Technical College
The Minister added that students of the Technical College passed the following other examinations during 1969:
N .T.C. I ... ... ... ... ...
N .T.C. II ... ... ... ... ...
N.T.C. III ... ... ... ... ...
Courses for teachers of commerce ......
industrial arts ... home economics ... physical education Courses in medical
technology ........
for health inspectors ........
in tropical hygiene ...........
in public health nursing ........
for nursery school assistants ......
in advanced dressmaking ......
in hairdressing ...............
for chartered secretaries ......
for senior office assistants ......

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970
Courses for hotel and catering personnel are available, too.
According to its annual report for 1969, besides its headquarters in central Durban
the college has branches at ten other places, the total enrolment that year being 5
879. A new Division known as the Evening School for Commercial and
Academic Studies has been established to organize the part-time secondary
courses given at six centres.
From the end of 1970, the commercial high school attached to the college will be
closed, the pupils being transferred to Departmental high schools.

AFRICANS
Secondary school training in commerce
In an address given to the Institute of Race Relations,' Mr. L. A. Pepler of the
Department of Bantu Development said that 56 junior secondary and 19 senior
secondary schools offered commercial subjects as part of the curriculum.
The Minister stated on 18 September that, during 1969, 1 407 students in the
Republic (including the Transkei) passed the Commercial Junior Certificate, and
207 the Senior Certificate.

Trade schools
At the beginning of 1970 there were 15 trade schools run by the Department of
Bantu Education or the Transkeian Government, at which boys take courses
lasting two or three years, the entrance qualification being Standard VI (or
Standard VIII for electricians). Further schools are being planned: the Department
intends that there should be at least one trade school and one technical secondary
school in the homeland of each ethnic group.
According to information given by the Minister of Bantu Education and the Transkeian Education Department, the number of boys who passed the various courses in 1969 were:

- Concreting, bricklaying, and plastering: 170
- Carpentry, cabinet-making, and joinery: 136
- Plumbing, drain-laying, and sheet metal work: 50
- Electricians and housewiring: 11
- General mechanics: 92
- Leatherwork and upholstery: 32
- Tailoring: 33
- Paint and glas work: 14
- Brickmaking: 12


s Assembly. 15 September, Hansard 9 cols. 4168-9, and letter No. 29/1/2 dated 24 August from the Transkeian Education Department.

TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Courses have been started in panel beating and upholstery. The total enrolment at these schools was 2 149 in mid-1969. The Johannesburg municipality continues to run the Dube Vocational Training Centre: this is the only school for Africans in the country at which boys are trained to a level which enables them, before leaving, to enter for N.T.C. examinations. Most of the youths are absorbed in municipal service when they graduate: a few work on their own account. The enrolment in 1970 was 195. At the end of the year, 14 passed the final school examinations in building (most of them qualifying in plastering as well), 12 qualified as carpenters, 10 as plumbers, and 6 as electricians. In addition, 54 passed various subjects at the N.T.C. I level (or N.T.C. II for electricians), and 47 passed the National Bantu Building Workers’ examinations. Rotary Clubs presented 20 of the graduates with kits of tools.

The Durban municipality is starting five-year post-Junior Certificate courses for electricians, who will subsequently be employed in homeland townships only.

Technical secondary schools

There are six secondary schools in the Republic and two in the Transkei at which students may take a Technical Junior or Senior Certificate, combining academic and vocational subjects. (A few of these also operate as trade schools.) The technical subjects taken by boys are as described for trade schools, except that much less time is devoted to practical work. The subjects taken by girls are mentioned later.

According to the Minister, the successful candidates in 1969 (Republic and Transkei) were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Technical Junior Certificate</td>
<td>1 467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Senior Certificate</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vocational training for girls
It was stated in the September issue of the Bantu Education Journal that the following post-Standard VI courses are available for girls (excluding the Transkei):

- Dressmaking ........................................ 9 schools
- Home management ................................. 2 schools
- Needlework ........................................... 1 school
- Assistants in pre-school institutions .......... 3 schools

Bantu Education Journal, October, and information from the Transkeian Government. I0 Natal Mercury, 21 July.

'I Assembly, 18 September, Hansard 9 col. 4494.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970

The October issue stated that 533 girls in the Republic were enrolled for these courses in June 1969. Those who passed at the end of that year were:

- Home management ...... 22
- Dressmaking ......... 77
- Pre-school work ...... 20

Others passed at private schools or schools in the Transkei.

Other courses

Information about some other courses was given by the Minister on the same occasion. In this case, the Transkei is included.

Enrolled 1970  Passed in 1969
(Preliminary figures)

Surveying assistants ... 9 7
Health inspectors ... 82 23
Health assistants ... 83 44

A four-year post-Matriculation course for civil and agricultural engineering assistants was commenced in 1968 at a school at Seshego, near Pietersburg: 35 were enrolled in mid-1969.

At the same date there were 64 enrolled for training as radiotricians and 36 as watch-makers at the Vlakfontein school at Mamelodi, Pretoria. The first six watch-makers and repairers qualified at the end of 1969, three passing with distinction. Two of them are to be given specialist training in Switzerland before being appointed as instructors at the school."

Trade instructors for secondary schools are trained at the Boitseanape Training School near Mafeking. There were 17 students in 1970, 10 having qualified at the end of the previous year."3

A course for teachers of arts and crafts is available at the Ndaleni Training School in Natal: 25 students were enrolled in mid-1969.

As described in a subsequent chapter, bursaries are available for many of the courses described. A condition, for those training in the various trades, is that the recipients should afterwards work in the homelands. Africans who have served apprenticeships may not be employed in white areas (except, in some instances, the urban Bantu townships of such areas. The training of building workers for employment in urban townships is referred to in an earlier chapter.)

With financial assistance from the Bantu Investment Corporation, the Hotel Board is in 1971 to open a training centre at Ga
TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION
Rankuwa, near Pretoria, for waiters, wine stewards, and cooks.16
Preliminary training for workers in border industrial areas
According to an address by Dr. P. J. Riekert,17 the Economic Adviser to the
Prime Minister, during 1969, 673 Africans were given preliminary training in
textile work at the Bantu Education Department's school at Mdantsane, East
London, while another 131 received such training at a school at Madadeni, near
Newcastle. The latter school has begun preliminary courses for workers in the
wood pulp and paper industry.
1, Rand Daily Mail, 19 May. 17 On 27 August. Copies distributed by the State
Information Office.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION
FINANCING OF UNIVERSITIES
The report of the Commission of Inquiry into University Affairs has not been
published at the time of writing,1 but there were interim recommendations on
university finances.
Universities that cater wholly or mainly for white students have been finding it
increasingly difficult to find adequate sources of revenue. They have been losing
staff to better-endowed universities overseas, and unable to afford the buildings or
equipment needed. (The financing of the universities for Coloured, Indian, and
African students is dealt with in earlier chapters.)
Questioned in the Assembly on 10 February,’ the Ministers oI National
Education, Coloured Affairs, and Bantu Education gave provisional figures
indicating the amounts of the government subsidy per student at various
universities. (No information was furnished in respect of the university for
Indians.)
These figures were:
University of: R University of: R
Cape Town ...... 581 Stellenbosch ...... 609
Natal ............... 659 South Africa ...... 152
Orange Free State ... 583 Witwatersrand ...... 613 Port Elizabeth ......1 669
Fort Hare ...........1 867
Potchefstroom ...... 597 The North ...........1 072
Pretoria ............ 530 Western Cape ...... 928
Rand Afrikaans ... 1 895 Zululand ...........1 433
Rhodes .......... 789
The amounts for the Port Elizabeth and Rand Afrikaans universities were higher
than for others because they were still receiving foundation subsidies. The costs at
the non-white universities were initially very high, but have been decreasing with a rise in student enrolment.

The situation has shown some improvement in 1970. In the Estimates of Expenditure from Revenue Account for 1970-13 an amount of R47 146 000 was voted for the white universities, as against R31 039 320 the previous year. There was also an allocation of R538 512 for financial assistance for the provision of land, buildings, and equipment. In his Budget speech on 1 See 1968 Survey. page 253.

Hansard 2 cols. 628-9.
4 Including R550 000 for the (non-white) Natal Medical School.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

12 August5 the Minister of Finance announced increases in the allowable deductions from taxable income in respect of donations made to universities, and the purposes for which donations could be made to qualify for these concessions were broadened.

ENROLMENT AT UNIVERSITIES

The Registrars or other officials of the universities have kindly furnished enrolment figures as at the beginning of the second semester of 1970 (or in some cases as at the first Tuesday in June). Full-time and part-time students are included.

University of:

Cape Town  ...
Durban-Westville Fort Hare ......
Natal  ....  ...
Orange Free State Port Elizabeth ... Potchefstroom ... Pretoria ...
Rand Afrikaans Rhodes  ...
Stellenbosch ... South Africa6 ... The North ...
Western Cape ... Witwatersrand ... Zululand ......
Totals ......

Whites

7528
5 706 4 222 1 144 4212 12 500 1 322 1 803 7 827 17 899
9041

Coloured Asians Africans

291 148 2
1 654
610
43 331 163
40
584 1006 2397
810
936
29
293
5
Included with the Asian students (mainly Indians) were 163 Chinese students at the University of the Witwatersrand, 39 at Rhodes, 30 at Cape Town, 7 at Natal, and an unknown number at the University of South Africa.

DEGREES AND DIPLOMAS AWARDED

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 15 September, the Minister of National Education said that the following degrees and diplomas were awarded at the end of 1969 or early in 1970:

Post-graduate degrees ... Bachelors' degrees ... Post-graduate diplomas

Whites
2 143 646 1 007 1 132
Coloured
15
79 24
3
Asians
38 259 40 13
Africans
49 196 41 29

5 Hansard 4 col. 1544.

6 Correspondence classes only. Of the students, 1 470 (including 283 Africans) were from other countries. Hansard 9 col. 4171.

Total
7 969 1 654 610 6 243 4 222 1144 4212 12 500 1 322 1 843 7 827 21 886
810 936 9 368 591
83 137

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970

Among the post-graduate degrees awarded were at least two to African political prisoners on Robben Island.'

STATUTES OF UNIVERSITIES FOR NON-WHITE STUDENTS

Proclamation 194/1970 brought the University of DurbanWestville Act into operation as from 1 January 1971.

The statutes of the other new universities were gazetted in terms of the following Government Notices:

University of the Western Cape University of Fort Hare University of the North University of Zululand

G.N. G.N. G.N. G.N.
111 of 16 January 385 of 13 March 606 of 24 April 1532 of 18 September

STAFF AND SALARY SCALES
Questioned in the Assembly on 4 August, the Minister of Coloured Affairs stated that "the traditional policy of the country dictates differences in salaries" as between staff of the different racial groups. He gave the following examples, as at 30 June 1970:

**Senior Lecturer:**
- White: R5 400 X 300 - 6 600
- Coloured: R4 080 X 120 - 5 040

**Lecturer:**
- White:  
- Coloured:  

**Junior Lecturer:**
- White: R4 200 X 150 - 4 800 X 300 - 5 400
- Coloured: R2 880 X 120 - 3 900

No information was given about the scales for Indians and Africans: the former probably approximate to those for Coloured staff.

The non-white teaching staff employed at these universities at the end of 1969 or early in 1970 was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Professors</th>
<th>........</th>
<th>Senior Lecturers</th>
<th>......</th>
<th>Lecturers</th>
<th>..........</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western Durban</td>
<td>African</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Westville Universities</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8 Rand Daily Mail, 30 May. 'Hansard 3 col. 975. 10 Minister of Indian Affairs, Assembly 11 September, Hansard 8 col. 3924; and Bantu Education Journal, December 1969.

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**STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS**

**S.A. STUDENTS' ORGANIZATION (Saso)**

(The account that follows has been based, in the main, on a report by Mr. Clive Nettleton, Assistant to the Director of the Institute of Race Relations.)

Students at the new university colleges (for non-white students) became increasingly disenchanted with their representation on certain national student organizations. The university authorities would not allow their student bodies to affiliate to the National Union of S.A. Students (Nusas) - although some students became individual members. Nusas and the University Christian Movement were barred from their campuses. By Government decree. they were becoming increasingly isolated.

They found a dichotomy between principle and practice in Nusas. The turning point came at a conference in 1967 when (through no fault of Nusas) the African delegates were accommodated separately from the rest, in the African township. It was felt that Nusas was white-dominated. "Whites might talk about the erosion of freedom but for the blacks there was no freedom anyway, and the topic was
futile." In any case, Nusas had been unable to bring about any changes in the South African situation. It was considered that the time had come for blacks to do things for themselves, no longer relying on the altruism of a minority of white liberals. A go-between was not needed in the struggle for right and justice. A spokesman said, "It does not help us to see several quiet black faces in a multi-racial gathering which ultimately concentrates on what the white students believe are the needs of black students".

At its establishment in 1967, it was stated, the University Christian Movement (UCM) opened new avenues for contact, and within eighteen months had a black majority at its sessions. But this organization, too, was considered to be white-dominated. In any case it was primarily a religious group, concerning itself with ecumenical topics and the modernization of religious practice.

A (black) S.A. Students' Organization was, thus, formed at a conference held in July 1969. At the time, some delegates expressed the view that a division of the student body into separate laagers on the basis of colour was a tacit acceptance of defeat, and of the apartheid policy, and would widen existing gaps. The preamble to the constitution then adopted read (in summary) that the students of institutions of higher learning, while believing that any country should have one national student organization, nevertheless recognized that, owing to circumstances beyond their control, students at some non-white centres were unable to participate in the national organization.

During the ensuing year, this spirit of defensiveness disappeared. At the following conference, held from 5 to 10 July 1970, the general feeling was that black students must unite in order to face the problems they have encountered, first as students, and then as members of an oppressed community. They must promote community awareness, capabilities, achievement, and pride. In the long run this was likely to prove the most effective method of realizing themselves, in order that the various groups could ultimately come together on a basis of equal strength.

A new constitution was adopted. The term "non-white" was dropped; it was considered to be a denial of respect to the majority of South Africa's people. The new preamble (again in summary) stated that the Black students of institutions of higher learning believed that they had unique problems and aspirations, and that it was necessary for them to consolidate their ranks and reassert their pride and group identity.

Saso withdrew recognition of Nusas as a true national union, but instructed its executive to maintain such contact as was compatible with its own aims. It was considered that the role of white liberals was to fight for their own freedom, educate their white brothers, and serve as lubricating material.

According to Saso's constitution, the S.R.C.'s of the African, Coloured and Indian higher educational institutions will decide whether to affiliate on behalf of the
students. If there is no S.R.C., Saso will accept a majority decision of the student body. Individual members, too, are provided for. An official announced in August: that about one-third of the Black student population had already become affiliated.
Saso, he said, offered no competition to Nusas or the UCM for Black membership.
So far as the new universities are concerned, there are S.R.C.'s only at the Universities of the North and of Zululand and the Natal Medical School. For ten years, Fort Hare has been without one. It was reported in April that the students had again refused an appeal by the Rector to hold elections, claiming that there was still fear that members might be victimized, as they consider was done in the past.
At a meeting in August, Indian students of the university
Rand Daily Mail, 3 August. Ibid, 28 April.

STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS
of Durban-Westville again rejected plans for an S.R.C., maintaining that, in terms of the regulations for students, the Rector would have too much control.
An S.R.C. was elected at the (Coloured) University of the Western Cape in 1967, 1968, and 1969, but this body received diminishing support. Its constitution was considered to be too restrictive: it was seen as a "dummy body". Very few candidates stood for election in 1969, and the poll was extremely low (said to be about 20 per cent). No candidates at all offered themselves for election in 1970. During May, students staged a "sit-in" at the administrative block. They are said to have been demonstrating against various grievanceP. one being a desire for more responsible status for the student body and better channels of communication with the authorities. The Rector offered to meet a deputation of students to discuss this matter; the outcome has not been reported at the time of writing.

THE NATIONAL UNION OF S.A. STUDENTS (Nusas)
As described on page 221 of last year's Survey, the Nusas congress decided in 1969 to review its structure and function, for this purpose conducting a wide opinion survey.
The account that follows is based, in the main, on a report by Miss Janice Bruyns of the staff of the Institute of Race Relations, who attended the 1970 Nusas congress as an observer. It was held at Eston, near Pietermaritzburg, from 16 to 24 July (immediately after the Saso meeting). The Saso decisions were, thus, of much significance.
Delegates blamed apartheid for the emergence of Saso, and expressed opposition to this organization's policy of racial exclusiveness. Nevertheless, resolutions were adopted which recognized that Nusas, being dominated by white students, could not claim to represent black students effectively, except to the degree that the latter chose to participate. Insofar as the emergence of Saso worked towards a just and egalitarian society, it constituted a positive step in the realization of the
aspirations of black students towards an ultimate objective common to many South African students, irrespective of race: i.e. that of non-racialism. Saso was recognized as a body that would represent the views and needs of black students. The role of Nusas must be to try to keep the ideal of multi-racialism alive. The executive was instructed to seek the maximum contact and cooperation with Saso.

Turning, then, to its own affairs, after prolonged discussion Nusas adopted a new constitution which it described as a change

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in structure and ways of operating rather than one of basic philosophy. It was decided to adhere to the central affiliation by S.R.C.’s, but to form three new bodies which could be joined on an individual basis, without involving members in the affairs of Nusas as a whole. The organization would, thus, become more flexible.

The three new bodies are:
(a) Nused (the National Union of Students Education Department), which will promote the educational interests of students and guard their rights;
(b) Nuswel (the National Union of Students’ Welfare Department), which will engage in social and community action projects;
(c) Aquarius, envisaged as a cultural and intellectual forum.

The part played by Nusas and students of the English-medium universities in demonstrations against the continued detention of 22 Africans is described in an earlier chapter.

Students at these universities continue their social and welfare activities among Coloured and African communities.

UNIVERSITY CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT (UC.M.)
The University Christian Movement, too, has decided to carry on in spite of the emergence, at its 1970 conference, of ”Black awareness”. It is also facing criticism of its methods by supporting churches. But it feels that it must continue as a non-racial organization, standing as a continual reminder of the objectives which it upholds.

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF S.A. STUDENTS (NaFasas)
It was announced in May that students of the University of Stellenbosch had spear-headed a move to establish a new National Federation of S.A. Students, which would try to establish contact between all students, irrespective of colour or culture. An inaugural meeting was held in Cape Town. The organization has a federal structure, planning to have autonomous branches on the campuses of the various universities, and to provide a platform for meaningful dialogue. No attempt will be made to synthesize the political or other views of members.

AFRIKAANSE STUDENTEBOOND (AS.B.)
The Sunday Times reported on 5 July that its political reporter had found leading members of the A.S.B. to be confused on major political issues at their congress held in Port Elizabeth during July. It was possible, he said, that the majority were inclined to support a verkrampte philosophy.

During June, a delegation from the A.S.B. visited Malawi for discussions with student councils and university authorities there. In a referendum held in June, students of the University of Stellenbosch rejected a proposal that the university should re-affiliate to the A.S.B. The percentage poll was only 38.3.

STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS
inclined to support a verkrampte philosophy.

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 15 September, the Minister of Bantu Education said that his Department had granted the following bursaries in 1969:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-repayable grants</td>
<td>R48 800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loan bursaries</td>
<td>R61 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School pupils</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students at teacher-training institutions</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students at universities</td>
<td>586</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among the school pupils receiving grants were those taking special pre-Form IV courses in science and mathematics, and students taking various vocational or technical courses.

The Transkeian Government offers 25 new bursaries a year, of amounts ranging from R120 to R200 annually, to students taking senior teaching courses at the University of Fort Hare. Like those offered in the Republic, the bursaries need not be repaid if the recipients subsequently teach in the Department's service for a period equal to that during which they received assistance. Further study grants are made available by the Xhosa Development Corporation to Xhosa-speaking students who take degrees in science or commerce that include specified major subjects.

The Department of Bantu Administration and Development pays the salaries of engineering technicians in training, who must enter its service afterwards. It grants bursaries to university students taking specified subjects who agree thereafter to work for the Department or a Territorial Authority, or continues paying the salaries of serving officials who want to improve their qualifications by part-time or full-time university training. The Minister said on 18 September...
that his Department, Territorial Authorities, and the Transkeian Government had awarded 134 such bursaries or study-grants in 1970, while continuing to pay 95 awarded in previous years.
The Department of Health provides bursaries for Africans training as health inspectors or assistants; and the Department of National Education does so for medical students.
1 Hansard 9 col. 4160.
3 Hansard 9 col. 4492.

BURSARY FUNDS
It was reported in the Rand Daily Mail of 1 December that few students from the towns were applying for Departmental bursaries for study at schools in the homelands. They feared that attendance at such institutions would prejudice their urban residential rights.
A Departmental official replied that these residential rights would not be lost if, before leaving, the students went, with their parents, to the office of the township superintendent and produced satisfactory written proof that they were entitled to be in the area concerned and that their names were on their parents' house permits.

CONDITIONS IMPOSED BY THE STATE FOR BURSARIES AWARDED BY LOCAL AUTHORITIES TO AFRICANS
The only way in which the Bantu Education Department has in the past been involved in the award of bursaries by local authorities was that it reserved the right to approve of the awards made, for the reason that a lot of money had been wasted through bursaries having been granted to unsuitable candidates. The Department has records of each student, built up through the application of a specially devised battery of ability tests, mainly in Std. VI and Form III, and is able to give advice in the selection of students for awards. This decision was, apparently, reached after discussions with local authorities.
On 6 May, however, the Department of Bantu Administration and Development sent a circular to all local authorities dealing with study loans or bursary awards made by them from their Bantu Revenue Accounts. The new procedure is to apply as from 1 January 1971.
Pupils up to the Senior Certificate level
Before 15 October of each year, a local authority must inform the Department of Bantu Education what amount it proposes to allocate to bursaries, and must submit schedules of all applications received, divided according to the "national units" of the applicants, and giving full information about each, including the desired course of study and school to be attended. The Department's vocational division will indicate which of the applicants may receive bursaries. In order to ensure that pupils are trained for occupations in which there is a shortage of manpower in the Bantu homelands, the Department will pay special attention to the courses of study that applicants wish to pursue. It will indicate which school is best equipped to provide this course.
At the end of the first and the second school quarters, the local authorities must submit full reports on the progress made by each recipient of an award. The Department will decide whether the bursary should be continued. Every person who receives a bursary will be required to

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serve the territorial or other authority of his national unit for a period equal to that for which the bursary was made available.

(N.B. This will mean that a child born in a town will lose his residential rights there.)

Bursaries for post-Senior Certificate studies

Local authorities that wish to provide bursaries for postSenior Certificate or Matriculation studies must allocate the funds direct to the territorial authorities, after the expenditure has been approved by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. The territorial authorities will make the awards in accordance with their requirements and conditions, and will administer them.

(N.B. There is no guarantee that a bursary will go to a student from the town that provided the money.)

Local authorities will no longer be allowed to grant study loans to Africans from their Bantu Revenue Accounts.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Education said in the Assembly on 29 September 4 that the Cape Town and Johannesburg Municipalities had made representations to him in connection with this directive.

STATE BURSARIES AVAILABLE TO COLOURED STUDENTS

The types of bursaries that are available to Coloured students have been described in previous chapters. There is no recent information about the numbers awarded.

STATE BURSARIES AVAILABLE TO INDIANS

According to the Minister of Indian Affairs, the bursaries that were awarded by his Department in 1969 were:

Non-repayable
grants Loan bursaries
School pupils ... ... ... ... 2 522
Students at teacher-training institutions ... ... ... ... 845 306
Students at universities ....... 299 85
Other Students .............. 134 34
Total amounts .......... R201 889 R70 854

NATIONAL STUDY LOANS AND BURSARIES FUND

In reply to questions in the Assembly on 14 August, the Minister of National Education indicated that, by 31 July, donors had contributed R141 219 to the National Study Loans and Bursaries Fund. (In terms of the relevant Act, of 1964, the State contributed an initial amount of R500000.) The committee

* Hansard 11 col. 5250.
Assembly Hansard 8 cols. 3908-9.
Hansard 4 cols. 1733-4.
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BURSARY FUNDS

appointed to administer the Fund had, thus far, made the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Loans</td>
<td>533</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bursaries</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

EDUCATION INFORMATION CENTRE

The Education Information Centre, established towards the end of 1967, has its offices at the headquarters of the Institute of Race Relations.

It has prepared, and continually brings up to date, a detailed register of bursary funds, public and private, that are available to Coloured, Indian, and African students. This has enabled it, not only to let potential donors know in which fields and areas new bursaries are most needed, but also to advise students about the funds most likely to be able to assist them. During the year ended September 1969, 1,126 requests for such information were answered. Vocational guidance was provided for other students.

Where possible, jobs are found for applicants who have at least a Junior Certificate qualification, and vacation employment for students.

The Centre administers several funds, including the Bridgman Grant for nurses, bursaries made available by the S.A. Association of University Women (Johannesburg Branch), and a contingency fund for students in any special need.

ISAACSON FOUNDATION BURSARY FUND

The Isaacson Foundation Bursary Fund, administered by the Institute of Race Relations, awards grants to Africans resident in Johannesburg or within a radius of 40 miles who have passed the Junior Certificate and wish to Matriculate, and interest-free loans to African residents of the Republic who are studying for a degree other than medicine.

In 1970, 34 new university loan bursaries were awarded, involving an expenditure of about R6,020, and 21 previously awarded bursaries were continued at a cost of approximately R3,909. The new school bursaries approved totalled 53, costing about R4,558. Another 33 bursaries, costing R2,208, were being continued. A few further awards were made for vocational courses.

In addition, the Fund administers bursaries sponsored by the Johannesburg Rotary Club.

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OTHER BURSARY FUNDS ADMINISTERED BY THE INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

Details of other bursary funds administered by the Institute of Race Relations were published in the memorandum RR 94/1970. They include:

Cape Eastern Region:
Grahamstown Foundation
Emily Hobhouse Bursary Fund

Cape Western Region:
Cape Western Race Relations Bursary Fund

Frieda Whitehead Non-European Educational Trust

Natal Region:
NOTES ON BURSARIES AVAILABLE FROM OTHER SOURCES
The latest issue of the Register compiled by the Education Information Centre lists 60 sources from which school pupils may be granted bursaries, and 90 for post-Matriculation study. Some of these are of particular interest in that they were founded by African, Indian, or Coloured people.

The Rand Bursary Fund, established and run by African teachers, is sponsored by the Rand Daily Mail. It assists students from the Witwatersrand, Pretoria, and the Vaal Triangle by making small grants of R20 a year to school pupils and R100 to R200 to student teachers. In 1968 it was assisting 1 089 students, but the number fell to 636 in 1969 because of a high rate of failures. Africans in Cape Town have formed a similar fund.

The Suliman Ebrahim Memorial Trust in Pretoria awarded 26 new bursaries in 1970, to Indian, Coloured, and white students studying medicine, pharmacy, or other subjects.

The S.A. Coloured Advancement Trust has been mentioned in previous issues of this Survey. More recently established funds are those created by the Transvaal Association of Coloured Teachers and the Coloured community of Natal.

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HEALTH
MALNUTRITION
The Institute of Race Relations has published an address by Professor J. V. O. Reid, Professor of Physiology at the Natal Medical School, entitled Malnutrition. In this, Professor Reid pointed to the social causes: poverty, ignorance, and disease. He emphasized the impact of the change from settled tribal life after the influences of the Western economy became felt. "There is reason to believe", he said, "that the endorsing out of Africans to Reserve areas is exacerbating the malnutrition seen there, and undoubtedly the population increase is contributing to the problem. Moreover, surveys have repeatedly shown the importance of the lack of family stability and responsibility in causing malnutrition to occur in families in which the father is separated from the family".

In a Press interview, Professor Reid said that the death rate for African children in the Reserves was 25 times that of white children. Tuberculosis, which had a link with malnutrition, was ten times as common among Africans as whites.

At a meeting in July, Professor J. Smythe, Professor of Paediatrics at the Natal University, pointed to the importance of proper feeding during the first eight
months of a child's life. Malnutrition during this period could result in permanent mental impairment, he said. He outlined experiments undertaken on two groups of Cape Coloured children, one group grossly malnourished, and the control group better nourished, but still below their proper weight. The children were now 15 or 16 years old. The grossly malnourished children's brain sizes were, on average, nine cubic inches smaller than those in the other group, he said. I.Q. tests gave the control group 20 more points than the grossly malnourished, and school achievements followed the same pattern.

The problem of malnutrition has again been exacerbated by drought. A map published in the Rand Daily Mail on 18 July showed the "distressed areas" to cover practically all of the Cape Province, the southern half of the Transkei, three-quarters of the Free State, and all the north-eastern Transvaal. Reports from a number of mission hospitals were quoted on pages 231 et seq of last year's Survey. During February, publicity was given to a report by Dr. Guy Daynes, the medical superintendent of St. Lucy's Hospital at St. Cuthbert's Mission near Tsolo in the Transkei. He talked of widespread hunger and malnutrition.

1 Topical Talks No. 22.
2 Rand Daily Mail, 13 March.
3 Ibid, 28 July.
' Argus and Star of 21 February.

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Tuberculosis had reached epidemic proportions, he said. His staff had recently X-rayed everyone over the age of six months in a village in the district, and had found that the incidence of this disease was more than 20 per cent. There had been a three-fold increase in the number of kwashiorkor cases over the past eighteen months. Only the dying and the critically-ill could be admitted to the hospital. Conditions were probably worse in the drier areas, and in remote parts of the territory where modern medical care was not available.

In his annual report Dr. F. L. Wollston, the then acting medical superintendent of St. Michael's Hospital near Kuruman in the NorthWestern Cape, said, "I am shocked at the number of cases of malnutrition, of the deficiency diseases kwashiorkor, pellagra, scurvy (often severe), of skin infections, scabies and - at one time anthrax; of the ravages of simple infections such as measles and chicken pox in protein-deficient children." Half of the patients admitted to the hospital should never have been ill. Many of those treated for malnutrition returned, sometimes in only a few weeks, as bad as, or worse than before.

Two reporters of The Star wrote on 1 July about a tour of Reserves in the Pietersburg district. The crops planted had yielded little or nothing because of the drought, they said. The people were living almost exclusively on mealie-meal and the wild spinach-like plant called morongo where this was available. Meat was a rare luxury for many, and milk practically never available. Fuel was very scarce, and the fetching and carrying of water played a large part in the daily activity of many women. Almost every family interviewed relied on remittances (less than R10 a month in most cases) sent by breadwinners working outside the area.
GOVERNMENTAL MEASURES FOR RELIEF

The Minister of Finance said in the Assembly on 24 August' that in order to reduce the cost of foodstuffs, subsidies amounting to nearly R66 000 000 were being provided in 1970-1 for dairy products, wheat, maize, and other agricultural produce.

The preventive health services to be organized in African Reserves have been described in an earlier chapter. According to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development7 his department does not give direct nutritional assistance, but operates through territorial authorities. The Venda, Lebowa, and Matshangana Territorial Authorities in the Northern Transvaal were issuing soup and milk powder, mealiemeal, and oranges to those in dire need, he said, and providing relief work for people who could not compete on the open labour market. The Department of Health had decided to extend the milk powder scheme to mission hospitals.

5 Quoted in The Star, 11 November.
6 Hansard 6 col. 2392.
1 15 September, Hansard 9 col. 4165.

WORK FOR RELIEF OF MALNUTRITION

In terms of this scheme, skimmed milk powder is sold at about one-third cost price to certain bodies that agree to distribute it to those in need. Questioned on 15 September,8 the Minister of Health said that 157 local authorities in white areas, and eight Bantu authorities, were participating in the scheme, distributing the milk powder to needy pre-school children. In the financial year 1969-70, 1 631 784 lb. had been distributed at a cost to the Government of R81 589.

The Minister of Coloured Affairs said on 20 February' that, during 1969, about 3 500 000 vitamin tablets were distributed to some 50 000 needy Coloured children at a cost of R3 410.

In a Press interview given during March,10 Professor J. V. O. Reid maintained that the Government should have done much more. He pointed out that kwashiorkor was no longer a notifiable disease, while pellagra was never made notifiable. The Department of Nutrition had been disbanded, school feeding had been abolished, the subsidization of important foods had been inadequate, and none of the staple foods had been fortified.

It was reported in September" that the National Nutrition Research Institute had devised a formula in terms of which a Pretoria firm was manufacturing a powder called PVM (proteins, vitamins, and minerals). A little of this added to mealiemeal produced a balanced diet, it was claimed.

RELIEF MEASURES BY THE TRANSKEIAN GOVERNMENT

(The account given here has been compiled from replies to questions given by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development,12 from announcements by the Transkeian Chief Minister and Minister of the Interior, and from numerous Press reports.)

Originally, in 1970-1, the Transkeian Government voted R250 000 for relief measures, but later decided to double this sum.
Between May and November of 1969, and again after 1 August 1970, about 360,000 pre-school and school children in the districts worst hit by drought were given vitamin fortified food daily. In the latter part of 1970 the subsidized milk powder scheme was extended to all mission hospitals. Relief work has been provided on road building and other construction projects, giving employment to between 8,000 and 12,000 people at different periods. Until 1 August they were paid 25 cents a day and given a free meal: since then the wage has been raised to 30 cents a day. In the latter part of the year the Government was spending about R45 000 a month on this scheme.

More boreholes have been sunk in the drought-stricken areas. Where necessary, stockfeed has been provided, or stock moved to

Hansard 9 col. 4158.
Hansard 3 col. 1534.
i, Rand Daily Mail, 13 March.
"Star, 14 September.
t2 Assembly, 27 February, Hansard 4 col. 2085.

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areas where grazing was available. (As mentioned in the chapter dealing with agriculture in the Reserves, the stock losses have, nevertheless, been very severe.) The Government has subsidized the ploughing of land.

CHURCHES AND MISSIONS
From 23 to 30 August the member-churches of the S.A. Council of Churches held a week of compassion for those suffering from the grinding effects of poverty. Thereafter, Inter-Church Aid held national consultations, at the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre, to consider in what ways the various churches and missions might best tackle the problem.13

Inter-Church Aid has channelled funds and donations of food and clothing to the most needy areas and resettlement townships. Some special projects have been undertaken in the Eastern Cape. The Transkei Council of Churches started a feeding scheme for the younger children in Umtata's African township, Ngangelizwe, providing each with a cup of fortified soup and a slice of bread daily.14

A Roman Catholic missionary, with two helpers, set up an advice office in the Sundays River Valley to help Africans who were well-nigh destitute when citrus farmers left because of the drought. Emergency rations were distributed.1

A priest of the Lumko Mission near Lady Frere in the Glen Grey District has been teaching the people to build small dams, providing rations for those who do so. Help has been given in many other areas, too, for example the Northern Cape, Sekhukhuneland, and the Northern Transvaal. Fortified food has been sold at cost price, feeding schemes organized for children, food parcels and rations supplied to families in dire need, and donated foods distributed. OTHER FEEDING SCHEMES

Voluntary organizations, whose work has been described in previous issues of this Survey, have continued to run feeding schemes in urban areas: these include the
African Children's Feeding Scheme on the Witwatersrand, the Peninsula School Feeding Association and Nyanga Feeding Club in the Cape Town area, the Grahamstown Area Distress Relief Association, Kupugani, the Red Cross, the Save the Children Fund, and voluntary committees and people in a number of towns.

TBURCULOSIS

It was mentioned on page 233 of last year's Survey that between 1968 and 1969 the number of notifications of tuberculosis dropped among whites, Coloured, and Asians, but again increased among Africans. According to the annual report of the S.A. National Tuberculosis Association (Santa) for the year ended 31 March, during 1969 there was a slight decrease for all groups, the number of notifications being 836 whites, 7,063 Coloured, 976 Asians, and 59,970 Africans. (In view of the reports quoted earlier from the Transkei, it appears questionable whether all cases in remote African areas are notified.)

In 1969, Santa was running the following settlements, with the aid of Government subsidies:

Centre Beds
Africans ...... 20 5051
Coloured ...... 11 1 940
Indians ...... 1 169
Whites ...... 1 26

(Other beds exist in government institutions. Treatment is given, too, at Government and mission clinics, and school children found to be in need of it are given B.C.G. treatment.)

EYE DISEASES

In a report made in March Mr. S. K. Wentworth, director of the S.A. National Council for the Blind, described the success achieved in remote African areas, especially in the Northern Transvaal, by his Association's mobile eye clinics and African social workers. Africans in the last stages of trachoma were today seldom found, he said. Blindness among Africans had, during the last twenty years, been cut from as much as 20 cases in 1,000 people to the present figure of 3.5.

HOSPITALS

According to the Hospital and Nursing Year Book of Southern Africa, 1970, the number of hospital beds in 1970 was as given below. (The tables have been summarized by the writer.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Republic</th>
<th>Provincial</th>
<th>Private and aided</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>16,773</td>
<td>16,423</td>
<td>11,380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-whites</td>
<td>28,423</td>
<td>32,696</td>
<td>32,696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>45,196</td>
<td>45,119</td>
<td>44,076</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Government (leper, mental, tuberculosis) 9 166 17 665 26 831 Other mental hospitals .......... 1 096 2 561 3 657
Chamber of Mines of S.A .......... 270 9215 9485
S.A. Tuberculosis Association ...... - 7 125 7 125
Sub-total .......................... 38 685 97685 136 370

16 Star, 16 March 17 Pub. H. MacCarthy Publications (Pty.) Ltd.

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South West Africa
State .............................. 200 2598 2798
Aided, mine, mission, private ...... 803 1 776 2 579
Sub-total
1003 4374 537

Total .............................. 39 688 102 059 141747

A description was given in the chapter on the African Reserves of the assistance being given by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development to mission hospitals in these areas. The Department is itself building further hospitals. According to the Year Book, in 1970 there were 69 hospitals in the Reserves with 12 more in the building or planning stage.

The Minister said on 21 July 19 and on other occasions that all provincial hospitals in the African Reserves were to be transferred to his department, to be administered on its behalf by the Department of Health. Regional hospitals have been or are to be built in the larger urban African townships or in Reserves nearby to replace the African sections of urban provincial hospitals as well as non-white hospitals that are considered to be wrongly sited.

Some of the new regional hospitals built or planned and the areas they serve are:
(a) Transvaal: Ga Rankuwa (Pretoria area), Kwa Thema, Springs (East Rand), near Krugersdorp (West Rand), Tembisa (northern Johannesburg, southern Pretoria, and smaller towns in the vicinity), and hospitals near Potgietersrus, Letaba, and Phalaborwa (Baragwanath will remain);
(b) Cape: Mdantsane near East London, Pampierstad near Taung, and one near Kuruman;
(c) Natal: Umlazi and Inanda near Durban, Hammarsdale, and Madadeni near Newcastle.

Two of the "wrongly sited" hospitals that will have to close as a result of this policy are the Betania Lutheran Hospital near Dundee, and the Edenvale Hospital to the east of Johannesburg. There has been considerable public protest about the latter decision: Tembisa is 17 miles from Edenvale and no adequate transport facilities exist. In this case, as in most of the others, urban Africans needing hospital attention will have to travel considerably further than they did formerly, and will be involved in inconvenience and additional expense.

United Party members of the Transvaal Provincial Council have strongly opposed this plan. They have pointed out, too, that the scales of fees in provincial hospitals are inequitable. Non-whites whose family incomes are less than R750 a year are marginally
HEALTH PERSONNEL
better-off than are whites in this respect, but middle-class nonwhites have to pay more than do whites in the same income brackets, because no allowance is made for their dependants.

HEALTH SERVICES PERSONNEL
The registers maintained by the S.A. Medical and Dental Council do not record the racial groups of the persons concerned. According to a letter from the Registrar," the personnel registered at the end of 1969 was:

Medical specialists ... Medical practitioners ... Dental specialists ... Dentists ... Chiropractors ... Cyto-Technicians ... Dieticians ... Food Inspectors ... Health Inspectors ... Masseurs ...

Medical Physicists ... Medical Technologists ... Occupational Therapists ... Optometrists ... Orthopaedic Mechanicians ... Orthoptists ... Physiotherapists ... Psychologists ... Psychometrists ... Radiographers and supplementaries ... Therapeutic Radiographers ... Remedial Gymnasts ... Speech Therapists and Audiologists ...

MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS AND DENTISTS
Speaking at the M. L. Sultan Technical College, the then Administrator of Natal said that there was about one non-white doctor to every twenty whites in South Africa. So far as Indians were concerned, in 1968 there were 385 medical practitioners, 59 interns, and 14 dentists.

In reply to questions in the Assembly on 28 July, the Minister of National Education said that the following medical and dental students were enrolled at South African universities in 1970:

Medical students
University of Cape Town ... University of Natal ... University of Pretoria ... University of Stellenbosch ... University of the Witwatersrand

Dental students
University of Pretoria ... University of the Witwatersrand
Whites Coloured
... 781 98
... 31
1 819
430 888
3 12
20 Mr. D. Epstein, M.P.C., as quoted in The Star, 30 July. 21 No. 0. 15/69 of 29
July. ^2 Fiat Lux, April. 23 Hansard 2 cols. 539-40.
119
9
1 049
74
7
906
141
8
209
Asians
53 236
Africans
157

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970
(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 following students qualified at the end of 1969 or early in 1970, the Minister
continued:
M.B., Ch.B.  Whites Coloured Asians Africans
University of Cape Town ........ 99 8 13
University of Natal .......... 4 22 8
University of Pretoria .... ...... 111 - -
University of Stellenbosch .......... 52 -
University of the Witwatersrand .... 102 - 1
Dentistry
University of Pretoria .... ...... 12 -
University of the Witwatersrand ... 36
According to the University of Natal, since 1957, when its first medical students
graduated, until June 1970, those who have obtained the degrees of M.B., Ch.B.
there total 154 Indians, 129 Africans. 19 Coloured, and 1 Chinese. Five Indians
(including two women) have been awarded M.D. degrees; and two Indian and one
Coloured men the degree of M.Med.
A schedule of the salaries payable to interns, medical officers. and specialists of
the various racial groups who are employed in provincial hospitals was published
in the issue of Race Relations News for January. Events leading to the
introduction of new scales were described on pages 235 et seq of last year's
Survey. Until these scales were revised vacation bonuses were payable to white
doctors only: since 1970 they have become payable, too, to Coloured and Asian
doctors, but not to Africans unless they have been appointed to the permanent
staff. It appears that no such appointments have been made in the Transvaal: the
position in the other provinces has not been reported. On learning of this
discrimination, several of the Coloured and Indian doctors refused to accept their
bonuses.4
As described on page 113 of last year's Survey, in terms of a circular issued to
local authorities by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development in
July 1969, Africans who complete professional training are being allowed to
practise in urban townships only if they qualify for residential rights there.
Otherwise, unless especially exempted, they are supposed to offer their services in
the homelands.
Questioned in the Assembly on 10 February,25 the Minister of Health said that
eleven white, twelve African and two Coloured doctors were practising in Soweto
(to serve a population of more than 556,000). There are a number of clinics; but
the service is
24 Rand Daily Mail. 14 and 18 November. 2-1 Hansard 2 col. 615.
262
MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS AND DENTISTS
clearly highly inadequate. According to the Press,6 only five doctors are serving
almost 200,000 Africans in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, and only two are
practising among the Africans of Bloemfontein.
Because there are so few Coloured and African doctors, Indians have been
fulfilling a great need by setting up practices to serve people of these groups.
During 1970 several Indian doctors have been prosecuted for occupying
consulting rooms illegally, in terms of the Group Areas Act.
According to the Minister of Community Development and the Press7 the
Coloured community of about 1,833 families at Reiger Park, Boksburg, has been
served by one full-time Indian and two part-time white doctors, all of whom had
consulting rooms in the area. During January, the Indian was prosecuted,
sentenced to R100 or 50 days, and given six months within which to leave. The
Coloured Consultative Committee apparently wanted him to go, but very many of
the residents did not, and there were protests and appeals to the Government.
Eventually, when it became clear that no Coloured doctor was available, the
Indian was granted a permit to continue to use his consulting rooms.
There were reports in August8 that three Indian doctors who served very large
African communities in the Bergville and Mooi River areas and at Cato Ridge in
Natal were likely to have to leave by the end of 1970 because two of them were
using consulting rooms in white areas, and the premises of the third had been
expropriated to make room for a highway.
Mrs. Helen Suzman raised this whole matter in the Assembly. The Minister of
Community Development said,29 "Where any population group is able to provide
its own needs in respect of medical or any other kinds of services, disqualified
persons are required to vacate the area. If no member of the group concerned is
available to serve the community, applications by disqualified persons to occupy
premises are sympathetically considered on merit." (It is not clear whether this
department has established any ratio to determine the "needs" of a community.)
On 24 July the Minister of Health said" that, including personnel seconded by
the provincial administrations, his department was employing 92 white medical
practitioners, 10 Indians and Coloured, and 3 Africans in the homelands. There
were no statistics relating to the number of doctors in private practice in these
areas.
It was announced in August3' that the Commonwealth
2.; Star, 27 May; Friend, 16 July.
Assembly 24 July, Hansard 1 col. 350; Sunday Times. 21 June; Star, 6 June. 28
Rand Daily Mail, 7, 13, and 15 August.
30 Hansard 1 col. 347.
31 Rand Daily Mail, 11 August.
263
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970
Medical Association had expelled South Africa and Rhodesia because of
discrimination in medical services: the separate hospitals and medical schools that
were maintained, for example, and the refusal to mix blood from white and non-
white donors in transfusion services. The delegate from South Africa pointed out
that membership of the S.A. Medical Association was open to doctors of all racial
groups.
NURSES
According to information furnished by the S.A. Nursing Council2 the following
personnel was registered as at 31 December 1969 (men and women being grouped
together): Coloured and
Whites Asians Africans
General nurses, many with
additional qualifications 21 892 2 103 9 205
Psychiatric and mental nurses 1 369 45 347
Midwifery training only ... 1 243 307 1 692
Total ................ 24504 2455 11244
The following students were registered:
Coloured and
Whites Asians Africans
General nurses .......... 3 980 1 296 3 721
Midwives ............... 785 257 986
Questioned on 14 August,33 the Minister of Health said that the percentages of
shortages of women nurses in State and provincial hospitals as at 31 March 1970
were: Percentage shortage:
Coloured and
Whites Asians Africans
Transvaal ............... 12.60 33.14 11.02
Free State ... ....... 16.50 - 15.00
Cape ... .... ...... 15.05 0.60
It was stated in a report by the S.A. Nursing Association in June 4 that there was:
1 African nurse for every 1 186 Africans;
1 Coloured nurse for every 1 039 Coloured people;
1 white nurse for every 152 whites.
32 Letter S. 236 of 19 June.
33 Hansard 4 col. 1742.
24 Star, 9 June.
264

More than 32 per cent of the registered nurses (the majority white) did not
practise, and an "excessively high" proportion of nurses abandoned the profession
while they were still in training. The Association stated that it was negotiating for
better salaries and working conditions.
In reply to a question in the Assembly on 24 July" the Minister of Health provided
a full schedule of the salary scales that then applied. Some extracts, relating to
women, are: Student nurse
White: R1 020 X 90- 1200 X 120- 1680
Coloured and Indian: R 534 X 42- 660 X 60- 720
African: R 366 X 42- 576
Sister
White: R2 040 X 120- 3 000
Coloured and Indian: R 960 X 60 - 1 500 African: R 840 X 60-1 200
It was announced in October that pay increases were to be granted, and backdated
to April. The new scales have not been published at the time of writing.
Until November 1970, the Matriculation qualification was not essential for
acceptance for training for the general nursing diploma, although preference was
given to those who had Matriculated. A three-year course was then taken at
general hospitals with, usually, an additional six months for Africans. This
arrangement has been changed. All entrants who have Matriculated are given a
three-year course. Those who have passed Standard VIII may take a twoyear
auxiliary nursing course. If they are successful, they may proceed to take the full
three-year course on the same basis as the Matriculants.
During 1971, mothercraft training is to become available to African nurses, at the
Grootheuk Mission Hospital near Pietersburg, and the Glen Grey Mission
Hospital in the Ciskei.3” NOTES ON TRAINING OF PARA-MEDICAL
PERSONNEL
Coloured women radiographers are now being trained at the Somerset Hospital in
Cape Town and the Livingstone Hospital in Port Elizabeth. They take the same
National Diploma as do whites. but, as is usual in State and provincial service,
their salaries are lower.37
The Institute for Medical Research is to provide a four-year course for African
medical technologists at the new Tembisa Hospital.38
A training school for non-white physiotherapists has been opened by the Natal
Provincial Administration.9
The Maintenance Amendment Act, No. 39 of 1970, extended to Africans in South West Africa the provisions of the principal Act of 1963 relating to the protection of wives (including customary wives) and children.

The rates of grants, in terms of the Act, were given by the responsible Ministers in the Assembly on 6 February.' Questioned on 7 August,2 these Ministers gave the information that follows, relating to 1968-9 for whites, and to 1969-70 for Coloured and Africans (and, presumably, Indians: the year was not stated in their case):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance grants</td>
<td>6 827 137</td>
<td>4 261 676</td>
<td>2 221 321</td>
<td>309 761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family allowances</td>
<td>1 108 661</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child welfare services</td>
<td>1 606 193</td>
<td>1 574 576</td>
<td>72676</td>
<td>135 200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number of beneficiaries

| Maintenance grants | 10879 | 16379 | 8331 | 3 101 |
| Family allowances  | 1 999 | -     | -    | -     |

A fairly high proportion of the maintenance grants is paid to unmarried mothers.

Series of questions were put to the responsible Ministers on 31 July and 8 September3 about children found to be in need of care in terms of the Children's Act. It transpired that, over the previous three years, 8 960 white children, 5 992 Coloured, and 506 Indians were found to be in such need: statistics were not kept for Africans.

The children accommodated temporarily in places of safety and detention in September 1970 were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of children</th>
<th>Average period before accommodated</th>
<th>Transfer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>About 8 weeks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>476</td>
<td>5 months</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>6-8 weeks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>595</td>
<td>Not longer than 60 days</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The children committed in terms of the Children's Act were accommodated as follows, in July:

- Hansard 1 cols. 423-6.
- Hansard 3 cols. 1241-4.
- Hansard 2 cols. 795-7; Hansard 8 cols. 3605-7, 3930-1.
CARE OF ELDERLY PEOPLE

Whites Coloured Indians Africans
State institutions ... 2 487 1 092 39 302
Children's homes ... 5 673 2 741 178 1 203
Foster care ...... 4591 11 418 1 129 Unknown

Detailed information about the subsidies paid to registered welfare organizations in respect of children accommodated in homes they administer was given in September.' The annual capitation grants for normal children were R66 for Africans, R132 for Indians, R138 for Coloured, and R264 for whites.

Accounts of the work done by the S.A. National Council for Child Welfare, the Mental Health Society, the Johannesburg Indian Social Welfare Association, the African Self-Help Association, and other organizations have been given in previous issues of this Survey.

CARE OF ELDERLY PEOPLE

In reply to questions on 7 August' the responsible Ministers said that in 1969-70 (or 1968-9 in the case of whites) the expenditure by the State on the care of the aged was R930 121 for whites, 1R74 235 for Coloured, R2 508 for Indians, and R561 168 for Africans.

Further questions on 8 and 11 September' elicited the following information:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of homes</th>
<th>Persons accommodated in for infirm September</th>
<th>people</th>
<th>Beds available</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State homes</td>
<td>.... .... ... 6</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare organizations</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>9 604</td>
<td>2 232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State homes</td>
<td>.... .... ... 2</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare organizations</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare organizations</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare organizations</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>154</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Detailed information was given about the subsidies available to welfare organizations.

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that, besides the four homes for Africans, there were various settlements in the homelands, run by the churches as agents for the Department, or by Bantu authorities. Those accommodated paid a portion of their pensions towards the expenses, the Department

4 Hansard 8 cols. 3606-7, 3931.
Hansard 3 cols. 1241-4.
Hansard 8 cols. 3602-4. 3928-30.
267

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970
contributing 30 cents per person per day, or R1 in the case of frail and infirm persons.

There were altogether eight settlements, he said, accommodating 1 921 people, 1 195 of whom were frail and infirm.

With the aid of a grant from the Douglas Murray Trust, the Transkeian Council of Churches is building a home for about 100 aged Africans.

The voluntary Bantu Refuge organization in Germiston has continued to supply clothing, mattresses and blankets, food parcels, medicines, sweets, tobacco, sewing and knitting materials, film projectors, wheelchairs, and other items to Africans in the homeland settlements.

WELFARE SERVICES BY BANTU AUTHORITIES

According to the accounts of the S.A. Bantu Trust for the year ended 31 March 1969, during that year Bantu authorities spent the following amounts on welfare services:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service Type</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subsidies to institutions</td>
<td>R 92 361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing and blankets</td>
<td>R 4589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feeding schemes</td>
<td>R 7 077</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relief employment</td>
<td>R 96 744</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOCIAL PENSIONS

On 7 August the responsible Ministers gave the information that follows, relating to 1968-9 for whites and to 1969-70 for other groups:

White Coloured Asians Africans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service Type</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old age pensions</td>
<td>R 385 290 90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blind persons' pensions</td>
<td>R 328 810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War Veterans' pensions</td>
<td>R 9 138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disability grants</td>
<td>R 7 334 526</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number of beneficiaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service Type</th>
<th>Persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old age pensions</td>
<td>100 113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blind persons' pensions</td>
<td>896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War Veterans' pensions</td>
<td>19 091</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disability grants</td>
<td>18 549</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister of Coloured Affairs added that R298 924 had been spent on 1 235 Coloured beneficiaries in South West Africa.

The amounts given for Africans do not include expenditure

7 Daily Dispatch, 22 January.
Government Gazette of 15 May.
Hansard 3 cols. 1241-4.
268

SOCIAL PENSIONS

in the Transkei, which, according to the Controller and Auditor-General was as follows in 1968-9:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service Type</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old age pensions</td>
<td>R 1 894 786</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

49 194
Blind persons' pensions ...... 72993 1 776
Disability grants .......... 795 455 20 492
Leprosy allowances ...... 19048 560
Grants to needy ex-soldiers ... 1 456 34
2783738

As from 1 April 1970, pensions were increased by R24 a year for whites, R12 for Coloured and Asians, and R6 for Africans. The bonuses payable to whites (no other groups received them) were consolidated with the basic pensions.

It is difficult to give a concise yet accurate account of the rates of pensions. In calculating the means test, for example, assets other than cash are taken into account, up to certain amounts, as is the age of the beneficiary in the case of whites. An African's family circumstances as well as his cash income are considered. If a white person applies for a first time for a pension some years after he reaches the pensionable age, he is granted a larger amount than the normal maximum. Broadly speaking, however, the rates for old age, blind, and disability pensions after 1 April were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Free income permitted</th>
<th>Maximum pension</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured and Asians</td>
<td>R 432 420</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21 60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

White war veterans are granted old age pensions plus a bonus of R96 a year, while Coloured and Asians receive bonuses of R60 a year. Africans do not qualify for war veterans' pensions.

As a person's income rises above the free amount permitted, the pension payable is progressively reduced. A table showing how this system operates for Africans was gazetted on 26 March, as Government Notice R 466. An African with an income of R24 a year, for example, receives a maximum pension of R57. One with an annual income of R48 a year would be paid a maximum pension of R33. An African with an income of R59 a year qualifies for a maximum pension of R21; but as soon as his income reaches R60, no pension is payable. (It would seem, in accordance with the official scales, that a pension ought to be available until the free income reaches R81 annually. Until 1969 there was an abrupt drop of this nature in the pensions payable to Coloured and Indians, but the matter was then rectified for them.)

The rates for Africans are the same in the Transkei; but the Transkeian Government decided that, as from 1 April, all those who are entitled to pensions will also receive an allowance of R48 a year.1

African pensions are paid only every two months. Questioned on 28 July,2 the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that because of this and of staff shortages, the period between the date of an application for a pension and,

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970
R60, no pension is payable. It would seem, in accordance with the official scales, that a pension ought to be available until the free income reaches R81 annually. Until 1969 there was an abrupt drop of this nature in the pensions payable to Coloured and Indians, but the matter was then rectified for them.)

The rates for Africans are the same in the Transkei; but the Transkeian Government decided that, as from 1 April, all those who are entitled to pensions will also receive an allowance of R48 a year.1

African pensions are paid only every two months. Questioned on 28 July,2 the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that because of this and of staff shortages, the period between the date of an application for a pension and,
if approved, that of the first payment might be anything from six weeks to three months. The family circumstances that are taken into account in deciding whether a pension should be paid were described on page 285 of the 1968 Survey. Representations have repeatedly been made for war veterans pensions to be paid to ex-members of the Native Military Corps* Brigadier H. J. Bronkhorst (U.P.) again raised this matter in the Assembly on 24 September." The Corps, which numbered about 78 000, he said, played a very important part in the Second World War: some 1 700 of its members were killed, died, or declared missing. The African stretcher-bearers were often in far greater danger than were members of the white administrative staff, yet the Government classified all Africans as non-combatants and thus denied them pensions. Questioned on 18 September,4 the Minister of Coloured Affairs said that pensions had been withdrawn from 137 Coloured people during 1969, and 109 thus far in 1970, on the grounds that the money was being misused. (These figures include 5 people from South West Africa.) In 91 cases the pensions were re-instated after reapplication had been made. Early in the year, a 75-year-old man in Durban who had fought as a white soldier in both world wars and had been gassed and wounded in action was reclassified, under the Population Registration Act, from white to Coloured. His war veteran's pension was reduced from R43 to R20.50 a month. On hearing of this, certain ex-servicemen decided themselves to make up the difference.5 The administration of social pensions for Coloured people has been transferred to the Coloured Persons' Representative Council, while territorial authorities are taking over the responsibility for Africans of the ethnic groups concerned.

H1 Government Notice 60 of 31 July.
12 Hansard 2 col. 522.
13 Hansard 10 col. 4927.
14 Hansard 9 col. 4487.
15 Rand Daily Mail, 20 and 21 April.
270

SHELTERED EMPLOYMENT

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

The main purposes of the Workmen's Compensation Amendment Act, No. 9 of 1970, were to increase the rates of certain benefits; to extend the provisions of the Act to people working off-shore; and to augment the compensation normally payable in cases where an accident is due to the employer's negligence. On 1 September the Minister of Labour said6 that the total amount standing to the credit of the Accident Fund was R31 255 425. During 1969, R14414212 was paid out, and R146851 was unclaimed. Questioned on 24 July and 18 August17 the Minister said that since the establishment of this Fund and up to 30 June 1970, approximately 128000 awards made, amounting to R1 794906, had not been claimed. The main reasons were that many workmen failed to return to their employers after the accident, and left their last-known addresses before the awards reached them.
The regulations had been amended, the Minister said, making it necessary to furnish more details when submitting applications. So far as Africans were concerned, their surnames, ethnic groups, and tribes must be stated, with a view to tracing beneficiaries through their territorial authorities. (Lists of unclaimed awards in the past have often mentioned merely the workman's English or Afrikaans first name, and the firm for which he worked).

Arrangements had been made for information about unclaimed awards to be published in Bantu newspapers, the Minister added. (The Institute of Race Relations, in previous years, itself arranged Press publicity for large amounts that were unclaimed.)

Since the publication of last year's Survey, there have been four further issues of the Government Gazette containing lists of unclaimed money. Roughly 12,000 names of the persons concerned were listed, some 80 per cent of them Africans.

SHELTERED EMPLOYMENT

According to information given by the Minister of Labour and contained in his Department's Report for 1968, there are 13 sheltered employment factories controlled by non-profit organizations, which on 31 July were employing 1,229 whites, 415 Coloured, 13 Asians, and 18 Africans. The Department pays for capital assets, places orders, and makes good the operational shortfall of the workers. Those who can be rehabilitated are placed on the open labour market. The Department also subsidizes eight workshops for the blind (employing 196 whites, 174 Coloured, and 41 Asians in 1968), and subsidizes the salaries of semi-fit persons employed by govern

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970

mental departments or non-profit organizations (814 whites, and 161 Coloured and Asians in 1968).

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said on 15 September that there were 13 training centres and workshops for physically disabled Africans, employing about 815 people.

RECREATION

SOME NOTES ABOUT ARTISTS AND WRITERS

During the year under review there have been one-man exhibitions in Johannesburg of paintings or drawings by Joe Maseko and Winston Saoli. George Msimang won a prize for his drawings from the University of California in Los Angeles. The Star gave publicity to paintings, sketches, and sculptures by a young Soweto man, Lucky Sibiya. Solomon Maphiri exhibited his sculptures in a Johannesburg gallery.

The Gallery Michelangelo opened in Johannesburg during May, exclusively to sell the works of Africans. Some of the works of the best known artists such as Benjamin Macala, Solomon Maphiri, Ephraim Ngatane, Enoch Tshabalala, and
others were on display. Sydney Sepamla arranged an exhibition in Soweto of works by some of the newer artists. Exhibitions of tapestries, carpets, graphic works, ceramics, wood carvings, and sculptures from the Art and Craft Centre for Africans at Rorke's Drift have been held in Pretoria and Durban (the Institute of Race Relations helped to arrange the latter).

A second book has been published by Mrs. Fatima Meer of the University of Natal, entitled Apprenticeship of a Mahatma. Oswald J. Mtshali of Soweto was listed by St. James Press as one of the 1 100 most important contemporary poets in the English language. Short stories by Ahmed Essop of Lenasia have been published in the literary quarterly Contact. Don Mattera, of Johannesburg's Western Coloured Township, is the first South African whose poems have been published in the American literacy magazine African Arts/d'Afrique.

THE PERFORMING ARTS

The first production at the new Joseph Stone Theatre at Athlone, Cape Town, was a presentation of the musical Carmen Jones, by the Eoan Group, with the soprano Vera Gow in the title role, and a supporting cast of more than 120 singers and dancers. Performances were given before white audiences, too, at the Alhambra Theatre. Vera Gow again visited Johannesburg to sing with the full S.A. Broadcasting Corporation's symphony orchestra at a concert in Coronationville. The Johannesburg African Musical Society (popularly known as the "Messiah Choir") accepted an invitation to give a concert at the University of Fort Hare. Mr. Phineas Phetoe, a trumpeter from Johannesburg who is studying in Britain, was invited to play in orchestral concerts at the annual Carnegie Festival of Music and Arts in Scotland. Mr.

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B. J. P. Tyamzashe of the King William's Town district won an award in a competition for song-writing organized by the Society of S.A. Composers. The cabaret singer Stella Starr, originally from Johannesburg but now based in London, appeared with American singer Percy Sledge when he visited South Africa. Mr. Sledge was originally granted a visa on the understanding that he would perform only before non-white audiences. He was, however, accommodated in the best white hotels. The Star reported that when he first arrived in Cape Town "his many admirers among white Capetonians (with tickets bought on the 'black' market) have been 'trying for nonwhite' by dressing up in fezzes and saris in a vain bid to gain entry to the theatre". Soon afterwards, Mr. Sledge was permitted to perform before white audiences, too.

Radio Bantu had its tenth anniversary in June. It was reported that it was offering a choice of seven programmes, in different African languages, for a combined total of 82 hours daily, and had more than 200 Africans on its staff.

In July, three African children and an Indian entered for a Beethoven music contest organized by the S.A. Broadcasting Corporation. Their entries were refused: the head of the Corporation's public relations department is reported to have said the reason was that "different races perform best in their own idiom".
Separate music contests were organized for the various non-white groups, he added.

A first full-length feature film, entitled Knock-out, designed expressly for cinemas for Africans, has been produced in Soweto by Anthony Handley. Leading players were Fusi Zazayokwe and Abigail Kubeka.

NOTES ON HOLIDAY AND RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

It has been mentioned in earlier chapters that the Bantu Investment Corporation and Coloured Development Corporation, or individual Africans and Coloured people, have taken over a number of hotels situated in towns or areas that have been zoned for members of these groups of the population. The Xhosa Development Corporation has built a first-class hotel for Africans at Umtata. Some new hotels are being provided in urban Bantu townships, for example at Atteridgeville, Pretoria.

The Rotary Club of Cape Town, which some twelve years ago created a holiday resort for Coloured people at Soetwater, Kommetje, on the Atlantic coast, has been appealing for funds to improve the holiday and recreational facilities at Strandfontein on the False Bay coast.

Holiday and recreational facilities for non-white people are being developed by the Natal Parks Board at Lake Midmar near Pietermaritzburg. There is a game park nearby.

1 Rand Daily Mail, 9 July.

Mr. Alfred Nebe has received a permit under the Group Areas Act to establish a holiday and pleasure resort for Indians on his farm on the Vaal River, to the south-west of Potchefstroom.2 Another pleasure resort is being developed by an Indian businessman, Mr. Mohamed Mumdoo, on an old dairy farm adjoining Lenasia.

The (African) Leseding Youth Hostels Association has, during the year, organized trips in its "hostel on wheels" to Botswana and to the Manyelethi Game Reserve, adjoining the Kruger National Park.

The Bantu Investment Corporation has opened its well-equipped holiday resort for Africans at Umgababa on the South Coast of Natal. The one small beach for all the Africans of the Durban area is, however, reported to be pitifully lacking in the necessary amenities, and no beaches have been set aside for Africans on the North Coast.

East London's City Council has for years fought to preserve part of the Eastern Beach, in the city area, for non-whites, but just as the holiday season began in December 1969 the Cape Provincial Administration decided that this area should be reserved for whites. To the various non-white groups were allocated undeveloped small beaches further away, none of them within walking distance of the residential areas. A statement of protest was issued by the local group of the Institute of Race Relations.

These people and others launched an appeal for funds to transport Africans to their new beach at Rockcliff over the Christmas and New Year period. More than
RI 500 was quickly raised, making it possible for a special bus service to be organized.4 Publicity has been given during the year to the lack of facilities for non-white workers in towns during their lunch breaks. Increasing numbers are seen sitting on pavements. Two further towns Bloemfontein and Phalaborwa - have debarred non-white people from using central parks or squares.

THE NON-WHITE GAMES
After South Africa's exclusion from the Olympic Games held in Mexico City in 1968, it was decided that Games should be held in South Africa. Private business firms made donations for the purpose, which were supplemented by the Government. As mentioned on page 248 of last year's Survey, the white Games were held in Bloemfontein in 1969. Non-white games were arranged at the Orlando Stadium, Johannesburg, for a month commencing in May. The planning was done by a multi-racial organizing committee, and experienced white officials helped to run and adjudicate the events. Free travelling
2 Star, 1 September.
3 Natal Mercury, 10 January.
4 Articles by the Rev. R. J. D. Robertson in Race Relations News, January and April.
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and accommodation was offered to participants from other centres and neighbouring countries.
Some of the non-racial sporting organizations in South Africa declined to participate because the Games were racial in character; but a number of these are not entirely representative of the sports concerned. There is a split, for example, in the football associations. It was reported that many of the elite of Soweto decided not to attend as spectators.
The Games were opened by the State President, who was accompanied by the Minister of Sport and Recreation. The Olympic Games symbol was used on flags, and gold, silver, and bronze awards were made.
About 4 500 athletes competed in fourteen types of sport track events, cycling, soccer, rugby, tennis, softball, bowls, boxing, gymnastics, weightlifting and body-building, judo and karate, fencing, archery, table tennis, and events for paraplegics. No all-races South African records were broken, but Mr. L. Ndlovu from Rhodesia set a new non-white shot-put record.5
INTER-RACIAL SPORT
Events early in 1970
At the time when the last Survey was sent to Press, a Springbok rugby team was touring Britain, in the face of wide-spread demonstrations; the "Stop the 'Seventy Tour Committee" in Britain was trying to induce the M.C.C. to cancel its invitation to South Africa to send a touring cricket team; an All-Black rugby tour of the Republic was under discussion; and South Africa's membership of the
World Weight-Lifting Federation had been suspended until such time as it was able to comply with the Federation's rules regarding racial discrimination. Hungary had refused a visa to enable South Africa to compete in the World modern pentathlon championships. The Republic had, previously, been excluded from international soccer and boxing. The Springbok rugby tour of Britain was concluded; but demonstrations continued, interrupting play at times in spite of the strong police protection that was provided. At one stage, an attempt was made to hijack a bus in which members of the team were sitting. During December 1969, statements were made by several leaders of sporting organizations in South Africa. The president of the S.A. Cricket Association, Mr. Jack Cheetham, said that if any non-white cricketers merited selection, they would be considered by his Association for inclusion in the team to tour Britain.6 Mr. Matt Mare, chairman of the S.A. Amateur Athletics Union, and Mr. Cyril Geoghegan, president of the S.A. Amateur Cycling Federation, both stated, that, provided the Government raised no objection, colour would play no part in the selection of teams for tours planned of Australia and Britain, respectively. Any non-white players chosen would not be awarded Springbok blazers: both the white and non-white players would wear the colours of their respective national bodies. Refusal of visas to sportsmen from overseas It was mentioned on page 250 of last year's Survey that the American Negro, Mr. Arthur Ashe, applied for a visa to enter the S.A. Lawn Tennis Union's championships. This Union backed his request. But the Government rejected his application. The Minister of Sport said that if South Africa were chosen as the venue for inter-State Davis Cup competitive matches, visas would be available for members of any visiting team, including Mr. Ashe. But Mr. Ashe was not acceptable as an individual because of the antagonistic attitude he had expressed to the Republic. On his first application, a visa was denied to the Japanese jockey, Mr. Sueo Masuzawa. This decision was subsequently reversed, but meanwhile, Mr. Masuzawa had changed his plans. Cancellation of invitation by the M.C.C. A fiasco occurred during January.9 It appears, from Press reports, that a South African businessman suggested that the international Cavalier cricket team, then touring Jamaica, should visit South Africa. They assumed that he had official authority for the invitation. But the S.A. Cricket Board of Control told them that visas would not be forthcoming if non-white players were included. As was well-known, the team included Mr. Gary Sobers, the West Indian captain, and two prominent players from India and Pakistan respectively. This incident caused much ill-feeling.
Pressure mounted in Britain against the proposed tour by Springbok cricketers. After mutual discussions, it was announced by Mr. S. C. "Billy" Griffith, secretary of the M.C.C., that the tour had been cut from 28 to 12 matches, and would begin on 1 June, later than had originally been intended. The British Cricket Council, he said, was totally opposed to the South African Government's policy of apartheid in sport, but felt that the severance of ties would only make matters worse. Faced with threats of massive demonstrations, owners of the grounds where the matches were to be played began erecting barbed wire barricades and to appeal for funds to pay for police protection. Applicants for tickets were required to guarantee that they would not disrupt play nor interfere with the enjoyment of other spectators.

7 Ibid. 19 December 1969.
6 Star, 21 January.
9 Star, 31 January.

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At that stage, it was announced that member-countries of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, together with India and Pakistan, would withdraw from the Commonwealth Games, to be held in Edinburgh, if the tour were not cancelled. On 19 May, the M.C.C. announced that the tour was still "on", but that it had told the S.A. Cricket Association that no further test tours between Britain and South Africa would take place until cricket was played on a multi-racial basis in the Republic, and teams selected on a basis of merit only.

Immediately thereafter, the British Home Secretary met representatives of the M.C.C., stating that, on grounds of broad public policy, his Government requested that the invitation be withdrawn. On 22 May Mr. Griffith announced that, in view of this, the M.C.C. had no alternative but to cancel the tour.1"

Proposed summit talks in South Africa, and Government reaction

It was reported in May that, following this announcement, Mr. Alf Chambers, president of the S.A. Lawn Tennis Union, called for a "sports summit" to discuss the future of sport in South Africa.

The Minister of Sport issued a statement on 27 May,12 saying that the Government would not be intimidated by demands for integrated sport. He reiterated that mixed trials would not be permitted, nor would South African white and non-white teams be allowed to compete against one another, whether inside the country or in neighbouring territories. He added that a summit conference to discuss multi-racial sport was not acceptable to the Government.

Two days later, however,13 the Minister modified this last statement by saying that the Government would not participate in such a conference, but would in no way attempt to prevent sports administrators from meeting to discuss the matter.

Some international tours that did take place

The All Black rugby team, which among its thirty members included three Maoris and a Samoan, made a most popular tour of South Africa. Cricket and swimming teams from Australia visited the Republic, too. South African women netball
players toured Australia: they did encounter demonstrations. South African athletes competed in Athens and Belgium; and a Springbok golf team visited Brazil.
An Australian pentathlon team competed in South Africa. Players from various overseas countries took part, as individuals, in the S.A. tennis championships.
10 Account compiled from numerous Press reports. 11 Rand Daily Mail, 30 May.
12 Ibid, 28 May.
13 Ibid, 30 May.
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WITHDRAWAL OF RECOGNITION OF SOUTH AFRICA BY
THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE
It was announced in March14 that member-countries of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa had resolved that they would refuse to participate in the Olympic Games to be held in Munich in 1972 unless South Africa's membership of the International Olympic Committee (I.O.C.) were terminated.
At a meeting held in Amsterdam during May, the I.O.C. decided by 35 votes to 28, with 3 abstentions, to withdraw its recognition of South Africa."

TENNIS
As mentioned on page 249 of last year's Survey, in 1969 the S.A. National Lawn Tennis Union, representing non-white players, became a federal member of the (white) S.A. Lawn Tennis Union, with full voting powers on the latter's council. Through this body, it became affiliated to the International Lawn Tennis Federation. (It appears that two organizations representing mainly Coloured and Indian players did not participate in this arrangement.)
During March, South Africa was denied participation in the 1970 Davis Cup championships because, it was stated, its entry could endanger the competitions. The situation would be reviewed in 1971.
Shortly afterwards, the International Federation excluded the S.A. national tennis championships from the current Grand Prix circuit. The organizers of tournaments to be included would have to guarantee that these would be open to players of all races and religions, it was stated.
At a meeting of the International Federation held in July, Hungary called for South Africa's expulsion. Part of the reply of South Africa's representatives was a letter from the (non-white) S.A. National Lawn Tennis Union, opposing the proposal. The Hungarian motion was defeated by a majority of about two-thirds: delegates expressed the view that exclusion from the 1970 Davis Cup competition was sufficient sanction for the moment.

ATHLETICS
It was reported in March19 that, of seven Western European states approached, five turned down a suggestion that South African athletes should tour their countries: they feared international repercussions. Australia decided that exchanges of teams between the two countries should cease until the situation had 14 Ibid, 1 April.
1- Ibid, 16 May.
16 Ibid, 18 December 1969.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1970
been clarified by the International Amateur Athletics Federation.
At a meeting held in Stockholm in August, this Federation resolved that, for the
next two years, South Africa would be debarred from participating in events in
which any other two or more of the Federation's members were competing. The
question of South Africa's continued membership would be reviewed in 1972.0
South Africans were still able to enter, as individuals (although not as a national
team) for competitions held in the Argentine in November.2

INTERNATIONAL PARTICIPATION IN OTHER SPORTS
In July, the Republic was suspended by the International Amateur Wrestling
Federation, putting an end to international competition in this field.
Earlier, the International Amateur Cycling Federation announced that it was not
satisfied with the constitution of the S.A. Amateur Cycling Federation, and had
refused its application for affiliation in 1970. This meant that the Republic could
not compete in world championships held in August. The president of the South
African body commented22 that the non-white associations had affiliated to his
Federation, and that the intention had been to base selections on merit only.
The Jamaican Government refused visas to allow South African women to take
part in a world netball tournament held in its country, and the Republic withdrew
from women's softball championships held in Japan after Zambia protested and
the Japanese Government expressed concern over the possibility of
demonstrations.23
The Republic withdrew, too, from world gymnastic championships to be held in
Yugoslavia because it seemed doubtful whether they would be granted visas. Big
game fishermen were excluded from the annual Tuna Match in the Bahamas.2
At the suggestion of the Australian authorities, a tour of that country by a South
African schools cricket team was postponed to avoid the risk of exposing the boys
to demonstrations.2

TABLE TENNIS
For years, the International Table Tennis Federation has recognized the (non-
racial) S.A. Table Tennis Board as the controlling body in South Africa, to the
exclusion of the (white) S.A. Table Tennis Union. The Government has, however,
consistently refused passports to non-white members of the Board who wished to
compete in international competitions overseas.
2-0 Rand Daily Mail, 1 September.
21 Ibid, 3 September.
22 Star, 28 March.
23 Rand Daily Mail, 28 February, 15 July, 24 August.
2 Ibid, 4 March and 3 April.
25 Sunday Times, 15 March.
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In November, the Minister of the Interior advised the Board that the granting of passports would be considered only if application were made through the white body. The non-white applicants would have to go to the world championships as representatives of non-white players, and not as a national team, and their applications would have to be approved by the white Union. These conditions were not acceptable to the Board - nor to the International Federation. The chairman of the Union said that he regretted the Government's decision.2
RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN CERTAIN SPORTING BODIES IN SOUTH AFRICA
Rugby
The (white) S.A. Rugby Board remains affiliated to the International Rugby Board. At a meeting of the South African Board held under the chairmanship of its president, Dr. Danie Craven, the suggestion was accepted that a national rugby advisory committee be set up as a forum for discussion. The Board and the three non-white bodies (the S.A. Rugby Union, the S.A. Rugby Federation, and the S.A. African Rugby Board) would each nominate two representatives to such a committee, the recommendations of which would go back to the various bodies for approval.2 At the time of writing it has not been announced whether this suggestion is acceptable to the non-white bodies.
Cricket
It was reported on page 248 of last year's Survey that the (white) S.A. Cricket Association had created a trust fund of R50 000 to assist the development of non-white cricket in South Africa. The non-racial (mainly Coloured and Indian) S.A. Cricket Board of Control rejected any offer of financial assistance, although, it said, money was certainly needed. Its leading spokesman, Mr. Hassan Howa, stated that acceptance would imply assent to the policy of separate development. His body refused to affiliate to the white Association, and would be unwilling for a non-white team to be sent overseas. It stood out for integrated trials, to select an integrated team. If, in the event, the team selected were all-white, his Board would raise no objection. It would, for the time being, compromise on the issue of segregated clubs. But there must be selection on merit for national teams.8
There is a third body, the S.A. African Board of Control, which has, apparently, accepted financial assistance, for it was announced in October9 that the S.A. Cricket Association Trust had made R3 000 available to help finance an inter-provincial tournament for African junior players in 1971.
Golf
The Indian professional golfer, Mr. Papwa Sewgolum, was in 1970 again refused a Government permit to play in the (white) South African golf series. There is not enough money in tournaments in the separate non-white circuit to enable him to make a living for himself and his seven dependants. The British Professional Golfers' Association helped his manager to arrange his entries for a number of tournaments overseas; and money was raised privately in South Africa to finance the trip.

The S.A. Professional Golfers' Association sponsored an overseas tour by four leading members of the S.A. Non-European Golfers' Union, paying expenses and presenting each man with a new set of clubs.°

MIXED SPORT BETWEEN INDIANS, COLOURED AND AFRICANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

There are at least three controlling bodies in non-white soccer; the non-racial S.A. Soccer Federation, the S.A. Indian Football Association, and the S.A. Bantu Football Association.

The Soccer Federation, whose president is Mr. Norman Middleton, has for years arranged mixed Indian-Coloured fixtures, especially in Natal. Early in 1970 the police began interfering with such matches, pointing out that the visiting side needed a permit under the Community Development Act since it was entering an area set aside for another racial group. It was reported that a permit was withdrawn for mixed soccer matches at Tills Crescent, Durban (where they had frequently taken place in the past), and that the police placed a ban on the final match of a series between Indian and Coloured cricket players, which was to have been held in the Indian group area of Ladysmith.

Questions on this matter were put to the Minister of Community Development on 28 July.3 He replied that during the previous year his department had received eleven applications for teams of different non-white groups to play against one another: three had been granted and the rest were under consideration. "Every application is considered on its own merits", he said, "taking into account the particular circumstances, and after consultation with the Departments of Coloured Relations, Indian Affairs, or Bantu Administration and Development, whichever department is concerned."

According to Press reports, during August the police warned the Verulam Town Board that it was contravening the law by allowing mixed soccer matches for which permits had not been granted. The Town Board disregarded the warning, seeking legal advice. During August, soccer players in centres throughout the Natal Coastal region held mixed matches without applying for permits: no official action was taken.2

On 1 September33 the Minister of Indian Affairs stated that the Government was making no attempt to prohibit mixed non-white matches. It merely required that the visiting team should obtain a permit. His department had been informed by the
Department of Community Development that such permits would be granted automatically on application.

DISCUSSIONS ON THE FUTURE OF SPORT IN SOUTH AFRICA
Perturbed about these developments and the future of South African sport in general, the non-racial organizations in the various codes of sport convened a conference, which was held in Durban early in September. The conference reiterated that the organizations concerned recognized the right of every South African to enjoy international sport on merit.

Concern was expressed about the inadequate financial support being received from the State, local authorities, and private enterprise, which gave far more generous help to white sporting bodies. It was decided that closer relations must be effected with "racial" Indian, African, and Coloured organizations. And the conference resolved that approaches must be made to white national bodies to work with the non-racial organizations to achieve international recognition.

A seven-man national committee, headed by Mr. Norman Middleton, was appointed to further the objectives of the conference. This committee invited Mr. Frank Braun, chairman of the S.A. Olympic and National Games Association, and two of his colleagues, to have joint discussions.

This invitation was accepted. Thereafter, a short statement was issued" to the effect that it had been decided to explore ways, including the possible calling of a conference of national sporting organizations, of reinstating South African sport in the international sphere.

On 10 December an inter-racial symposium on "Whither Sport in South Africa" was arranged by the Institute of Race Registration Amendment Act, described on page 25, with one convene a wider conference on the subject in March 1971, and that white sportsmen should meanwhile be asked to sign a petition in support of non-racial sport.

52 Account compiled from numerous Press reports. 33 Hansard 7 col. 3106.
-4 Rand Daily Mail, 25 November.

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SOUTH WEST AFRICA
SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS
On 30 July the United Nations Security Council adopted, by thirteen votes to none, with Britain and France abstaining, a resolution calling on all states that maintain diplomatic and consular relations with South Africa to issue a formal declaration that they do not recognize South African authority in Namibia (South West Africa), and consider South Africa's continued presence there to be illegal.

A further resolution was passed, with Britain, the Soviet Union, and Poland abstaining, requesting the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion on the legal consequences for states of the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia. The British Ambassador said that Britain had doubts about the General Assembly's resolution in 1966 that the mandate had been terminated and that
South West Africa would thus become the direct responsibility of the United Nations. The Soviet Union and Poland abstained because they considered that the 1966 decision ended the matter. South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs announced in the Republic's House of Assembly on 1 September that the Registrar of the International Court had invited all member-states to submit written statements by 23 September (this date was later extended to 19 November). The Republic had decided to send written submissions, he said, and had appointed a legal team to represent the Government in the matter.

IDENTITY DOCUMENTS IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA ACT, No. 37 OF 1970
The terms of this Act are similar to those of the Population Registration Amendment Act, described on page 25, with one exception. The Population Registration Act, as such, does not apply in South West Africa: there is no race classification there.
In the Republic, a person's identity number is a code, indicating, besides the actual number assigned to him, his sex, date of birth, race classification, and citizenship. The identity number of persons resident in South West Africa will differ only in that, instead of a code indicating race classification, there will be one indicating the holder's population group, in accordance with information he himself furnishes (i.e. white, Coloured, Nama, Baster, etc.)

SOUTH WEST AFRICA
OVAMBOLAND
The creation of the Ovamboland Legislative Council, in the Northern Sector, was described on page 259 of last year's Survey. Its budget for 1970-1 is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Authority Affairs and Finance</th>
<th>45 501</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Community Affairs</td>
<td>119400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Works</td>
<td>1 887 700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education and Culture</td>
<td>1 043 500</td>
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<tr>
<td>Economic Affairs</td>
<td>7900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justice</td>
<td>35 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>289 400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 428 901</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The sources of revenue were not stated. They include the proceeds of taxation of Ovamboland citizens, and, as described later, money to be made available by the S.A. Bantu Trust Fund and the Departments of Bantu Administration and Development and Bantu Education. In addition, the Department of Bantu Administration and Development will spend R101 000 on the salaries of 30 seconded personnel, and the Bantu Investment Corporation will finance certain development projects.

KAVANGO
Kavango, formerly known as Okavango, lies to the east of Ovamboland, also in the Northern Sector. In terms of Proclamation 178 of 10 July, the five traditional tribal governments there were officially recognized as tribal authorities.
Proclamation 196 of 14 August made provision for the creation of the Kavango Legislative Council, which consists of six persons designated by each of the tribal authorities, in each case one being the chief. It has an executive committee of five members, one nominated by each tribal authority, with a Chief Councillor, elected by the Council as a whole from the nominated executive committee members. There is an elected chairman and vice-chairman of the Council, too.

In terms of Proclamation 238 of 16 October, five departments were established: Authority affairs and finance; works; education and culture; justice and community affairs; and agriculture. Each will, for the time being, be headed by a white director, seconded by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development.

The Council's first session was opened by the Republic's Minister of Bantu Administration and Development at Rundu during October.

4 Government Notices 793 and 796 of 29 May.

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OTHER PARTS OF THE NORTHERN SECTOR
No provision for local self-government has, as yet, been made in the Kaokoveld, or in the Caprivi Strip.
THE SOUTHERN SECTOR
Acquisition of land
The South African Government is gradually acquiring more land from white farmers in the Southern Sector, with the object of creating homelands for the various groups there, as recommended by the Odendaal Commission in 1963. Questioned in the Assembly on 11 September, the Prime Minister said6 that, thus far, 426 farms and 72 erven in towns or villages had been bought, for a sum of R26 374 785. The total area acquired was 3 227 390 hectares. Of the farms purchased, 184 had been leased temporarily to white tenants, while the rest had been allocated to the Baster, Nama, and "Bantu" people (the "Bantu" include the Damara, Herero, Bushmen, and Tswana groups).

The "Bantu" groups
Damaraland is being created to the south of the Kaokoveld. According to the Press, people are being resettled under chiefs, on land acquired from whites, with the object of creating tribal authorities and, eventually, a legislative council. The Paramount Chief and his councillors are stated to have accepted the idea of selfdetermination, leading to eventual independence, and to have said that they want to have nothing to do with the United Nations.

Government Notices 1196 and 1197 of 31 July created three districts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Administrative centre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hereroland East</td>
<td>Otjinera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hereroland West</td>
<td>Okakarara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bushmanland</td>
<td>Tsumkwe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On 11 August the Prime Minister said that a Commissioner had been appointed for the Bushmen. The development of Bushmanland, for their ultimate use, was being promoted under the guidance of experts in various fields. The Tswana are a very small minority group.

Groups classified as "Coloured"
A nominated Council for the Coloured group (relatively recent immigrants from South Africa) was established in 1962. New

SOUTH WEST AFRICA
Council chambers and offices were opened in Windhoek during March. The Nama people, of Khoisan descent, are at present scattered in the southern part of the territory, many working on the farms of whites. A homeland is being created for them north of Keetmanshoop, about 1,052,178 hectares of formerly white-owned land having been added to consolidate formerly-existing small Reserves; but only about one-fifth of the Namas are stated to live there at present. Some of them, from the Bondelswart Reserve further south, are being resettled on the newly-acquired land; but it is stated that the Government is not forcing the pace because of the lack of local employment opportunities. Those at the Hoachanas settlement are stated to be opposed to resettlement plans. The main community has an advisory board that meets quarterly under a white chairman.

A detailed account of the Rehoboth Basters (or Rehobothers), and of their attitudes, was given on page 260 of last year's Survey. Their Gebiet, or homeland, lies between Windhoek and the Nama area. In the Assembly on 10 February, the Minister of Coloured Affairs and Rehoboth Affairs gave details about the establishment of schools, hostels, and educational bursaries in the Gebiet. The people are reported still to want to sever all ties with the South African Government and to establish their own independent state. No agreement on constitutional proposals has been reached with the Government.

STATE EXPENDITURE IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA
The total sum to be spent by the South African Government in 1970-1 on services it administers for all groups in South West Africa is R59,955,000. Besides this, the Department of Bantu Administration and Development will spend R5,903,000, mainly on administrative costs. Included in the sums to be met from the South West Africa Account are the following amounts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bantu Administration and Development</td>
<td>13 133 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bantu Education</td>
<td>256 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs</td>
<td>5 223 000</td>
</tr>
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Star report, 29 July.
Expenditure will be incurred, too, by the Department of Water Affairs. The Department of Bantu Administration and Development plans to spend Ri 850 000 on health services, and to make a grant-in-aid of Ri 755 000 to the S.A. Bantu Trust Fund. The Trust Fund plans itself to spend R8 750 000 of the latter amount on development works in African areas, and to add another R2 550 000 from its own resources. The remaining allocation of R2 005 000 will be administered by Legislative Councils and Bantu Authorities, which will contribute a further R290 000 from their own funds.

BANTU INVESTMENT CORPORATION

The Managing Director of the Bantu Investment Corporation, Dr. J. Adendorff, announced in April that, over a five year period, about R18 000 000 would be spent by his Corporation in South West Africa. Questioned in the Assembly on 18 September, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that, thus far, the Corporation had made six loans to Africans in South West Africa, totalling R32 650, for the financing of five general dealers' businesses and one bottle store. The Corporation had itself established three wholesale and eight general retail businesses, three butcheries, three garages and filling stations, a curio shop, two bottle stores, two savings banks, a furniture and a mineral water factory, two mechanical workshops, a building construction unit, and a sawmill. These concerns were employing 161 whites and 1 563 Africans.

Further, the Corporation had built 16 business premises for letting to Africans.

EDUCATIONAL AND OTHER SERVICES

Mention of educational and other services in South West Africa has been made in preceding chapters (see Index).


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