# Survey of race relations in South Africa: 1972

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This Survey is stated to be for the year 1972. As it was wished to have it published early in the new year, however, it was impossible to include mention of
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the next issue.
All dates mentioned refer to the year 1972 unless otherwise stated.

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CONTENTS
Page
WHITE POLITICAL PARTIES: DEVELOPMENTS IN 1972 By-elections in the early part of the year .................... 1
National Party attack on the United Party .................... 1
Developments within the National Party .................... 3
The Afrikaner Broederbond ............................ 4
The United Party ............................ 5
The Progressive Party .................... 10
The Land and Labour Party ............................ 13
Subsequent by-elections ............................ 13
ATTITUDES OF MEMBERS OF THE COLOURED COMMUNITY
Liaison between the Government and the Coloured Persons’ Representative Council ............................ 14
Party political developments: ............................ 15
Coloured Persons’ Representative Council Amendment Act, No. 99 of 1972 ............................ 16
Proceedings of the Coloured Persons’ Representative Council ............................ 18
Budgets of expenditure ............................ 19
By-elections ............................ 20
Future of the C.P.R.C. ............................ 20
Attitudes of certain Coloured people outside the C.P.R.C. ............................ 20
ATTITUDES OF INDIANS
Meetings of the South African Indian Council ............................ 22
South African Indian Council Amendment Act, No. 67 of 1972 ............................ 22
Natal Indian Congress ............................ 24
ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED WITH BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS
Definition of Black Consciousness ............................ 25
Nomenclature ............................ 25
Attitude to White liberals ............................ 26
Proposed National Convention or Summit Conference ............................ 27
Black People’s Convention ............................ 27
South African Students’ Organization (Saso) ............................ 29
Asseca ............................ 30
University Christian Movement ............................ 31
Black churches and theology ............................ 31
Trade unionism ............................ 31
ATTITUDES OF LEADERS IN THE HOMELANDS
The Prime Minister's views on future independence and the allocation of land ................. 32
Views of homeland leaders on the question of land ............ 33
Views of homeland leaders on other matters ..................... 37
ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED WITH RACE RELATIONS The churches 40
Teceu. .......... 4
Parliamentary Select Committee on, and Commission of Enquiry into, Certain Organizations ......... 52
The S.A. Institute of Race Relations ......................... 54
S.A. Bureau of Racial Affairs .................................. 55
Other Research organizations concerned with race relations ...... 57
Women's organizations:
Black Sash (59), National Council of Women of S.A. (60).
Other voluntary services ..... 61
Action South and Southern Africa ......................... 61

vi A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
THE POPULATION OF SOUTH AFRICA
Size and distribution of the population ......................... 63
Population growth 63
Population growth ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 6
Age groups and infant mortality rates ......................... 64
Illegitimacy rates ... ... ... ... ... ... 64
Population registration ... ... ... ... ... ... 65
Immorality ... ... ... ... ... ... 65
MEASURES FOR SECURITY AND THE CONTROL OF PERSONS Defence expenditure and equipment ................. 67
Black members of the Defence Force ......................... 68
Vote for Security Services ...................... 68
Potgieter Commission's Report ...................... 69
Security Intelligence and State Security Act, No.64 of 1972 ... 70
General Law Amendment Act, No. 102 of 1972: provisions relating to security of the State ...................... 70
Suppression of Communism Amendment Act, No. 2 of 1972 ... 72
General Law Amendment Act, No. 102 of 1972: provisions relating to Attorneys, Notaries and Conveyancers Admission Act ..... 72
Prohibition of gatherings ... ... ... ... ... ... 73
Restriction (banning) orders on persons ...................... 74
Banishment of Africans in terms of the Bantu Administration Act 75
Emergency regulations in the Transkei ...................... 75
Travel documents and citizenship ......................... 76
Attacks on prominent people ...................... 78
CONTROL OF MEDIA OF COMMUNICATION .................. 80
JUSTICE
Criminal statistics ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 85
Capital punishment ........................................ 85
Comment on crime and punishment ..................... 86
Crime in Soweto ........................................... 87
Brandvlei Prison ............................................ 88
Ration scales for prisoners ................................ 89
Prison labour on farms .................................... 89
Conduct of members of the Police Force and the Prisons Department ..... 91
Legal Aid .................................................... 92
DETENTION AND TRIALS UNDER THE SECURITY LAWS
Imprisonment under the security laws ................... 94
Deaths in detention ......................................... 94
Appeal by the Anglican Dean of Johannesburg ........... 95
Trial of members of Apdusa ............................... 96
Persons detained towards the end of 1971 ................. 98
Inquest following the death of Mr. A. E. Timol .......... 98
Order against the Security Police regarding Mr. M. S. Essop .... 99
Prosecution of Messrs. Essop, Moodley, and Essack and Mrs. Desai 100
Case against Messrs. Wagner, Davis, and Jacobsen ...... 103
Mr. Ephraim Legodi ....................................... 104
Six men who appeared in court in November .......... 105
Mr. Fana C. Mzimela .................................. 105

MOVEMENTS-IN-EXILE AND GUERRILLA FIGHTERS
United Nations: General Assembly's consideration of violence and terrorism ........................................ 106

CONTENTS
Financial and other assistance for guerrilla fighters ...........
Activities of guerrilla fighters .................................
FOREIGN AFFAIRS
The United Nations ........................................
Europe:
France (113), The United Kingdom (113), West Germany (114),
The Netherlands (114), Scandinavia (115), Portugal (115).
Asia:
Israel (115), China (115), Japan (115). America:
The United States (116), The Argentine (120), Brazil (120). Africa:
Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland (120), Angola (123), Mocambique (123),
Rhodesia (124), Zambia (124), Malawi (124),
Dialogue (124).
Naval co-operation with South Africa .....................

GROUP AREAS AND HOUSING
Community Development Amendment Act, No. 93 of 1972 ..... People affected by the Group Areas Act, and numbers resettled ...
Housing required and provided ...........................
Income limits for subsidized housing ....................
BophuthaTswana .................................................. 183
Lebowa .................................................. 184
The financing of development work in the homelands ................. 185
Agriculture in the homelands ..................................... 189
Mining .................................................. 193

Commerce and Industry:
General (194), Commercial concerns (196), Industrial concerns (198)
Industrial conciliation in the African homelands ..................... 202
Resettlement schemes in the homelands ............................ 204, 205
Bus services in the homelands ..................................... 207

GENERAL MATTERS
Taxation .................................................. 207
Marriages of African women in Natal and the Transvaal ........... 208
Coloured Development Corporation ............................... 209
Rural Coloured areas ......................................... 209
Inter-provincial travel permits for Indians .......................... 212

EMPLOYMENT
The economic situation ........................................ 212
Foreign investment in the South African economy ............ 214
The cost of living ........................................ 214
....... ............... ............... ............... ...........
Wages and poverty ......................................... 214
Wage regulating machinery ..................................... 217
Economically active persons and unemployment ............. 218
....... ............... ............... ............... ...........
Manpower, labour shortages, and training ...................... 218
Employment in the manufacturing industry ..................... 219
The decentralization of industries .............................. 220
Border industries ........................................ 220
Other decentralized areas .................................... 220

Employment in:
Agriculture ........................................ 220
Mining ........................................ 220
Construction ........................................ 220
Finance and Commerce .................................... 223
The service of public authorities .............................. 223
The Railways, Harbours, and Airways Administration ........ 223
The Department of Posts and Telegraphs ..................... 223
Domestic Servants ...................................... 223
....... ............... ............... ............... ...........
Dockworkers ........................................ 223
Other areas of employment .................................. 223
Trade unions ........................................ 223

The Bantu Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act ............... 224

EDUCATION
National expenditure ....................................... 224
Per capita expenditure .................................. 224

BANTU SCHOOL EDUCATION
The financing of Bantu education .......... 209
... 210
... 213
... 214
... 214
... 215
... 218
... 230
... 233
... 242
... 247
... 253
... 258
... 269
... 276
... 278
... 285
... 286
... 289
... 298
... 302
309 ... 317
. 322 ... 323
... 325
... 328
... 332
... 341
... 344
... 344
... 344

CONTENTS ix
Unit costs ................................. 347
School buildings .......................... 347
Donations of equipment ................. 349
Double sessions .......................... 350
Distribution of pupils by standard .. 350
Medium of instruction .................. 351
Supply of text-books to schools ...... 352
Examination results ..................... 353
"Homogeneous" schools and school boards .......... 354
Teachers .................................. 354
Teacher-training .......................... 357
Literacy training for adults ............ 358
STANDARDS OF EDUCATION ACHIEVED BY THE WHITE, COLOURED, AND ASIAN
PEOPLE OF THE REPUBLIC ................................ 359
SCHOOL EDUCATION FOR MEMBERS OF THE COLOURED
COMMUNITY
Finance ................................................ 360
Unit costs ................................................ 361
Percentages of Coloured children attending school, and gradual introduction of
compulsory education ................................. 361
Double sessions ........................................ 362
Enrolment and distribution of pupils ............. 363
Examination results .................................... 363
Teachers .................................................. 364
Teacher-training ........................................ 365
SCHOOL EDUCATION FOR INDIANS
Finance ................................................... 367
Proportion of children at school .................... 367
Number of schools ..................................... 367
Double sessions ........................................ 367
Enrolment and distribution of pupils ............. 368
Examination results .................................... 368
Teachers .................................................. 369
Teacher-training ........................................ 370
EDUCATION FOR CHINESE AND JAPANESE CHILDREN .......... 371
SCHOOL EDUCATION FOR WHITE CHILDREN
Note on general statistical data ..................... 371
Schools, pupils, and teaching staff ............... 371
Parallel-medium schools ............................ 373
Youth preparedness ................................... 373
TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING
Africans ................................................... 375
Coloured students ..................................... 378
Indians ..................................................... 379
Whites .................................................... 381
UNIVERSITY EDUCATION
Finance and unit costs ............................... 383
Enrolment ................................................ 383
Degrees and diplomas awarded .................... 384
Some notes on certain universities ............... 385

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS
South African Students' Organization (SASO) and Black students ... National
Union of S.A. Students (NUSAS) ......................
Afrikaanse Studentebond .........................
BURSARY (SCHOLARSHIP) FUNDS
HEALTH
Doctors ..................................................
Nurses ... ... ... ... ... 
Dentists ... ... ... ... ...
Chemists and druggists ...... Health in Lenasia .......... Hospital fees ... ... ... ...
Closure of hospitals .......... Health services in the homelands Hospital apartheid ......... Malnutrition ... ... ... ...

WELFARE
Welfare organizations ......... Social pensions ... ... ... ...
Maintenance grants ......... The aged ...
"Committed children" ....
Places of safety and detention ... Birth control ... ... ... ...
Social relief..................
Workmen's Compensation ......

SPORT
Government policy ...... The International state of play ... Dissent among Black sportsmen Students and non-racial sport The Olympic Games ......... The South African Games ...
Rugby ... ... ... ... ...
Cricket ... ... ... ...
Soccer ... ... ... ...
Athletics ... ... ... ...
Golf ... ... ... ...
Tennis ... ... ... ...
Swimming ... ... ... ...
Other sports ... ... ... ...
Sponsorship ... ... ... ...

RECREATION
Beach apartheid ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...
Apartheid in entertainment ... ... ... ... ... ...
Johannesburg International Triennale of the Arts ......... Non-racial theatre ...

... ... ... ...

SOUTH WEST AFRICA (NAMIBIA)
The Ovambo strike ... ... ... ... ... ... ...
Disturbances in Ovambo .........................
CONTENTS

Resolutions of the United Nations' Security Council in February ... 441
Visit of Dr. Waldheim, and the outcome .......................... 441
Visit of Dr. Escher .................................................... 443
Eleven-nation Council for Namibia ................................ 443
Bantu Laws Amendment Act, No. 23 of 1972 ...................... 444
Owambo ................................................................. 444
Kavango ................................................................. 446
Eastern Caprivi ....................................................... 446
Damaraland ............................................................. 447
Namaland ............................................................... 448
Voice of the People ................................................... 448
Herero people .......................................................... 448
Rehoboth Basters ..................................................... 449
National Convention of Freedom Parties ........................... 449
Coloured people ....................................................... 450
Report to the Security Council by Dr. Waldheim in November ... 450
Purchase of land for additions to the homelands ................. 452
Official budgets of expenditure .................................... 452
Development work .................................................... 454
Education .............................................................. 455

LEGISLATION OF 1972

Bantu Education Account Abolition Act, 20/1972 .............. 344
Bantu Laws Amendment Act, 23/1972 .................. 176, 177, 210, 211, 444
Bantu Transport Services Amendment Act, 11/1972 ............ 156
Basters of Rehoboth Education Act, 85/1972 .................... 455
WHITE POLITICAL PARTIES:

DEVELOPMENTS IN 1972

BY-ELECTIONS IN THE EARLY PART OF THE YEAR

A provincial by-election in Gezina, Pretoria, during February was a straight contest between representatives of the National Party and the ultra-right wing Herstigte Nasionale Party. In a low percentage poll (reported at 42 per cent) the Nationalist candidate was returned with a large majority.

Of much greater significance was the Brakpan parliamentary by-election, held on the same day. Brakpan is one of the Nationalist urban strongholds. The percentage poll was 57 (as against 70,6 per cent in the 1970 parliamentary elections). The result was: N.P. 4 714; U.P. 3 322; H.N.P. 784. According to Professor Willem Kleynhans, a leading political scientist,' as compared with the 1970 parliamentary voting, this represented a swing of 12,6 per cent away from the Nationalists, and of 10,6 per cent towards the United Party.

The Oudtshoorn parliamentary by-election in April was vigorously contested by all three parties. Oudtshoorn is a mainly rural constituency in which, for some years before the 1970 provincial elections, N.P. candidates had been returned unopposed. The results were:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>N.P.</th>
<th>U.P.</th>
<th>H.N.P.</th>
<th>N.P. Majority</th>
<th>% Poll</th>
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<td>October</td>
<td>5 693</td>
<td>2246</td>
<td>3447</td>
<td>76,9</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>6 666</td>
<td>1818</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>4848</td>
<td>85,9</td>
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This was reported as representing a 6,1 per cent swing in favour of the N.P. The tactics used by this party, as described in more detail later, were appeals to Afrikaner group loyalties, and attacks on the alleged dangers to Whites of the U.P.’s race policies.

The same tactics were used by the N.P. in the Brakpan provincial by-election in May. There was, then, a 63 per cent poll, the results being: N.P. 6 161; U.P. 4 031. The N.P. majority was 738 more than in February, but 1 595 fewer than in 1970.
N.P. ATTACK ON THE U.P.
The United Party's racial policy, as enunciated in 1970 and 1971, was that South Africa should be maintained as one economy, under "enlightened White leadership". Communal councils would be established for each of the main racial groups to administer
2 Rand Daily Malt, 21 April.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
their internal affairs, with statutory standing committees serving as links; between Parliament and these councils. A federation of racial communities was the ultimate aim. During an interim phase, White representation in Parliament would be unchanged; but Blacks would be granted limited representation in the House of Assembly, with separate voters' rolls for each group. There would be six Coloured representatives, two White representatives of Indians, and eight White representatives of the Africans (a total of sixteen). This arrangement would not be altered unless by resolution of a decisive majority of the White electorate at a referendum or general election held solely to consider the matter. After the U.P. congresses in 1971, committees were set up to consider and make representations to the leader of the party on constitutional matters, Coloured affairs, and Indian affairs. At the time of the by-elections mentioned, these committees had not reported.

Shortly before the Oudtshoorn by-election, N.P. members and the N.P. Press advanced the argument that the proposed sixteen Black representatives would have the casting vote on any issue over which parties might be divided. Mr. Marais Viljoen, Minister of Labour and of Posts and Telegraphs, said in the Assembly,3 "I want to say here to-day in all seriousness that if this Parliament is to be loaded with such a non-white bloc I do not know whether Nationalist Afrikanerhood will ever again come into its own. Therefore what will be at stake is everything which is dear to the Whites and everything for which the Nationalist Afrikaner has fought all his life long". The then Minister of Community Development, Mr. Blaar Coetzee, said,4 "One cannot get away from the fact that the N.P. consists chiefly of the Afrikaners and the U.P. chiefly of the English-speaking, and you are going to use those sixteen (Black representatives) to keep the Afrikaner out of power. If you do that you will create a simply unprecedented situation of hatred in South Africa."
The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M. C. Botha, stated5 that he had been asked why the N.P. did not trust even one of the representatives of the Blacks to vote on its side. The N.P. did not want such support, he said: it did not wish to "call in these Non-White peoples as allies of our party against a White opposition party in this Parliament... The political struggle between the White political parties must be fought out without the intercession of the Non-Whites". The latter had their own political institutions. It was alleged6 by Mr. P. W. Botha, Minister of Defence, that several U.P. members did not speak Afrikaans. "There are

3 Hansard 10 col. 4587.
NATIONAL PARTY

elements, both inside and outside this House, that hate the Afrikaner," he
maintained. This led to uproar, during which personal accusations were bandied
to and fro. The then Minister of Sport and Recreation, Mr. F. W. Waring, said,' "If
the U.P. does not pull itself together, it is becoming a home for everything that
hates Afrikaans."
A prominent member of the U.P., Mr. E. G. Malan, claimed' that all members of
Parliament understood Afrikaans, but had the right to speak in either language. He
rejected with contempt allegations that there was hatred of the Afrikaner on the
part of any U.P. members, said he was ashamed of some of his fellow Afrikaners,
and added, "What we are seeing here to-day is a return to political barbarism." Sir
de Villiers Graaff, leader of the Opposition, said' he was "shocked and
disappointed at the lengths to which they (some of the Nationalists) were prepared
to go to try to persuade the electorate of Oudtshoorn to ignore the problems of
South Africa, to ignore the frustrations, and to try to vote in accordance with the
call of the blood or in accordance with race prejudice in South Africa."
The Minister of Transport, Mr. B. J. Schoeman, alleged later0 that the English-
language Press had distorted Mr. Botha's original remarks. Those who had
pleaded for equality for the Afrikaans language "were accused of beating the
tribal drum, and the most despicable cartoons were published in certain of the
newspapers." On the other hand certain U.P. members, for example Mr. D. M.
Streicher," maintained that it was the Afrikaans Press which had boosted the so-
called "Boerehaat campaign".
The Prime Minister said.2 "We want respect for each other's language." Such
respect was not shown by a "person who has had the opportunity and who has the
intelligence to learn a language but refuses to do so". He indicated that certain of
the (U.P.) members of the Natal Provincial Executive were unable to have
interviews with Afrikaans-speaking people in their own language. "I have no
reason," he stated, "to feel confident that if the U.P. came into power, the rights
of Afrikaners would be safe in South Africa."3

DEVELOPMENTS WITHIN THE NATIONAL PARTY

Mr. Theo J. A. Gerdener, a former Administrator of Natal, had been Minister of
the Interior for two years. He announced, during June, that he intended resigning
from the Cabinet as from 31 July, in order to be able to give his full attention to
the priority

1 Col. 4603.
2 Hansard 14 col. 6866.
3 Hansard 10 cols. 4671-2.

6 Hansard 10 cols. 4671-2.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

problems of improving relationships between South Africa's language and race groups, and of securing co-operation at all possible levels between South Africa and the other anti-communist states of Southern Africa, both White and Black. (Subsequent developments in this regard are described later.)

On 31 July the Prime Minister announced a major cabinet reshuffle. Four other Cabinet Ministers had resigned—Senator D. C. H. Uys, Mr. Frank W. Waring, Dr. Carel de Wet, and Mr. Blaar Coetzee, as well as a Deputy Minister, Mr. Herman Martins. Dr. Connie P. Mulder would become Minister of the Interior, while retaining some of his previous portfolios. Four Deputy Ministers and a Senator had been brought into the Cabinet, and four new Deputy Ministers had been appointed.

Six vacancies in the House of Assembly resulted from these Cabinet changes. Mr. Ben J. Schoeman, Minister of Transport, retired during September from his position of leader of the N.P. in the Transvaal. By a large majority, Dr. Connie Mulder was elected to succeed him as provincial leader. In a Press interview shortly afterwards, Dr. Mulder said he thought the future divisions in South Africa would be between left and right. As he saw U.P. and Progressive policies, there was no other home for the conservative English-speaking South African than in the National Party.

It was reported in September that certain younger members of the N.P. had drawn up a "youth action" plan. They recommended that the eleven branches of the Nasionale Jeugbond should be replaced by youth branches, fully integrated into the senior structure of the party, on an equal footing with other branches. A central co-ordinating committee for the youth branches would be established.

The attitude of the N.P. to such matters as the future of the Coloured, Indian, and urban African people, the homelands, employment, student affairs, sport, foreign affairs, and other matters is described in subsequent chapters.

THE AFRIKANER BROEDERBOND

In various of its issues, for example 21 May and 17 and 24 September, the Sunday Times has published an exposé of the secret Afrikaner Broederbond. Other newspapers too, for example The Star on 20 September, have carried long articles on the organization. The Bond is said to have been founded in 1918 with the aim of creating a "brotherhood" in which Afrikaners could find one another at a time when there was disunity, and when it was felt that the rights of Afrikaners were being denied.

'4 Star, 15 September. I Star, 6 September.

UNITED PARTY

Membership is by invitation only, to people who have proved that they are working in the Afrikaner cause. There are stated to be more than 9 000 members, organised in some 500 divisions. Over the years, this body has used its influence to secure the election or appointment of Afrikaners (not necessarily Bond members) to key positions in the life of the country, and to further exclusive Afrikaner interests.
It was reported in May that Dr. Andries Treurnicht, M.P., had recently become chairman of the Broederbond, succeeding Dr. Piet Meyer (chairman of the South African Broadcasting Corporation). Among the twelve members of the Executive (Uitvoerende Raad) were said to be Dr. Connie Mulder, Professor Gerrit Viljoen (Rector of the Rand Afrikaans University and until September chairman of the S.A. Bureau of Racial Affairs), the Rectors of the Universities of Potchefstroom and Pretoria, Professors H. J. J. Bingle and E. J. Marais, and the Director of Education for the Transvaal, Dr. A. L. Kotzee. Members of the Bond were stated to include leading Cabinet Ministers and the head of the Bureau for State Security, General Hendrik van den Bergh.

According to the reports, the Broederbond has departed from its previous non-party political stand by expelling or suspending a number of members of the Herstigte Nasionale Party. One of these, the Rev. Jan H. Jooste, then made disclosures to the Press.

In the Rand Daily Mail and other papers on 18 September, Dr. Treurnicht acknowledged that the Broederbond did make representations to the Cabinet on various matters, for example sport in South Africa. The Prime Minister said that the policy of the Government was dictated by the National Party, not by any society.

THE UNITED PARTY
Africans domiciled outside the homelands

During the no-confidence debate in the Assembly, Mr. Dave J. Marais and Sir de Villiers Graaff attacked the National Party on the question of Africans who are domiciled outside the homelands. Mr. Marais said1 the Government did not seem to grasp the fundamental fact that there would be millions of detribalized Africans living in the industrial areas of South Africa by the turn of the century. With its "politically naive" policy, the Government was creating a landless, rootless, and voiceless proletariat which constituted the flashpoint of the country's race problems. The fact must be faced that the millions outside the homelands were not temporary citizens, but an integral part of South Africa with a decisive and vast role to play in the future of the country.

Assembly, 1 February, Hansard 1 cols. 159-62.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
Mr. Marais suggested that urban Africans must be provided with better residential and social amenities; there must be an immediate acceleration of work training methods for them; there should be a relaxation of influx control to provide job mobility and an uninterrupted home life; deserving Africans should be exempted from the pass laws and be given an opportunity to obtain freehold title for the land on which they lived in the urban areas.

Sir de Villiers said2, "Blacks in their millions are always going to be in and around our urban areas. I am afraid that they are riot going to be that settled population which we would so like to see . .. We on this side of the House are very sick of the sense of guilt .. One gets when one sees what is happening to the family life of the Bantu people under this Government, when one sees the
conditions under which they live . . . , when one looks at the unutterable waste of human material which could be put to good purpose”.

Later”, Sir de Villiers stated that, in terms of Government policy, urban Bantu had no job security, no rights of home-ownership, no stake in the maintenance of law and order, no stake in the well-being of their own people, inadequate schooling, inadequate training, and no security when their working lives ended.

The African homelands
The United Party has continued to oppose very strongly the creation of independent African homelands, and all legislation designed to further this policy. Spokesmen have maintained that independent Black states within or adjoining South Africa might constitute a security threat if, for example, they entered into alliances with communist countries.

Not all of the members have agreed with these tactics, however. Mr. Japie D. du P. Basson, M.P., has frequently pleaded for the acceptance of those aspects of Nationalist policy which are accomplished and which are positive. Mrs. Catherine D. Taylor, M.P., is reported to have said, in a speech in Natal during May, that the basic constitutional machinery established in the homelands by the Government had become an integral part of the political scene, and the U.P. would have to take this into account. According to a Press report, she was thereafter told by the party hierarchy to refrain from making statements on policy matters.

Criticisms of the U.P.
In articles published in the Sunday Times on 2 and 9 July, the political commentator, Mr. Stanley Uys, described the U.P. Col. 421, 11 April. It cols. 5293-5.

UNITED PARTY
leaders as being under the influence of “a kind of verkrampte Mafia”. In their attitude, particularly to the “Bantustan” policy, they had tried to win the support of the most backward, not the most enlightened, section of the N.P., he maintained. Instead of throwing their weight behind the verligte aspects of Government policy, they had consistently opposed these. In the Oudtshoorn by-election campaign, he said, the U.P. had adopted a verkrampt approach to try to attract the plattelancers. This had left the N.P. with no choice but to start their "boerehaat campaign".

Mr. Uys said he was convinced that the time had come for the U.P. to undergo a radical personality change. The leaders were failing to mobilise the full potential of the opposition. He called for a verligte re-orientation, a "third force", to break down rigid and outdated party political divisions. Dissatisfied Nationalist verligtes, Mr. Uys stated, would rather float in a limbo than join the U.P. These articles attracted considerable attention. Sir de Villiers Graaff challenged all verligtes to join the U.P. in order to bring about a just society in South Africa. He outlined what he considered priorities should be: diversifying the economy of the homelands; encouraging them to maintain a federal relationship with the
Republic; removing causes for grievances among urban Africans; and the socio-economic upliftment of the Coloured and Indian people."

A number of newspapers that support the U.P. published editorials agreeing that the U.P. "needed a shake-up". It should cease to equivocate, it was stated, "speaking in different tones from different platforms".

Mr. Japie Basson told a U.P. meeting in Cape Town that, if the party wanted ever to return to power, it would have to come to terms with a growing verligte mood among voters. "I feel certain that the public will appreciate bold and dynamic moves on the political front", he said.7

Change in the Transvaal party leadership

Early in 1972 a group of energetic workers on the Witwatersrand, consisting mainly of younger members of the Transvaal provincial council, took over the organization and financing of the U.P.'s Witwatersrand General Council, with the aim of revitalizing the party and capturing the large majority of Reef seats at the next general election. They became popularly known as the "young Turks". They were led by Mr. Harry Schwarz, M.P.C., leader of the U.P. in the Transvaal Provincial Council and deputy leader of the party in the province. According to the political commentator

G Star, 11 July.
7 Rand Daily Mail, 12 July.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

Mr. John Patten,' their philosophy was based on that of Mr. Japie Basson. At the Transvaal U.P. congress, held in Johannesburg during August, Mr. Schwarz challenged Mr. S. J. Marais Steyn, M.P., for the leadership of the party in the province. Mr. Steyn is a righthand man of Sir de Villiers Graaff, and one of the country's most experienced politicians. According to Mr. Patten,9 Mr. Stanley Uys, and others, however, he was regarded by the younger men as being one of the "Old Guard", whose tactics were to expose every Government mistake and to exploit grievances, and who tried to avoid being pinned down too closely on details of the Opposition's alternative policies. The younger men believed that grievances alone could not defeat the Government. What was needed was a clear policy, with a fuller acceptance of racial realities and basic justice.

In what was reported to be a marginal victory, Mr. Schwarz was elected provincial leader. Also, apparently, by a narrow margin, Mr. Japie Basson was, however, defeated by Dr. Gideon F. Jacobs, M.P., in the voting for a deputy leader.

The United Party's constitutional plan

During August, an interim report carrying the unanimous approval of the United Party's constitutional committee (which sat under the chairmanship of Mr. M. L. Mitchell, M.P.) was studied by a joint meeting of the party's national head committee and its parliamentary caucus, which, in turn, reported to Sir de Villiers Graaff. He disclosed the plan, as amended in certain respects, during the party's Transvaal congress.
The previous policy (described on page 1), of granting limited representation in the House of Assembly to the various Black groups, was scrapped in favour of the plan briefly summarized below.

(a) About 15 community governments would be set up, each to have a legislative assembly elected on the basis of universal suffrage of members of the community concerned. There would be four White governments, based on existing provincial council demarcations; two Coloured governments (one for the Western Cape and the other for the rest of the country); one Indian government; and about eight African governments, based on both geographic and ethnic considerations, and making use, where necessary, of the current homelands. (It was not made plain how urban Africans were to be represented, but this was clearly envisaged.) Parliament would delegate to the legislative assemblies the maximum powers commensurate with good government, and with the purpose of limiting areas where race conflicts could take place. Sir de Villiers stated that the party had still to decide on the immediate legislative, executive, and fiscal powers to be devolved on the community governments. These might eventually include, for instance, the powers of the present provincial councils, plus matters like housing, social welfare and pensions, and education.

When these governments were functioning, the Departments of Bantu Administration, Coloured Affairs, and Indian Affairs would be phased out.

(b) Joint standing committees would be established, consisting of Members of Parliament and members of each of the legislative assemblies. These committees would provide the liaison structure required when Parliament contemplated legislation affecting any particular community.

(c) Referring to the Coloured people, the party's constitutional committee considered that any scheme envisaged "should not exclude the possibility of the Coloured community becoming part of the same federal community unit as one or more of the White community units". According to Press reports, however, Sir de Villiers rejected the suggestion that a way be left open for a possible future merger of White and Coloured interests.

(d) A Federal Assembly would be created consisting of at least 150 (apparently, about 165) members. Each of the legislative assemblies would appoint three representatives to this Assembly, and "an additional 120 should be elected on the basis of a formula reflecting the proportional contribution of each community or unit to the Republic, measured in terms of the country's gross domestic product". Sir de Villiers said that this formula had still to be worked out.

The Federal Assembly would have an executive and civil
service. It would elect a Chief Executive Officer, who would nominate members of the Assembly to be members of the Executive Committee (Cabinet). Portfolios would be allocated to executive members in accordance with nominations by a Minister of Federal Affairs in Parliament. Parliament would, from time to time, determine the powers which it would delegate to the Federal Assembly.

e) The existing (White) Parliament would remain sovereign over all matters except those which were the peculiar and intimate concern of the legislative assemblies. The constitutional committee suggested that Parliament should have the right to veto anything done by the Federal Assembly and legislative assemblies; but Sir de Villiers did not accept this suggestion.

Sunday Express. 10 September- Rand Daily Mail, 21 September. c...- Sunday Tribune, 27 August.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
The committee stated that "if Parliament comprises only representatives of the White community, this will guarantee to the White voter that the development of the federal plan will be in the hands of his Parliament .... Our recommendations make it clear that the decisions as to whether such (White) control should be relinquished in any sphere or at any time would remain in the hands of the White electorate - and your committee does not envisage such control being abandoned in the foreseeable future". It conceded, however, the possibility one day "of a South African society in which one or more, or all, of the Non-White communities could share responsibility with the White community in those matters of common concern which cannot be devolved upon the constituent elements". Sir de Villiers emphasized that the White Parliament "as it exists today" would continue as the sovereign body.

(f) The constitutional committee stated that it had not completed its investigation of fiscal arrangements. It recommended, however, that the maximum possible powers of taxation be given to the legislative assemblies; that the main taxing authority be Parliament; that, initially, Parliament should appropriate money to the Federal Assembly, which would decide on its allocation; and that Parliament should vote additional sums as subsidies to the legislative assemblies, the allocation of these moneys being done by the Federal Assembly.

Various leaders of the Black community, canvassed by the Rand Daily Mail," rejected the plan because it was based on the maintenance of White supremacy.

THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY
Main principles
Shortly before the Progressive Party's annual congress the chairman of its national executive, Mr. Ray Swart, restated its main principles as being:

(a) a rejection of racial discrimination;

(b) recognition of individual merit as the yardstick for advancement in society;
equal opportunities for all, irrespective of race or colour.

Future election contests
At their national congress, held in Johannesburg during July, the Young Progressives recommended that the party should contest elections wherever it had support, regardless of whether or not a seat was marginal, when a split Opposition vote might result in a Nationalist victory. The aim should be to attract verligtes from both the N.P. and the U.P.

The combined national congress of the party, which took place near Pretoria the following month, accepted this recommendation, deciding to set a target of contesting about 60 seats at the next parliamentary general election (treble the previous number). Mr. Colin Eglin, the leader of the party, urged that it should become the base for "verligte power".

Mrs. Helen Suzman claimed that Sir de Villiers Graaff, too, had rejected any idea of an election pact. In a Press interview on 23 July, he is reported to have declared that "an electoral or formal understanding with any other political party would seriously harm the United Party, the entire Opposition cause, and would undoubtedly favour the Government at the next general election".

Federal policy
Dr. Zac de Beer, then chairman of the party's political advisory committee, reminded the congresses that, as far back as 1962, the Progressives had advocated a federal form of government, following recommendations by the Molteno Commission. It must be accepted that diversity existed in South Africa. There was, thus, virtue in engineering the greatest possible decentralization of forces, and bringing about the greatest measure of local selfgovernment. Others were now advocating federalism, Dr. de Beer said. But the United Party was abusing the word. It would not be federation if there were one sovereign body in a country which in its own discretion, variable from time to time, allowed other bodies-which might operate within its territory-the right to carry on certain functions. The end picture presented by the National Party was not federation either, but rather a confederation of independent states. There was, however, a good deal that was positive in the doctrine of separate development and separate freedoms, and what was positive the Progressives would accept.

It was part of the Progressives' federal concept, Dr. de Beer continued, that wherever in South Africa there was an area with a certain unique predominant nature, then the party would move towards establishing that area as a separate and autonomous province. By "autonomous", something less than complete independence was envisaged. Federation might be defined as the existence of co-ordinate sovereignties, with powers that did not overlap, within the same state. However, if any of the homelands had become independent when a federation was introduced, or wished for independence, this would not be opposed. Such home Rand Daily Mail, 21 September.

Various newspapers of 21 August.
lands, together with states in Southern Africa that had never been part of the Republic, could be invited to become provinces of a federal republic if there were advantages on both sides in such an arrangement.

The provincial boundaries of South Africa should be substantially re-drawn, Dr. de Beer said, to take into account demographic, economic, and other factors. It would not be regarded as anathema to put together in the same province people of different racial groups. The Government's separate freedom policy had foundered on the rock of homeland consolidation. The Progressives would delimit provinces without having to shift populations over massive distances.

The national congress accepted this federal concept. It called upon the Government, in the latter's current plan for the consolidation of KwaZulu, to create a viable unit on geographical, and not on racial, lines, and urged that no one - regardless of race should be forced out.

In opening the congress 4 Mr. Colin Eglin had stressed that constitutional reform would have to be a product of Blacks and Whites working and thinking together. The question of franchise qualifications, as agreed upon in 1960,5 was raised but not pursued. It was pointed out that it was already policy to adjust the proposed income and/or property qualifications, by administrative means, in accordance with changes in the real value of money, and that this had been done.'

Nomenclature
Congress decided to abandon the use of any collective term, such as "non-white", to describe people of colour, and, instead, to refer to those not of European origin as Africans, Coloured people, and Asians.

Joint discussions
Before the congress. Progressive Party leaders had held discussions on national issues, behind closed doors, with some 50 especially-invited Afrikaans-speaking experts in various fields - academics, businessmen, farmers, and others. Critical examination of the party's policies was invited, without involving the guests in any adherence to the party."

During September Mr. Eglin, Mrs. Helen Suzman. and other senior party members toured the homelands, for discussions with African leaders of various shades of opinion there.

4 Rand Daily Malt. 19 August.
Star, 22 August.
Sunday Express, 6 August: Star, 7 August.

LAND AND LABOUR PARTY
THE LAND AND LABOUR PARTY
It was announced in September' that a Land and Labour Party had been formed, under the chairmanship of Mr. Jan Cloete. Its primary concern would be to safeguard the future of White workers, but it aimed also at securing a fair deal for Black workers. The party stood for White trade unions only in White areas, and for the cultural freedom of Black homelands, but without their being granted
sovereign independence, and without further "territorial concessions". It supported the view that a Coloured homeland should be created.

**SUBSEQUENT BY-ELECTIONS**

Parliamentary by-elections were held in Caledon and Malmesbury on 8 November, the Nationalists retaining both seats. The results indicated that there had been little or no change in the political scene in the rural Cape. The United Party did not contest the election in Malmesbury. The voting was:

Caledon

<table>
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<tr>
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Malmesbury

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The National Party also retained the four seats that were contested on 29 November, with increased majorities in two constituencies, but losing votes to the United Party in the other two. The results were:

Wakkerstroom

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Johannesburg West

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Klip River

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<td>H.N.P.</td>
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<td>P.P.</td>
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<td>L.L.P.</td>
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I Sunday Express, 24 September.

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ATTITUDES OF MEMBERS OF THE COLOURED COMMUNITY
LIAISON BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE COLOURED PERSONS' REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL

According to the Minister of Coloured Affairs and various Press reports of 22 February, a liaison meeting was held on 21 February under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister, with the Minister and Deputy Minister of Coloured Affairs, the Secretary for Coloured Relations, and the Commissioner for Coloured Affairs present. Mr. Tom Swartz, leader of the Federal Party and Government-appointed Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council (C.P.R.C.), led the delegation, which consisted of the Council's Executive Committee (all members of the Federal Party) and representatives of the then two minor parties—the National and the Republican Coloured People's Parties. The Labour Party was invited to send two representatives, but declined. The delegation handed a memorandum to the Government, in which they are reported to have urged, inter alia, that the C.P.R.C. should be developed into a wholly-elected, autonomous body with meaningful powers. Qualified Coloured people should progressively and more speedily replace Whites in the Administration of Coloured Affairs and at the University of the Western Cape, it was maintained, with equal pay for equal work.

The Prime Minister is stated to have said that it was Government policy to give Coloured people full control of their own affairs. The wage gap was being narrowed, but the availability of funds must be considered.

Further meetings took place, under the chairmanship of the Minister of Coloured Affairs, between Government representatives and the Council's Executive, together with any member co-opted for his special knowledge of matters to be discussed, which arose mainly from resolutions passed at the Council's Session in 1971. The Cabinet Ministers and Departmental Secretaries whose portfolios were involved attended. According to reports, matters discussed included the Group Areas Act, job reservation, and the farm prison system.

Senate. 10 May. Hansard 12 cols. 4395-6.

This in spite of the fact that the Federal Party was in power only as a result of the number of its members nominated to the Council by the Government.

e.g. Natal Mercury, 29 March; Rand Daily Mail, 5 August.

LABOUR PARTY
PARTY POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS
Federal Party

Mr. Tom Swartz has, several times, talked of the frustration caused by the fact that bodies like the C.P.R.C. have no meaningful powers. At the party's Cape Provincial congress, in April, a motion was unanimously passed to the effect that as the possibility of a separate homeland for the Coloured people of South Africa had been totally rejected, the Coloured people must be regarded as part of the
South African nation. The policy of separate development could be regarded only as a means towards the achievement of full political, civil, and social rights. Commenting on this resolution in a Press interview, Mr. Swartz said that separate development as it was currently being implemented showed that the Whites of South Africa wanted to cling to the best of both worlds. They wanted separation, but they also wanted domination.

During August, the C.P.R.C. passed a resolution moved by the Federal Party: "that this Council reaffirms its commitment to the attainment of full political, social, and civil rights by the Coloured people as part of the South African nation, and that the Council as at present constituted can only be considered a steppingstone to full citizenship".

Labour Party

There has been restiveness among younger members of the Labour Party. Early in the year, a local branch in the Transvaal passed a resolution in favour of withdrawal from the C.P.R.C. and the establishment of a political organization outside it. This was defeated at the party congress in April: the leader, Mr. Sonny Leon, is reported to have said that the Labour Party would remain in the Council to expose it for what it was.

Later, at a meeting in Johannesburg, the Labour Party's Youth Organization decided to work for Black solidarity, in the belief that Coloured, African, and Indian peoples must form a common front. Mr. Leon had commented previously that dissatisfactions were creating a fertile background for the growth of a Black consciousness movement.

The party's national congress decided to boycott all entertainments and sporting events that were organized on a racial basis. Shortly afterwards, tens of thousands of stickers proclaiming "This is petty apartheid" were distributed to branches, to be affixed to e.g. Rand Daily Mail, 10 April.

Star, 10 April.

Star, 12 April.

Star, 13 March; Rand Daily Mail, 14 March and 8 April. Rand Daily Mail, 6 September.

Ibid. 14 April.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

shops, petrol stations, and offices where discrimination was practised, with the aim of securing a Coloured boycott. Letters were sent to a number of businesses warning that such action would be taken unless discrimination ceased. One of the prime movers in this campaign, the Natal leader Mr. V. R. Noel, was served by the Government with a five-year banning order.

The tactics of the party during the Session of the C.P.R.C. are described later.

Social Democratic Party

A Social Democratic Party was formed early in 1972, led by the late Mr. Abe Domingo, a former Chief Whip of the Labour Party in the C.P.R.C. Mr. Domingo accused the Labour Party of hypocrisy: it rejected the C.P.R.C. as a political institution, he said, yet made use of the body. And he condemned it for rejecting
dialogue with the Government. He and his supporters believed that dialogue with Whites and with Government departments was essential. They accepted the Council as a means of attaining the socio-economic upliftment of Coloured people as a stepping-stone to full common citizenship with Whites.

Mr. Domingo died on 29 March, being succeeded as leader by Mr. Edward G. Rooks of Durban. A party conference elected Dr. Clifford L. Smith as deputy leader (he formerly headed the National Coloured People's Party) and Mr. Simon Mentor as national chairman. This conference decided to establish links with "the other oppressed races in South Africa" with a view to working for a universal adult franchise."

COLOURED PERSONS' REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL AMENDMENT ACT, No. 99 OF 1972
The main provisions of this Act (which became known in January) were as follows.
(a) Every Council constituted under the Act will continue for a maximum of five years from the date of its first meeting. The first meeting of the existing Council was deemed to have been 20 November 1969. (The reason for this provision was that the sitting nominated and elected members had assumed office on different dates.)
(b) After the dissolution of the Council by effluxion of time, and until a new Council assumes office, persons who were members will remain members, the Council will remain competent to perform its functions, and the Minister will have the power to summon the Council for the dispatch of business. (There are similar provisions in regard to White governmental bodies.)
Star I May; Sunday Express, 7 May; Rand Daily Mail, 15 May.
1 Rand Daily Mail, 6 April.

COLOURED PERSONS' REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL
(c) In anticipation of appropriation of funds by the Council, its chairman may authorize the issue of moneys from the Council's funds (up to one per cent of the total sum appropriated) to, defray unforeseen expenditure which cannot be postponed without grave prejudice to the public interest.
(d) (Section 6c) If the Council fails to appropriate moneys for the services it controls, the Executive may do so, and this action will be deemed to have been taken by the Council. Should the Executive fail to appropriate moneys, the Minister of Coloured Affairs may appropriate money for the services concerned, and his action will be deemed to have been taken by the Council. In such an event, the Minister of Finance must report to Parliament. No expenditure may be authorized by the Executive or the Minister for any service upon which expenditure was not authorized during the previous financial year, or for which there is no statutory authority.
(e) The Minister of Coloured Affairs, in consultation with the
Minister of Finance, may grant approval for the overrawing of accounts. Any unspent balance not exceeding R500 000 need not be paid over to the Department of Coloured Relations.

(f) In addition to his existing powers to make regulations under the Act, the Minister of Coloured Affairs may make regulations dealing with any other matter which he considers it necessary or expedient to prescribe in order that the purposes of the Act may be achieved.

The Minister said in the Assembly that the Executive of the C.P.R.C. had asked him to insert Section 6c in the Bill. At the time concerned, it was only with the casting vote of the chairman that their party had commanded a majority in the Council. (Mr. Swartz confirmed that he believed the legislation was necessary to ensure that essential services, such as the payment of teachers’ salaries, were maintained even if there were a "breakdown on the political front". In fact, for reasons given later, the Labour Party did reject the Council's budget.)

When the Bill was debated in the House of Assembly, Mrs. Catherine D. Taylor (United Party) moved "to omit all words after "that" and to substitute "this House declines to pass the Second Reading of the ... Bill on the grounds that it, inter alia, represents a retrogressive step in the political development of the Coloured people, and a vote of no-confidence in their ability to administer their own affairs".

The Bill was an emergency measure, she maintained, introduced because, at the time, the Federal Party could command only 12 12 June. Hansard 18 cols. 9255-7.

" Sunday Times, 31 January.

12 June, Hansard 17 cols. 8673-81.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

30 votes in the Council. (Some members had crossed the floor.) The other members were: Labour, 23; Independents, 4; Republican, 1; National, 1. (One seat was vacant.) The Government was at fault, she said, for not having given the Coloured people a fully elected body when the Council was created in 1969. The Labour Party had won the elections, yet the Government had prevented them from taking office by nominating only members of the Federal Party." The Labour Party had been incensed, and the present degree of distrust had developed.

The Minister replied that he had every confidence in the Coloured people and the C.P.R.C., but could not allow "certain elements in the Coloured political set-up" to precipitate a crisis in the Council.

Mr. Sonny Leon commented' that the Bill made "a mockery of an institution the Government themselves have created". Assurances by the Government that "the sky is the limit" for the Coloured people "have fooled nobody".

TPROCEEDINGS OF THE C.P.L. 18

For the third year running the Labour Party boycotted the official opening of the Council's Annual Session, performed on this occasion by the Deputy Speaker of
the House of Assembly. A completely non-political figure should have been chosen, they maintained.

There was some unanimity during the proceedings, for example when the Federal Party supported a Labour Party motion that all 'forms of apartheid be condemned by the Council. But differences emerged on other issues.

Early in the Session Mr. Leon gave notice of a motion "that this Council has no confidence in the Government of South Africa or in the policy of separate development". The Labour Party challenged a ruling by the Chairman that, as the motion stood, it could not be debated. He suggested that it be reworded: "this Council has no confidence in the Executive (of the C.P.R.C.) as it condones the policy of separate development of the South African Government". Mr. Leon was unwilling to accept this suggestion.

Mr. Swartz introduced a motion "that the Executive make representations to the Minister of Coloured Affairs with a view to receiving the necessary sanction to accept foreign aid from Western countries who wish to assist in the socio-economic development of the Coloured people". Labour Party members absented themselves from the debate and voting: their deputy leader, Mr. David Curry, walked out.

Mr. Swartz called for negotiations with the authorities to end restrictions on the entry of Coloured citizens of the Republic into South West Africa. The Labour Party moved an amendment that for the words "Coloured citizens" should be substituted "all the citizens of South Africa". When the chairman ruled that the amendment was not acceptable, the Labour Party members walked out.

BUDGETS OF EXPENDITURE

It was reported to the Republic's House of Assembly in March that, according to a report of the Auditor-General, the Council's expenditure in the 1970-1 financial year, amounting to R70 386 659, had exceeded the appropriated amount by R 1419 659. The Commissioner for Coloured Affairs had explained that this was because of salary adjustments during the year: the full implications of these had been impossible to calculate when the revised estimates were prepared. On the recommendation of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Public Accounts the unauthorized expenditure was appropriated, but the circumstances surrounding the matter (apparently due to a division of authority) were investigated.

COLOURED PERSONS' REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL

was reported to have said that they supported the idea, but considered that the motion was in effect a vote of no confidence in the Coloured Development Corporation, and this should have been made clear.

Another motion by Mr. Swartz called for negotiations with the authorities to end restrictions on the entry of Coloured citizens of the Republic into South West Africa. The Labour Party moved an amendment that for the words "Coloured citizens" should be substituted "all the citizens of South Africa". When the chairman ruled that the amendment was not acceptable, the Labour Party members walked out.

7 Sunday Times, 31 January.
js This section is based on reports in the Rand Daily Hail, 5, 8 and 15 August, and in the Soar, 8 and 24 August.
For the 1972-3 financial year, Parliament voted the Council R101 000 on Loan Account for capital works, and R88 716 000 on Revenue Account.1 The Budget presented by Mr. Swartz to the C.P.R.C. was:

Revenue Account 
Finance and auxiliary services ... 1 065 000 Rural areas and settlements .... 30 000 Local government ......... 2500 Welfare services and pensions ... 33 181 000 Education ... ... ... ... 53 637 500 R88 716 000 Loan Account Rural areas and settlements ... 34 900 Education ... ... ... ... 39 100 R74 000

"Rand Daily Mail, 14 March.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
The Labour Party rejected this Budget because it had discriminatory provisions (for example, Coloured persons employed in the Administration and at the University were to be paid less than Whites in equivalent posts), and because the party was not prepared to implement the policy of separate development. An Independent, Mr. A. L. Adams, opposed it too, on the ground that Parliament had voted a very much smaller sum than the Council had requested.2

BY-ELECTION
A vacancy on the C.P.R.C. occurred through the death of Mr. Domingo, who held the elected Rust-ter-Vaal (Transvaal) seat. At the by-election, held in July, the Federal Party captured this seat from the Labour Party, the result being: 1969 1972

Federal Party ... ... ....... ... ... 2011 1898
Labour Party ................... 2090 1751
National Coloured People's Party ... 1 583 333
Percentage poll ................. 70.9 56.8

FUTURE OF THE C.P.R.C.
In the Assembly on 30 May and 1 June23 the Minister and Deputy Minister of Coloured Affairs said that the Government had accepted in principle that the C.P.R.C. should become a fully-elected body, but because of practical problems, such as delimitaion of constituencies and drawing up of a new voters' roll, it would not be possible to implement this decision until the election following the 1974 one (i.e. in 1979). In regard to the Council's powers, the Minister said that for the time being it had enough work to carry out.

ATTITUDES OF CERTAIN COLOURED PEOPLE OUTSIDE THE C.P.R.C.
As reported on page 12 of last year's Survey, during October 1971 a number of Afrikaner intellectuals and prominent professional men, businessmen, and farmers held discussions with leading Coloured personalities on a farm (at Grabouw) in
the Western Cape. A continuation committee was elected to arrange further meetings.

Plans were made for a second series of talks, to be held near Stellenbosch in April, but these were abandoned because of difficulties in regard to the composition of the gathering. The Sunday Times reported that the organizers felt that, if the discussions were to be meaningful, prominent White Nationalists and Coloured 22 Star, 22 August; Cape Times, 23 August.

ATTITUDES OF THE COLOURED COMMUNITY
militants should be included. It seemed doubtful whether the former would accept, and certain that the latter would decline. There was still talk in certain circles of "Brown Power", but not among the militants, who were giving increasing support to the Black consciousness movement and to the policy of non-collaboration with Whites, including White verligtes and liberals. Furthermore, it was said, the Coloured men who took part in the original Grabouw talks had been forced to reconsider their own position. Although they were stated to have been bitterly outspoken and uncompromising, they were branded by Coloured leaders in academic, professional, and business circles as "sell-outs" to the Whites.

The Press report quoted stated, "The serious aspect of this 'Black Power' movement is that it is directed primarily against the Afrikaner, who symbolises the Government and its apartheid policies. Among the Coloured elite groups the use of Afrikaans is no longer tolerated. People who have grown up with Afrikaans as their mother tongue are now using English ... otherwise they will be completely ostracised by their own friends".

On 23 January, the Sunday Times carried a report (by the same commentator, Mr. J. H. P. Serfontein) on a five-day interracial academic workshop that had been arranged the previous week by the Abe Bailey Institute for Inter-Racial Studies at the University of Cape Town. There, too, Mr. Serfontein had noted "a determined, calculated, and planned movement among the educated Coloureds-of whom 85 per cent speak Afrikaans-to cut off their cultural ties with their Afrikaner culture by deliberately becoming Anglicised". "However," he continued, "for the smug English liberals ... there is no comfort in this trend". A scathing attack on the Anglican Church had been made by a Cape Town Coloured Anglican priest, he said, for not practising its professed opposition to racial discrimination-especially where there was no legal provision for it.

The Black consciousness movement is discussed in a subsequent chapter.

ATTITUDES OF INDIANS
MEETINGS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN COUNCIL
According to various Press releases and issues of the official publication Fiat Lux, the S.A. Indian Council has concerned itself with such matters as the impact of the Group Areas Act and the need for better social amenities in Indian group areas, and has made recommendations for the abolition of provincial barriers on
Indian movement, the speedier conversion of local affairs and consultative committees into bodies with executive power, and the promotion of Indians in educational services. Periodic meetings have been held between the Council’s Executive Committee and Cabinet Ministers who are responsible for matters to be raised.

SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN COUNCIL AMENDMENT ACT, No. 67 OF 1972

1. This Amendment Act provided that, after consultation by the Minister with the Indian Council, the State President may, by proclamation, declare that the membership of the Council shall be increased, from a number not exceeding 25 to a number not exceeding 30. The State President will determine how many members will be appointed and how many elected. The procedure for elections, and the qualifications for membership of the Council and for the franchise.

(The Minister of Indian Affairs said, during the debate in the House of Assembly, that for the time being there would be 25 appointed and 5 elected members. The future composition would be discussed with the Council: after such consultation the number of elected members could be changed from time to time by proclamation. Serving members would continue to serve as appointed members until the term of office of the existing Council expired in August 1974.)

2. The composition of the Executive Committee of the Council will be unchanged, i.e. it will consist of a chairman appointed by the Minister from among the Council members, and four members elected by the Council itself.

3. The Council has thus far had advisory powers only. In future,
the Executive Committee will deal with certain matters in so far as they affect Indians and to the extent to which powers to deal with these matters has been delegated to the Executive-
1 21 and 24 March, Hansard 8 cols. 3796, 4110-I.

ATTITUDES OF INDIANS
The matters concerned are:
(a) education;
(b) community welfare; and
(c) such other matters as the State President may, from time to time, determine by proclamation in the Gazette. Any such proclamation must be tabled in Parliament.

Mr. R. M. Cadman said in the Assembly that the United Party would support the Bill because it was an improvement on the existing position, but did not consider that the measure went far enough. His party would like to see the Council a wholly elective body, with greater executive functions. He objected to the wide powers to be granted to the Minister, considering that Parliament should have some control over the number of elected members, the conduct of elections, and other matters.
Mrs. Helen Suzman of the Progressive Party did not support the Bill. "I think that it is an impertinence in this day and age", she said, "to offer the Indian population of South Africa... this pale substitute of an elected council". The Bill offered no meaningful political rights, and would certainly not conciliate the political aspirations of the Indian people.

Replying to various matters raised during the debate, the Ninister stated that, for the time being, Parliament would not appropriate moneys direct to the Council: financial arrangements would be controlled by the Department of Indian Affairs. The Council would carry out functions assigned to it within the framework of funds voted for such services by Parliament on the Departmental vote.

For the immediate future (as at present) the Council would have no Hansard. Members had themselves decided that minutes of proceedings should be kept instead, for the information of the Department and of members. Meetings were not automatically open to the Press.

Asked by the Press to comment on the Bill, Mr. A. M. Rajab, chairman of the Council's Executive Committee said, "I wish to make it perfectly clear that I have always striven to make the Council a fully elected body, chosen by the Indian people themselves, and have made representations to the Government for the realization of this objective as quickly as possible. I am convinced -that the sooner this can be realized, the sooner can the present hard-worked and often misunderstood nominated Council hand over its enormous task." He added, "Of course we are not satisfied (with the Bill) but if we refuse to accept what has been given to us; we will be back in the position we were in in 1946. Then 'it was all or nothing - and we asked for all and got nothing."

Col. 3799-3801.
3 Cols. 3820-4.
Cols. 3897, 4213-4.
4 Natal Daily News, 16 March; Rand Daily Mail, 29 March.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS
At its first provincial congress, the recently-revived Natal Indian Congress decided to boycott the Indian Council and not to put forward the names of any of its members for the five elected seats.

There was division of opinion about the membership of the Congress. Some delegates, notably from the Durban Central branch, proposed a change of name to the People's Congress, to include members of all Black communities. Black solidarity, it was stated, was necessary for an effective Black opposition to "racist domination". A motion to this effect was defeated by only two votes. The opponents considered that, at the present stage, it was practical and realistic to confine membership to Indians, inspiring them to strive for a united democratic South Africa. Congress would, however, "co-operate with the organizations of all other oppressed peoples".

The Leader, 21 January; Star, 1 May; Reality, May.

ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED WITH
BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS
DEFINITION OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

The emergence of Black Consciousness was discussed on pages 42 et seq of last year's Survey. It was pointed out that, according to Mr. Barney Pityana of the South African Students' Organization (Saso) and other spokesmen, there is no close parallel with the Black Power concept as this exists in other countries. On 16 February Mr. Patrick Laurence of The Star quoted from the Saso manifesto: "The Black man must build up his own value system, see himself as self-defined and not as defined by others." From this perspective, it was stated, the Black man rediscovers his intrinsic worth as a person and discards Whitetainted perceptions of himself as a problem, a source of labour, or an object of pity. A sense of pride and Black solidarity result. "But the Blackness referred to is not confined to Africans. In this context, Black means anyone who is not White, anyone who is discriminated against because of colour."

NOMENCLATURE

As mentioned in previous Surveys, the S.A. Institute of Race Relations and others have for long been searching for an acceptable collective term for those South Africans who are not classified White. When operating in a society which differentiates between people on the grounds of skin colour or racial descent it is essential, however repugnant, when describing legislative measures, party political attitudes, educational and other services, to refer specifically to peoples of various racial groups. For purposes of brevity, a collective term for those who are usually discriminated against is often necessary. But it has for long been recognized that the term "Non-White" gives offence. Being a negative description, it detracts from human dignity.

At its Executive Committee meeting in July, the Institute of Race Relations decided to use the term "Black" when a collective word is essential, but wherever possible to speak, rather, of "Africans, Coloured people, and Asians". (It should be added that terms such as "Bantu" have to be employed when referring to legislative measures and systems which bear these specific names.) It is recognized that not all Coloured people and Asians - or indeed Africans - wish to be referred to as "Black"; but the consensus of opinion appears to be that this term is preferable to "Non-White".

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

Fortuitously, the Rand Daily Mail came to a similar decision at about the same time. In an editorial published on 15 July, it stated that, while accepting usage of the word "Black", it explicitly dissociated itself from the Black Power racialism with which the term had, unfortunately, been connected in certain circles. The Daily Dispatch, too, is using the term "Black". As mentioned earlier, the Progressive Party decided in August to abandon the use of any collective term. Other English-medium newspapers are continuing to speak of "Non-Whites", although they are fully aware that the term gives offence. The Star (Argus Group) stated on 17 July that it was not convinced that the majority of Coloured and Asian South Africans would be less offended by being called "Black". On 23 July the Sunday Times said that use of this new term presented difficulties because "it
is an emotive political word, not a precise description of a kind that is often necessary in a race-caste society.

Some indication of the views of Coloured people and Asians has been given in the preceding chapter. A study of the attitudes of young Africans in Soweto, by Mr. M. L. Edelstein, was described on page 38 of last year's Survey (inter alia, a large majority preferred the term "African" to the word "Black").

**ATTITUDE TO WHITE LIBERALS**

Members of Black Consciousness organizations, in particular students, have rejected White liberals. In an article published in Reality in March Mr. Steve Biko, a former president of Saso, expressed the view that "even those Whites who see a lot wrong with the system make it their business to control the response of Blacks to the provocation". Liberalism, he added, "dangles before freedom-hungry Blacks promises of a great future for which no-one seems to be particularly working".

Commenting on this article and on various congresses and meetings he had attended, Mr. Stanley Uys of the Sunday Times wrote2: "The essence of liberalism in South Africa has been to stress an evolutionary approach to the race problem, a programme of gradualism. The ideal it has pursued has been of Whites working together with Blacks, Coloureds, and Indians to create an equal, multi-racial society. . . . Just as liberalism relied essentially on co-operation, so Black Consciousness relies essentially on polarisation. Its credo has been expressed by Mr. Steve Biko in the cry, 'Black man, you are on your own'. Black Consciousness rejects really the whole foundation on which liberalism is constructed: that any White South African can identify himself sufficiently with Blacks in order to share not only their aims, but also their methods. . . . Black Consciousness believes that 1 The Institute of Race Relations has published this study under the title What Do Young Africans Think?

2 Issues of 26 March and 23 July.

**BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS**

(liberal) intervention in the Black struggle is only a hindrance, not a help".

As described later, Saso leaders have rejected dialogue with Whites of whatever shade of opinion, and also with Blacks who are "operating within the system" - Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, for example. But not all of the Black Consciousness leaders entirely share this attitude. Mr. Saths Cooper of the Black People's Convention is reported3 as having said, "The big mistake Saso has made is their belief that they can go it on their own, without the Whites. The irresponsible talk by young Black leaders vying for power will only prove detrimental to their own cause". (But, as indicated below, this Convention refuses co-operation with leaders in political institutions established by the Government.) Mr. Ben Khoapa, Director of Black Community Programmes on Spro-Cas 2 is quoted' as having said, "Black people are concerned about liberation by whatever means are necessary. The question of whether they operate from within the system or not is irrelevant."
PROPOSED NATIONAL CONVENTION OR SUMMIT CONFERENCE
As mentioned on page 57 of last year's Survey, during August 1971 Chief Gatsha Buthelezi suggested that a national convention be arranged of leaders of all political parties in South Africa, including the National Party, and of prominent persons of all racial groups and walks of life. The object would be to discuss a modus vivendi for the people of South Africa. This idea was endorsed by Mr. Sonny Leon of the Labour Party, Mr. A. M. Rajab of the S.A. Indian Council, certain leading members of the United and the Progressive Parties, and others, and a steering committee was set up. It became clear, however, that the National Party opposed the plan (as it had done on previous occasions).
The Labour Party then proposed that, as an alternative, a summit conference be held of leaders of political parties which rejected separate development, rejected also racial power structures such as "Black" or "Brown" power, refused any contact with illegal organizations, regarded bodies such as the Coloured Persons' Representative Council as a means to an end, and had as their ultimate aim direct participation of all in the central government. Again, there was considerable support for this plan. It foundered, however, because many of the organizers became involved in arranging, instead, a Black People's Convention.

BLACK PEOPLE'S CONVENTION
It was noted on page 45 of the 1971 Survey that in August of that year the Interdenominational African Ministers' Association of S.A. (Idamasa) sponsored a conference at Edendale, near Pietermaritzburg, attended by delegates representing about 26 African organizations of various kinds. Plans were made at the conference to set up a confederate body to promote African educational, economic, political, and ecumenical development.
To this end, a further conference was arranged in Soweto, Johannesburg, during December 1971, under the chairmanship of Mr. M. T. Moerane, editor of The World and president of the Association for the Educational and Cultural Advancement of the African People (Asseca). After lengthy discussion, a different line of action was decided upon - the creation of a new political body, for Black people of all groups. This left the Idamasa, Asseca, and certain other delegates virtually without a mandate. They did not oppose the plan - the voting was reported to have been 40 to none, with three abstentions. However, a new ten-member ad hoc committee was elected to draft a constitution for the proposed new organization, its convener being Mr. Drake K. Koka of Soweto, a trade unionist and former member of the defunct Liberal Party. He announced that the new body would not co-operate with any political institutions that had been established by the Government (thus ruling out association with men such as Chief Buthelezi, Mr. Leon, Mr. Rajab, and others).
The committee arranged a three-day Congress at the Lay Ecumenical Centre at Edendale, near Pietermaritzburg, held from 8 to 10 July, and attended by more than a hundred African, Indian, and Coloured delegates from numbers of centres throughout the country. The stated aims were "to provide a political home for all Black people who could not reconcile themselves to working within the framework of separate development, and to promote Black solidarity. The congress adopted a convention that had been drafted by the ad hoc committee. It was stated in a preamble that "Black people in South Africa have unique needs, aspirations, ideals, difficulties, and problems... There is a crying need for Blacks to reassert their pride, human dignity, group identity, and solidarity through a political movement... for the effective translation of needs and aspirations into reality".

The stated aims of the convention were:
1. "to unite and solidify the Black people of South Africa with a view to liberating and emancipating them from both psychological and physical oppression;
2. to preach, popularise and implement the philosophy of Black Consciousness and Black solidarity;
3. to formulate and implement an educational policy by Blacks and for Blacks;
4. to create and maintain an egalitarian society where justice is meted equally to all;
5. to formulate, apply and implement the principles and philosophy of Black communalism-the philosophy of sharing;
6. to create and maintain an equitable economic system based on the principle and philosophy of Black communalism;
7. to co-operate with existing agencies to reorientate the theological system to make religion relevant to the needs, aspirations, ideals and goals of the Black people."

An interim committee was elected (pending the election of an executive committee at a subsequent congress) the members being the Rev. Mayatila (president), Mr. M. N. Shezi (vice-president), Mr. Drake Koka (secretary-general), Mr. M. A. Dhlamini (national organizer), and Mr. Saths Cooper (public relations officer). Mr. Cooper announced that the convention aimed at a target of a million members by 1975.

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS' ORGANIZATION (SASO)

The emergence of Saso was described on page 245 of the 1970 Survey and page 42 of the issue for 1971. An account of its activities in 1972 is given in a later chapter, dealing with student organizations; but it is relevant to include at this point a description of its broad philosophy and objectives.

Saso's annual congress was held during July at St. Peter's Seminary, Hammanskraal, near Pretoria. Representatives of Black organizations were invited to attend, but no invitations were extended to leaders of the homeland
governments or other Government-created bodies. Three White students who had
gone as observers were asked to leave the hall. White Press-men were allowed to
attend; but one of them, from the Rand Daily Mail, was expelled because, despite
a warning, his paper used the word "NonWhite" in a description of the
proceedings.'
In his opening presidential address, Mr. Temba Sono expressed criticism of the
decision to exclude men like Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. There was need, he said, to
move away from Saso's "aloof attitude" towards homeland leaders and other men
working within separate development institutions. "We have to avoid stagnating
in the certitude of ideology .... Ideology must not restrict the scope of human
action.... We must not only preach freedom, we must practise it .... We agree
among ourselves, but we have to seek out those who differ from us and try to
sway them to our way of thinking. . . . This includes everybody . . . even our
enemies". Mr. Sono pointed out that the Black students had "already
compromised themselves within the system" by carrying
Rand Daily Mail and Star, of 11 July.
1 Rand Daily Mail, 6 and 7 July; Star, 3 July, Sunday Times, 23 July.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
reference books and attending segregated universities. "We have to accommodate
even contradictions in our struggle", he maintained.2
This speech created consternation. On a motion proposed by Mr. Strini Moodley
(then publications director) and seconded by Mr. Barney Pityana (a former
president), Mr. Sono was called upon to resign and to leave the conference hall
immediately. Mr. Steve Biko (another former president) said that Mr. Sono's
remarks were not in accordance with Saso's policy and were very dangerous. He
proposed a motion, which was carried unanimously, that Saso ,should disassociate
itself from the speech and that its executive be instructed to have nothing to do
with "the so-called leaders of the White racist institutions". Mr. Biko was quoted
in the Press as having said, of Chief Buthelezi, "This is the one man who has led
'the entire world to believe in the Bantustan philosophy."3
Shortly afterwards, Mr. Sono was granted a passport to enable him to study for a
post-graduate degree in the United States. He is stated4 to have told a Press
reporter, as he left, "Black people must organize themselves along realistic lines.
A pragmatic approach to the problems of our country is a vital necessity ... 'Chief
Gatsha (Buthelezi) is a force you cannot ignore". Students at the University of
Zululand would confirm the last statement, he maintained.
Mr. Jerry Modisane was elected as the new president. In an interview with the
Sunday Express5 he is reported to have said, "We do not need the co-operation of
the White man any more and we do not want him. We can find liberation from
perpetual servitude on our own". He accused White Pressmen of equating Black
Consciousness with Black Power, and misrepresenting Saso.
During October, Saso held a seminar to look into the possibilities of setting up a
company which would establish a Black Press, as a "self-reliance project", and to
express accurately the aspirations of Black people.
ASSECA
The Association for the Educational and Cultural Advancement of the African People (Asseca) has continued the educational projects described in previous issues of this Survey (1970, page 210; 1971, page 260). There is reported to have been some dispute, at the annual congress held in Port Elizabeth during April, about the composition of the executive committee, the Eastern Cape delegates considering that they had inadequate representation. No elections of office-bearers were held.

2 Sunday Times, 2 July; Star, 3 July.
3 Star, 3 July; Rand Daily Mail, 4 July; Sunday Times, 23 July.
4 Rand Daily Mail, 7 August.
5 16 July.
6 Rand Daily Mail, 21 April.

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS
UNIVERSITY CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT
At a congress held at the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre near Roodepoort during July, the University Christian Movement unanimously decided to disband, after five years of existence. There were apparently three reasons for this.
(a) The Security Police had continually "harassed" the leaders, several of whom had been subjected to banning orders.
(b) Delegates were told that only one of the five churches that originally sponsored the movement was still assisting it - the United Congregational Church. The Methodist and Presbyterian Churches had withdrawn their support, the Anglican Church was considering doing so, and the Roman Catholic Church had never given active help.
(c) According to the president, Miss Winkie Direko, the main reason was the growth of Black Consciousness among the Black members, and their consequent unwillingness to work within a multi-racial organization. They no longer believed "that multi-racialism is a viable strategy to bring about real change". It was stated, at the congress, that while members were firmly committed to an eventual non-racial South Africa, for the time being a Black-White polarisation was necessary because the situation of Whites was so different from that of the majority of U.C.M. members.'

BLACK CHURCHES AND THEOLOGY
Black Christians have continued their search, described on page 44 of last year's Survey, for a theology that would "make Christ relevant to the Black man". Much of their thinking cannot be quoted in South Africa because a book entitled Essays on Black Theology, edited by Mokgethi Motlhabi, has been banned, and Mr. Sabelo Ntwasa, director of the U.C.M.'s Black theology movement, was during March served with a five-year banning order.
For some years the Christian Institute of Southern Africa has provided administrative services for the African Independent Churches' Association (AICA), which it helped to found in 1965. The Institute employed a full-time consultant to work with AICA, and at the request of the churches concerned,
organized theological training for their ministers. It has, however, been decided that AICA will become fully autonomous from 1973. The Institute's consultancy will be broadened, and made available to the whole independent church movement, which is growing rapidly.3

TRADE UNIONISM

Trade unionism is discussed in a subsequent chapter; but it should be mentioned here that Mr. Drake Koka hopes to establish a Black Allied Workers' Council to embrace all African workers. I Star, 11 July; Rand Daily Mail, 12 July; Sunday Times, 23 July.

2 Government Notice 1309 of 28 July.
3 Sunday Times, 23 July; Star, 14 September.

ATTITUDES OF LEADERS IN THE HOMELANDS

THE PRIME MINISTER'S VIEWS ON FUTURE INDEPENDENCE AND THE ALLOCATION OF LAND

The question of the future boundaries of specific homelands is dealt with in a subsequent chapter; but it should be mentioned here that leaders in the various homelands have continued to press for more land. This, to them, is a priority issue. The Prime Minister has, during the year under review, restated his attitude on this matter, and also on the future granting of independence.

In the House of Assembly on 19 April, and in a previous Press statement,2 Mr. Vorster said, "If there is a Bantu people that believes the time has arrived for it to become independent, it can come and discuss the matter with me... When I speak of independence, I mean independence in the normal sense of the word, the independence which Botswana or any other country has."

(It should be mentioned that existing legislation—the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act of 1971 and proclamations issued in terms of this Act—does not provide for full independence. It goes as far as a "second stage", when the central Republican Government would still handle defence, security, foreign affairs, postal services, immigration of non-citizens, currency, banking, customs, etc.; when there would still be State control of numerous other matters; and when all laws passed by homeland governments would still require the State President's assent. The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development has laid down prerequisites to be fulfilled before full independence is attained.3 The Prime Minister has said5 that "dozens of matters" would have to be considered when a Black state asked for independence, and talks would probably have to be held over very long periods. Economic viability, however, would not be a condition for commencing negotiations.)

As described later, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, Chief Minister of the Transkei, has several times stated that he will not ask for independence until a satisfactory reply has been received to his requests for more land. In his speech in the Assembly the Prime Minister said, "If any Black nation should say that it refuses to become independent unless it receives land outside the quota land,6 I Hansard 11 cols. 5280-2.

2 Cape Times, 27 January.
LEADERS IN THE HOMELANDS
then . . . it is wasting its time." He indicated, however, that if a "nation" did become independent before receiving its due share of the quota land owing, this outstanding land would be transferred as money for purchasing it became available to the Government.
The Prime Minister said' that land was always a point of discussion when he met homeland leaders. "I have stated unequivocally to all the leaders, and I want to repeat it in this Parliament now, that the National Party Government stands by the 1936 Act' *. Beyond the 1936 Act I am not prepared to go." In terms of this Act, he continued, there were still 890 111 hectares of land to be added to the homelands. "We must take into account each of the peoples and their needs ... It is the aim of the ... Government to achieve maximum consolidation (of each homeland) with the land still remaining. I said to the Black leaders that their present problem was not so much that they should receive more land, but the better utilization of the land that they have."
It was reported in August9 that, in the course of a speech at a National Party meeting, the Prime Minister appealed to editors of English-language newspapers "not to incite Bantu leaders in the homelands to ask for more land". The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development was reported to have alleged, a few days earlier,1 that many of the pleas by homeland leaders evidently originated from persons and groups both in South Africa and overseas who were more interested in the downfall of the National Party Government than in the development of the homelands.
Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Executive Officer of KwaZulu, commented1 that the Minister's statement was seriously irresponsible. "We construe it to imply that because we are 'kaffirs' we cannot think for ourselves. The statement has the effect of wounding our dignity as Blacks."
VIEWS OF HOMELAND LEADERS ON THE QUESTION OF LAND
The Transkei
According to various sources,12 during February the Transkeian Chief Minister, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, and the members of his Cabinet visited Cape Town, where they were granted interviews with the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, and then with the Prime Minister. It was reported that the talks were cordial. The Chief Minister said he had a
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
mandate from his Government to request that to the land already under its control be added the White-owned districts of Elliot and Maclear in the west and of Mount Currie (Kokstad) in the northeast (i.e. in Griqualand East); White-owned portions of the districts of Matatiele and Umzimkulu, also in Griqualand East; and the White enclave of Port St. Johns in the south-east. These lands were historically part of the Transkei, he maintained: their transfer would restore the position that existed in 1884. White farmers in the districts concerned would not be forced to sell, but when they did, their properties should be available for purchase by Blacks in the Transkei. Paramount Chief Matanzima said that the Transkei would not ask for independence until the land issue was settled satisfactorily.
The Prime Minister replied that, although he considered his Government to be bound by the 1936 legislation, he would, in fairness to the Transkei's Chief Minister, nevertheless submit his request to the Republic's Cabinet. Mr. Vorster said that there were about 50 000 hectares of commonage and other land in the Transkei that would be transferred to the Transkeian Government together, possibly, with a portion of the outstanding quota land in the Cape. The latter amounted to 235 798 hectares, but this would have to be divided between the Transkeian, Ciskeian and Tswana homelands.
It was, subsequently, intimated that the Republican Cabinet had decided to abide by the terms of the 1936 Act. Paramount Chief Matanzima commented that Black leaders were not consulted in 1936, and did not consider the Act binding on them.
It was reported that at a conference of his party he issued "friendly advice" to the South African Government to reconsider its decision, for otherwise the land issue would remain a very bitter one which might "estrange the now harmonious relations" between the two governments.
At the beginning of the 1972 Session of the Transkeian Legislative Assembly,1 Paramon Chief Matanzima introduced a motion calling on his Government to consider the advisability of requesting the Republican Government to grant independence to the Transkei, comprising its existing area together with the White-owned districts described earlier, and to initiate consultations between the two governments forthwith. In the course of his speech the Chief Minister said that the 1936 allocation of land was ridiculously inadequate. Half of the Transkeian population was landless, while members of the other half had small plots averaging 2 morgen (2 hectares) each, and this in a dry farming area. There were White farmers in East Griqualand who found it difficult to subsist on 1 000 morgen (857 hectares).
The Chief Minister advanced an argument that has been LEADERS IN THE HOMELANDS
raised, too, by Chief Buthelezi. In 1936, he said, there had been a different situation, with no talk of separate independent states in South Africa for the Blacks, to constitute their homelands. The 1936 Act was, thus, outdated. Speaking for the opposition Democratic Party, Mr. N. Jafta moved that, instead of asking for independence, the Transkeian Government should ask for full human citizenship rights for all the people in the Republic. This amendment was defeated by 72 votes to 23, the Chief Minister's motion being carried.

In April and again in August, the Press published statements by Paramount Chief Matanzima to the effect that, unless the disputed land was ceded, the Transkeian Government would oppose the repatriation from the White areas of landless people who had, for long periods, been living in cities or on the farms of Whites.

During August, the Chief Minister announced a programme that went further than his previously-enunciated plans. As Stage 1, he said, he would apply himself to wiping out the "White spots" in the area that his government already controlled. Stage 2 would be to use every lawful means at his disposal to "win back" for the Transkei the adjoining White areas mentioned earlier, making the area between the Natal and Lesotho borders and the sea, as far as the western boundaries of Maclear, Elliot, and the present Transkei, a homogeneous Black area. Until that stage had been accomplished the Transkei would not ask for independence. Stage 3 would then follow, provided that the Ciskei had by then acquired all the land that was due to it. Plans would be made for a "Greater Xhosa-land", consisting of the enlarged Transkei and Ciskei, together with White-owned land as far west as the Fish River and including the city of East London. Whites in the new areas then incorporated would be allowed to remain, with full citizenship rights.

The Ciskei
During June, a special session of the Ciskeian Legislative Assembly opposed aspects of the Government's plan for the consolidation of their area (this is described in a subsequent chapter). The Chief Councillor, Chief J. K. M. Mabandla, is reported' to have said, "While it is not my intention to confront and embarrass the Government, it is my vow to stand and fight to the bitter end for the interests and rights of my people who have to be moved from one corner to another of the Ciskei ... The rumour that the finalization of this consolidation will take place in about fifteen years is definitely not in the interests of the Ciskeians who are now homeless. By that time, the Ciskei would like to be independent with defined boundaries within which they would not like any White patches". Invited to comment on Paramount Chief Matanzima's plan for a Greater Xhosa-land, Chief Mabandla said' that, while he agreed with the broad scheme, he could not accept the idea of giving full citizenship to Whites in the area concerned.
KwaZulu
Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Executive Officer of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, has dealt with the land question in various speeches and statements during the year. Interviewed during April, he recalled that in his inaugural address he had said "that I expected the Government, if they mean what they are saying, to provide us with more land and to consolidate it. This is the only way in which a meaningful state can be created".

Asked for his views on the Prime Minister's statement that he was not prepared to grant more land than was envisaged in 1936, the Chief replied that promises made then long preceded the formulation of the Nationalists' policy of setting up separate Black states. The 1936 proposals were not realistic in terms of offers of independence nor in terms of population figures. "We may be a young people in terms of Western technology," he said, "but we are not so naive as to participate in a scheme to defraud us by asking for so-called independence before land consolidation and without the purchase of foreign territories within our boundaries." On other occasions he stated that "Blacks find it ethically unacceptable that what was promised in 1936 by a different government, under quite different circumstances and policies, is good enough for the purpose of the present government's policy of... the setting up of separate states within South Africa". The success or failure of this policy, he said, would depend on whether there was a fair distribution of land, enabling the Africans to set up meaningful countries with possibilities of economic viability.

Commenting on the draft plans for the consolidation of KwaZulu that had been published by the Government (these are described later) Chief Buthelezi said, "We find it unacceptable that we should not have been involved at all as Black people in the preparation of the draft... We cannot see ourselves being used in this way in covering up naked and outright White domination... This manner of conducting official business with us as the so-called government of KwaZulu leaves us in no doubt about the fact that we are nothing more or less than cogs in a wheel... We

2 Ibid, 15 August.
3 Rand Daily Mail, 4 April.
' Ibid, 22 and 26 April, and issues on these days of the Natal Mercury.
5 Ibid, 10 and 14 August.
6 Star, 7 June.

LEADERS IN THE HOMELANDS
feel that White South Africa should be honest and rule us, as it always has done, without any consolidation, instead of giving the world the illusionary impression that we are a Black government in the making".

BophuthaTswana
Chief Lucas M. Mangope, Chief Councillor in the BophuthaTswana Legislative Assembly, has described the land allocated to his government as being "altogether insufficient to form the basis of an independent state".

Gazankulu
Professor H. W. E. Ntsanwisi, Chief Councillor of the Gazankulu (Machangana) Legislative Assembly, is reported to have said that there was some truth in the view that the land problem in the homelands was one of finding ways to make more efficient use of existing land. But it was not the total truth. He implied that African land hunger was intrinsic to the disproportionate division of land between Black and White.

On another occasion Professor Ntsanwisi said that the homelands were unable to absorb more people. "We do not have the land, there is no industry to support them, and there is already poverty." When opening a session of the Territorial Authority he stated that, because of the manner of its implementation, the policy of separate development was generating "insecurity, uncertainty, and frustration. . . As it is now, we have no final say. Decisions are made for us, and not by us". He cited an agreement reached by his government and that of Lebowa in regard to a boundary in the Bushbuckridge area, which was overruled by officials in Pretoria.

Swazi
The national organizer of the South African Swazi National Council, Mr. David Lukhele, has said that the land set aside for his people is highly inadequate and has hampered political development, making it unfeasible to establish a territorial authority.

VIEWS OF HOMELAND LEADERS ON OTHER MATTERS

Transkei
Paramount Chief Matanzima has advocated the consolidation of the homelands and adjoining independent African states into a confederation of Southern African Black states.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

KwaZulu
Chief Buthelezi agrees with this goal, and agrees, too, that Whites living in enlarged homelands would not be expelled if they were prepared to pay allegiance to a Black government.

In response to criticism by members of the S.A. Students' Organization, mentioned earlier, Chief Buthelezi has said that he and his Cabinet should not be seen as part of the "establishment". "We are doing no more than attempting to exploit the limited political expression within the framework of (government) policy, for what it is worth." It would be irresponsible not to use this means of expression, "even if merely to articulate the wishes and aspirations of Blacks"... "I am working within the system without accepting it."

The chief has said that among his immediate aims were the achievement of more rapid constitutional progress, equal pay for equal work, and the introduction of
one of the official languages as medium of instruction in schools from Standard III.

It was reported in the Press on 27 September that Chief Buthelezi had stated that agitation to force major foreign companies to withdraw from South Africa was a misdirection of energy.

BophuthaTswana

There are two political parties in BophuthaTswana: the BophuthaTswana National Party, led by Chief Lucas M. Mangope, present Chief Councillor in the Legislative Assembly, and the Seoposengwe (Unity) Party, led by Chief Tidimane R. Pilane, former chairman of the Tswana Territorial Authority (which was superseded by the Legislative Assembly).

Chief Mangope believes that separate development with ultimate independence is the only policy which offers the Tswana people an effective voice in their own affairs. He has said that "I have repeatedly affirmed my support for the positive aspects of the policy of separate development, with the emphasis on development." "To brand my colleagues and me as Government 'stooges' reveals a misconception ... It is true that I believe in negotiation rather than confrontation. But I also believe in speaking my mind, whether this is acceptable to the Republican Government or not."

The chief is opposed to the idea of a confederation of Black states, on the grounds that because of their numerical strength the Xhosa and Zulu would swamp the Tswana, and that the Tswana might have to share their revenue from mining.

Africans should be consulted about developments and investments in their area, he considers, and should be shareholders in businesses there, including enterprises of the Bantu Investment Corporation. All taxes paid by mining companies in the Tswana homeland should be paid to the Legislative Assembly; job reservation in mining should be abolished, and there should be equal pay for equal work. Chief Mangope, too, favours the use of an official language as the medium of instruction in schools as early as possible.' Chief Pilane of the Unity Party accepts the policy of separate development only because of the "implied promise" that the Tswana will regain the land of their forefathers and will achieve sovereign independence. He considers that the independent African states should ultimately unite. Commoners should have greater representation in the legislative assembly, which should become a wholly elected body. Urban Africans should refuse to settle in the homeland because "there is nothing for them there". Education should be free and compulsory. Members of other African ethnic groups living in Tswana territory should be absorbed there.'
In terms of a constitution gazetted on 26 May (described later), a new legislative assembly was created, consisting of 48 members designated by regional and tribal authorities, and 24 elected members. The first elections were held on 4 October. Chief Mangope’s party was reported to have gained 72 per cent of the votes cast in what was estimated as a 50 per cent poll, winning 12 of the 16 contested seats, and claiming the support of the members returned in the 8 uncontested seats.

7 Star, 22 August and 26 September; The World, 23 March.
8 Rand Daily Mail, 31 July, 8 and 21 August; Star, 26 September.

ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED WITH RACE RELATIONS

THE CHURCHES

Church and State

In February, the then Minister of the Interior, Mr. T. J. A. Gerdenener, said no statistics were kept regarding the number of religious workers against whom action had been taken by the State.1 The Christian Institute announced that such action had then been taken against at least 80 churchmen in the past five years. More than 50 cases had occurred in 1971. For the decade 1957 to 1967 only 25 were recorded, indicating a rapid escalation of State action since 1968. The main denominations affected were Anglicans (42), Lutherans (13), Catholics (11) and Methodists (11). Eleven clergy of other denominations, including Baptists, Moravians and Presbyterians had also been affected. Forms of State action included deportation, withdrawal of temporary residence permits, refusal of visas or passports, police raids, and bannings.2

The following are examples of State action during the year under review. Banning orders were served on the Rev. Basil Moore, director of the theological correspondence course of the African Independent Churches Association, the Rev. Stephen Hayes, Mr. Sabelo Ntwasa, director of the black theology programme of the University Christian Movement, and Mr. David de Beer, Anglican lay preacher and staff member of the Christian Institute. Passports were withdrawn from the Director of Sprocas, Mr. Peter Randall, the Cape Regional Director, Mr. Neville Curtis, and Mrs. Ann Hope, a literacy worker with the Christian Institute. Among those deported were an Anglican youth worker, Mr. David Walker, and a German nurse at a mission hospital in Zululand, Miss Barbara Hescher.3 Father Wilfred Jackson, a priest in Ladysmith, Dr. Ullrich Lochmann, lecturer at the Lutheran Theological College, and Pastor Hans Ludwig Althaus, of the Windhoek Lutheran Church, all left South Africa at the end of 1971 in consequence of orders served on them.4 Pastor Althaus, who was the first Evangelical Lutheran expelled in the Church’s 130-year history in South West Africa, said he was a scapegoat for the rising tide of anti-Government feeling among Black people in the territory.’ Visas or permits to visit South Africa or South West Africa

1 Star, 1 March.
2 Daily Dispatch, 31 May; Seek, May.
Rand Daily Mail, 13 July.
4 STnday Express, 2 January.
THE CHURCHES
or to enter specific areas, such as Ovambo, were again refused to numerous persons during 1972, including voluntary workers, teachers, and clergymen. Among the clergymen affected were Pastor Siegfried Groth, Africa Secretary of the German United Evangelical Mission, Dr. John Schaeffer, Methodist missionary, Pastor Gustav Menzel, German missionary, Dr. J. P. Feddema of the (Netherlands) Gereformeerde Kerk, Pastor W. Oelschner, and the Rev. Christian Fobbe, ministers in German churches, and the Rev. Richard Wood, Anglican priest.

In South West Africa, the official National Party paper, Die Suidwester, continued to blame Black anti-Government feeling on Anglican and Lutheran churchmen.

In Parliament, the Minister of Police spoke of "Swapo agitators" and "the role of certain clerics". The Anglican Bishop of Damaraland, the Rt. Rev. Colin Winter, was denied access to 50,000 Black parishioners in Ovambo on instruction from Pretoria. Later in the month, the Bishop, the Diocesan Secretary-Treasurer, Mr. David de Beer, the Rev. Stephen Hayes, and a Diocesan staff member, Miss Antoinette Halberstadt, were expelled from South West Africa in terms of the Undesirables Removal Proclamation of 1920, which had been specifically amended the previous week to exclude certain court procedures. (Bishop Winter's predecessor, Bishop Mize, was similarly expelled in 1968).

An Anglican deacon in Ovambo, the Rev. Olavi Nailenge, was detained without charge under emergency regulations. At its 29th Congress, the National Party of South West Africa requested stronger action against "so-called" missionaries and churchmen working in the territory.

Bishop, Winter later presented petitions from African and Coloured people to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dr. Kurt Waldheim. The United Evangelical Lutheran Church, representing half the population of South West, told Dr. Waldheim it opposed separate development and the South African administration of South West Africa. The Secretary-General met Lutheran church leaders at Oshakati.

In the Eastern Cape, a conflict has developed between the State and the Anglican, Methodist, Congregational, and four Presbyterian churches over attempts by the University of Fort Hare to expropriate the ground of the non-racial Federal Theological Seminary. The Council of the Seminary condemned the move as political and recalled assurances given by the Secretary and Minister of Bantu Administration, at the time of the Seminary's

6 Star, 17 July, 30 May; Rand Daily Mail, 5 January; Dimension Vol. 3 no. 2, March;
Seek, April.
8 Sunday Times, 27 February.
9 Natal Mercury, 2 February.
10 Rand Daily Mail, 28 February; Star, 2 March. 11 Rand Daily Mail, 28 February.
12 Transvaler, 15 July.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

foundation, that the State would never exercise its rights of appropriation.'4

While leaders of all the main English-speaking churches speak of an escalating Church-State confrontation,'" Government spokesmen continue to deny there is any confrontation. Writing in Kairos, journal of the South African Council of Churches, the Rev. John de Gruchy saw "the pluralistic religious situation" as one reason for different views on this issue. There was clearly no confrontation between State and churches such as the Dutch Reformed or Assemblies of God. In respect of other churches, the Government argued that actions were directed against unrepresentative individuals, and not against the churches themselves.'

Leaders of these churches had made it clear, however, that attacks on any members of the church, acting as Christians, could not be distinguished from attacks on the body of the whole Church.'7

Replacing Mr. Gerdener as Minister of the Interior, Dr. Connie Mulder said he would adopt a tough attitude towards dissenting churchmen. At the same time he denied there had ever been a confrontation between State and Church.'

Considerable Press publicity was given to allegations that a system of espionage on the churches had been instituted. The Anglican, Methodist, Roman Catholic, Congregational, and Presbyterian Churches, the S.A. Council of Churches, and the Christian Institute all stated that the Security Police had either tried to enlist church members as informers or had been present to spy on their meetings. Dr. Boraine, president of the Methodist Church, is reported to have said, "In South Africa, informers are part of our life", and Roman Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley of Durban that, "We have learned to live with the system of informers, tapped telephones and opened mail".9

Ecumenical and Inter-Denominational The South African Council of Churches

The Council's Church Unity Commission has submitted an agreement on doctrine and structure for the "United Church in Southern Africa" for approval by assemblies of the participating churches (See Survey, 1971). Voting is expected to take several years. The United Church would have 2,5 million members, predominantly Black and speaking ten languages.' A member of the Commission, Rev. Douglas Bax, said: "The test of unity is how willing Whites will be to share leadership with Blacks."2

13 Race Relations News, March.

14 Rand Daily Mail, 15 August.
15 e.g. Rand Daily Mail, 7 January, 7 February, 27 March, 5 April. 16 Kairos, Vol. 4 no. 3, March.
17 Star, 30 March.
"8 Sunday Tribune, 6 August.
"9 Sunday Times, 22 October.
1 Star, 29 May.
2 Cape Times, 31 May.

THE CHURCHES
Following the trial of the Dean of Johannesburg (described in a subsequent chapter), the General Secretary, Mr. John Rees, visited Europe to confirm that the Council was not receiving funds from illegal sources? For five years, the Council has directed the Dependants’ Conference, which distributes over R80 000 annually to families of political detainees. About 500 families are beneficiaries. The Council now aims to "indigenize" funding of the programme.' During the year, the Council launched an "Ecumenical Trust Fund" for the support of banned or restricted persons.'

Inter-Church Aid, the Council's enabling body for relief, aid or self-help projects, last year allocated R33 000 to 15 agricultural, food, or social work programmes.' A company, Devcraft (Pty) Ltd., was launched to promote commercial marketing of handicrafts.'

In his presidential address to the Council's National Conference, the Rev. A. W. Habelgaarn spoke of the vital challenge presented to the Church by Black theology, which would "free the man of Africa from inferiority . . ." after two centuries of evangelism. The general secretary, Mr. John Rees, said it was no use South Africa talking about a communist threat when the threat of communism was enhanced by actions of the State. The most disturbing factor was that action was being taken against churchmen committed to working for non-violent change. Churches faced a dilemma. While condemning WCC aid to "violent organizations," they were finding it difficult to tell their people, the majority of whom were Black, how to respond to increasing violence by the State. 8 The Council should support the emergence of Black consciousness "for it is a Biblical imperative that all men should be whole."9

The Christian Institute of Southern Africa

During a visit to several countries in Europe, the Director, Ds. C. F. Beyers Naudd, became the first South African to be invited to preach in Westminster Abbey.' He said that violence would sometimes be able to give a partial answer to injustice and oppression, but it always raised more problems than it resolved. British interests in South Africa should be organized to promote change.2

The Director's annual report, presented at the annual general
3 Sunday Express, 19 December. 1971.
4 Star, 8 February.
6 Rand Daily Mail, 7 February.
7 Ibid, 22 May.
8 Kairos, August; Star, 2 August.
Rand Daily Mail, 3 August.
1 Natal Mercury, 8 May.
2 Star, 8 May.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

meeting, sets out the widening scope of activity in the sphere of the Independent African Churches, the women's section of these churches, and in the Sprocas programmes. Debate exists within the Institute as to whether the organization
should concentrate on awakening White consciousness to the racial situation, or whether it should continue its enabling role in Black development.'

Speaking in St. Mary's Cathedral, Johannesburg, Ds. Naudé warned that Christians must take immediate note of growing Black frustration and bitterness. If this eventually erupted in violence and terrorism, then White South Africans, and especially Christians, would be to blame, "for our lack of understanding and compassion, for our fear, our unwillingness to become involved and our resistance to change."4

The Synod of the Reformed (Gereformeerde) Churches in the Netherlands and the German Protestant Mission Council were among church bodies which expressed their continuing support for and solidarity with the work of the Christian Institute during the year.

Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society (Sprocas)
The following were among publications added to those already issued under part one of the project (see Survey, 1971):

6. Towards Social Change
7. Power, Privilege and Poverty
8. Apartheid and the Church
9. Law, Justice and Society.

Among publications under Sprocas 2, the second, actionorientated phase, was The Eye of the Needle by Dr. R. Turner. Sprocas 2 is divided into White and Black programmes which operate independently. The Black Community Programme, directed by Mr. Ben Khoape, undertook a survey of all levels of existing Black organizations in the country. Once existing networks are known, co-ordinating and enabling conferences and courses will be designed to meet needs in specific areas.1 In May, a conference of Black leaders in the multi-racial (mission) churches considered ways of increasing the effectiveness of Black leadership in Black communities and the churches.

The African Independent Churches Association
The board of AICA has agreed to a proposal by the Christian Institute that AICA be placed on a more autonomous basis. Although a distinct and independent body, AICA has been receiv3 Ecumenical News Service, EcuNews feature, 14 September.

4 Rand Daily Mail, 20 September.

2 Conference for Black Church Leaders, Sprocas 2 Black Programme. Durban.

THE CHURCHES

The Rev. Brian Brown, consultant to AICA, reported that internal divisions, which threatened the body earlier in the year, are likely to be repaired soon. The Christian Institute will broaden its consultancy to include the whole independent church movement rather than only AICA.1
Within the Churches:
The report of the Church Commission of Sprocas, Apartheid and the Church, warned that English-speaking churches will “reap the whirlwind” of Black resentment if they do not take immediate action to fight racialism within themselves. Examples of such racialism included refusal of White church schools to accept Black pupils, discrimination between stipends of Black and White clergy, and the massive predominance of White control of church bodies at all levels. Whites in the Anglican Church continued to elect all-White parish councils and the church had only two Black bishops, neither in an urban area; the Methodist Church structured its annual conference -to prevent a Black majority, despite its overwhelming majority of Black members; no Black had ever been chosen as Moderator by the Presbyterian Church, despite the availability of qualified candidates; the Catholic Church had 25 White bishops and two Black bishops although it had 170 000 White and 1 000 000 Black members. The Afrikaans churches were at least consistent in rejecting fellowship with other races and the Commission noted that the NGK in fact paid its Black ministers more than did the English-speaking churches. The report called, inter alia, for equalization of salary scales by 1975, self-imposed taxes to further Black education, a review of relations with discriminatory schools, a conscientious objection to armed conflict and to defence by arms of a social order which does violence to fellow men.
The report also noted that outward values and customs of apartheid society are the everyday experience of church members and have a stronger impact than “the spoken word of God”. The churches suffered from an “internal ideological captivity”, fear, prejudice, despair, conformism, legalism, and authoritarianism.

Roman Catholic Church
The Catholic Archbishops of Durban, Rt. Rev. Denis Hurley, and of Cape Town, Owen Cardinal McCann, backed the statement of Father Wilfred Jackson that the Church hierarchy had failed significantly to support “the Limehill priests”:’ In February the Bishops’ Conference issued a ”call to conscience”, described by the I EcuNews Bulletin, No. 25, 8 September.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
Director of the Christian Institute, Ds. C. F. Beyers Naudé, as "the most significant statement from official Church leadership on the racial issue". The document, which was supported by other denominations, strongly attacked unequal educational and economic opportunities and the migratory labour system. It called for universal franchise and expressed concern for the welfare of detained, banned, and otherwise silenced people. It affirmed the duty of the Church, to support and encourage the struggles of Black people to discover their own identity and "to champion the right of the masses to a living wage".
In Johannesburg, the Justice and Peace Association appealed to the Papal Secretariat for Justice and Peace against the local Bishop, the Rt. Rev. Hugh Boyle. The dispute was over the Association's Black chairman, Mr. Drake Koka, who was unacceptable to the Bishop. Mr. Koka had previously read a prepared statement, on behalf of dissident Black Catholics, to the 1971 Bishops' Conference. Later in the year, the Pope named the Rt. Rev. Peter John Butelezi, Apostolic Administrator of the Diocese of Umzimkulu, Auxiliary Bishop of Johannesburg. The Bishop expects to live in Soweto or Alexandra. The all-White Catholic Laymen's organization, the Knights of da Gama, has agreed to study the admission of Black members.

Following attacks in the DRC Synod against Catholic hospitals and institutions, six nuns were dismissed from Tembisa hospital, where they had been employed for 20 years. (Three of them were, however, later appointed as senior matrons at provincial hospitals.) The Secretary-General of the Bishops' Conference warned of increasing action by the State against what it saw as the "Roomse Gevaar". The Anglican and Catholic publication, Die Brug ("The Bridge" - see Survey, 1971, p. 48), ceased publication and is to be replaced by an "Afrikaans Ecumenical Liaison Board".

Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk

In February, 350 ministers, missionaries, and lecturers of the Church attended the annual conference of ministers, with the theme "Black Theology".

At the Federal Council of Dutch Reformed Churches in March, it was reported that three daughter (Black) churches of the NGK wished to strengthen their relations with the anti-apartheid

2 Sunday Times, 13 February.
3 A Call to Conscience, 11 February, General Secretariat of the Catholic Bishops' Conference, Pretoria.
4 Star, 25 March.
5 Sunday Tribune, 13 August.
7 Star, 25 August.
8 Cape Times, 30 August.

Ecumenical Press Agency Bulletin, No. 8, 10 March.

THE CHURCHES

World Alliance of Reformed Churches. The White Church refused to associate itself with this movement.

Following differences of opinion in the Southern Transvaal Synod, the question was referred to the General Synod whether Blacks should be allowed the use of White NGK facilities, such as churches and halls.

At the Ecumenical World Synod of Reformed Churches, held in Sydney, the Assessor and Acting Moderator of the N.G. Mission Church (for Coloured people) condemned S.A. legislation against mixed marriages; he said he was himself the product of a mixed marriage. White delegates from the S.A. churches were considerably embarrassed. "Anti-apartheid and aboriginal groups..."
demonstrated against the presence of Dr. J. D. Vorster, Moderator of the General Synod and brother of the Prime Minister.5 The Northern Transvaal Synod decided to work against rapprochement of the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches and to take disciplinary action against members who used Catholic schools or nursing homes.6 Ds. D. F. Malan, son of a former National Party Prime Minister, caused widespread controversy and discussion when he attacked the Church's attitudes towards White arrogance and privilege. Ds. Malan was supported by the first Indian Minister of the N.G.K., Ds. E. J. Manikkam.7 In September, the NGK announced it was to establish factories to provide employment at Dimbaza. The Rev. David Russell (see following section) welcomed the move, but said there must be no compromise over paying living wages.8

Church of the Province of Southern Africa (Anglican) The Rev. John Hess, addressing a workshop of the Abe Bailey Institute of Interracial Studies, warned that Coloured Anglicans might withdraw from the church if White members persisted in their racial attitudes.' The Diocesan Synod of Pretoria unanimously called for equal pay to Black and White clergy. A White delegate from Witbank, Mr. B. L. Tree, walked out when an amendment was passed calling on the church to combat racism. He said his community would never support the amendment.2 Commenting on the extension to diocesan and parish levels of Challenge Groups to fight racism within the church, the Dean of Cape Town, the Very Rev. E. L. King, said "We are trying to

2 Star, 22 March.
3 Rand Daily Mail, 25 April.
4 Rapport, 10 September.
5 Vaderland, 10 August.
6 Sunday Express, 4 June.
7 Sunday Times, 2 July.
8 Daily Dispatch, 2 September.
1 Star, 20 January.
Rand Daily Mail, 9 February.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972 identify . . not only the racism of Whites, but also the racism which Coloured church members may show towards Africans ... This is definitely not just a White guilt programme".' In April, the Provincial Standing Committee discussed the predominantly White leadership of the church and ways of supporting people exiled from South Africa.4 In September, the first report of the Johannesburg Diocesan Challenge Group strongly attacked the "White orientation" of the financial and power structures of the diocese. It recommended, inter alia, that Whites and Blacks be given an opportunity to caucus separately before encountering one another in the Council.' The report was welcomed by the Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt. Rev. Leslie Stradling.6
The Priest-in-Charge of Bonteheuwel, Canon George A. Swartz, was appointed as an additional Bishop Suffragen of Cape Town, the first Coloured man to hold such a post in the Anglican Church.'

The Church-backed Zululand Health and Welfare Association (HELWEL), based at Nqutu and Isandlwana, announced the appointment of an agricultural assistant to help improve agricultural and nutrition practices.'

The protest by the Rev. David Russell against the low level of grants and rations in the Dimbas resettlement village is described in the chapter on the homelands.

International World Council of Churches

In March, the WCC's Commission to Combat Racism recommended a campaign against international financial aid to the Kunene River scheme in Angola and South West Africa. It claimed the scheme aimed primarily "to consolidate the position of the White minority regimes in Portugal and South Africa, creating conditions for half-a-million new settlers and engaging Western powers in financial, military and political support for the White régimes."

In August, the WCC voted overwhelmingly to withdraw its funds from corporations which invest in or trade with South Africa, South West Africa, Rhodesia, or Portuguese African territories. The Evangelical Churches in West Germany changed their policy during the last stages to vote for the resolution. The total of affected investments was R2 772 000. The 250 member churches were urged "to use all their influence, including stockholder action

3 Sunday Times, 26 March.
4 Rand Daily Mail, 17 April.
6 Rand Daily Mail, 15 September.
7 Rand Daily Mail, 12 June.
8 The Parishioner, April.
1 Star, 23 August.

THE CHURCHES and disinvestment, to press corporations to withdraw from operations in these countries." Bishop Alpheus Zulu, one of the Council's six presidents, and Mr. John Rees, General Secretary of the S.A. Council of Churches, opposed this disinvestment move in favour of reformatory action through investment.' The WCC also decided to invite contributions to the special Fund to Combat Racism,' a decision that was likewise opposed by Bishop Alpheus Zulu and Mr. John Rees. The WCC stipulated that support for guerrilla fighters, to whom a grant from the Fund would be made, should be spent only on education and medical requirements. (N.B. The initial Press reports on this matter were misleading.)

In response to this decision, the president of the S.A. Council of Churches, Mr. A. W. Habelgaarn, reaffirmed the Council's opposition to violence "either as a means to change or to maintain what it regards as an unjust social order in South Africa. While it acknowledges the humanitarian aspect of the World Council of Churches' action, it dissociates itself from the implicit support for violence". Mr. Habelgaarn
also repeated the Council's opposition to economic withdrawal in favour of using investments to advance Black people in S.A.'

Delivering his charge at the opening of the Anglican Synod at Kwantumela, the Rt. Rev. Alpheus Zulu, Bishop of Zululand, accused the WCC of infringing its constitution by ignoring member churches in S.A. and condemned WCC financial aid to guerrillas. "The Church's primary task as an institution is to work for reconciliation between warring factions," he said.

On the same day, SAPA reported that "the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa today officially dissociated itself from decisions of the WCC supporting terrorism in Southern Africa".

In January, 70 members of the Pinetown Presbyterian Church broke away to form their own sect, in protest against their church's connection with the WCC. Two months later it was reported that protests and resignations continued to trouble several denominations in Natal. 'The Moderator of the NGK, Dr. J. D. Vorster, attacked the WCC as the "most powerful leftist organization in the world".'

The political correspondent of Die Vaderland said that the WCC's August decision to invite contributions to its anti-racism fund would lead to renewal of conflict between the State and "certain religious and political tendencies in South Africa". The

2 Rand Daily Mail, 17 August.
3 Rand Daily Mail, 23 August, as amended by subsequent reports.
5 Star, 23 October.
6 Daily Dispatch, 30 March.
7 Rand Daily Mail, 8 May.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
decision had spotlighted once again "the role which certain churches and ministers are playing in politics".' The Southern Cross, official newspaper of the Catholic Church in South Africa, accused the SABC of using the decision to increase "tensions of the Church-State confrontation in South Africa". The broadcast "was full of inaccuracies and evinced a twisted way of thinking that is very saddening" and had glossed over the stated attitudes of the South African Council of Churches.9

The Executive Commission of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa decided by 11 votes to 10 to withdraw from the WCC. All the Black members of the Commission voted against withdrawal. It is not known whether the eleven regional presbyteries, including those in Rhodesia and Zambia, will ratify or reject the decision."'

The United Congregational Church of S.A. decided, at its sixth annual assembly, not to withdraw from the WCC. Only one delegate voted against the decision."'

Other overseas church bodies
Following a visit to Europe, the Director of the Christian Institute, Ds. Beyers Naudt, said that the European churches were now more strongly opposed to racism and apartheid than ever before. Their attitude was based not on propaganda but on objective and responsible studies. Actions by the S.A.
Government against churchmen only encouraged the conviction in Europe that it was useless to try to realise peaceful means of change.2

United Kingdom
In a special New Year message to churchmen in South Africa, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Michael Ramsey, praised those who had "courageously brought aid to people who suffer".1 The message was welcomed by the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt. Rev. Leslie Stradling, and the General Secretary of the S.A. Council of Churches, Mr. John Rees.4 In April, the British Council of Churches expressed concern over "growing attacks by the S.A. Government on the work of the Church" and urged both a re-examination by British firms of their involvement in South West Africa and an alteration of British Government policy towards S.A. administration of SWA.15 The national committee of the Church of Scotland and the Church of Scotland Trust recommended to the General Assembly that the Church's investments in
8 Die Vaderland, 16 August.
9 Natal Mercury, 28 August.
10 Circular issued by the S.A. Council of Churches, 28 September. 11 Rand Daily Mail, 27 September.
12 Star, 2 February.
13 Rand Daily Mail, 3 January.
14 Rand Daily Mail, 4 January.
15 Rand Daily Mail, 20 April.

THE CHURCHES
firms operating in South Africa be used "to raise with the companies their social responsibilities towards their employees in South Africa."1 The powerful
Methodist Joint Overseas Christian Citizenship recommended to the Methodist Conference that the Church retain its R6-million investment in firms with S.A. interests and adopt a shareholder demonstration policy.7 The Anglican Church Commissioners revealed in September that they had decided to sell the Church's R3-million holding in Rio Tinto-Zinc. "Southern Africa" has been added to the lists of "products and organizations" in which the Commissioners will not invest on principle.8

Germany and the Netherlands
The director of the WCC's Programme to Combat Racism, Dr. Baldwin Sjollema, said churches in Germany and Holland were also considering their investment involvements.9 The Dutch Action Desmond organization obtained over 20000 signatures from Dutch Christians to a petition for the lifting of restrictions on Father Cosmas Desmond." Also in Holland, a group was formed, called "Kiros", to counter S.A. Government propaganda encouraging immigration.2’ In March, the Synod of the Reformed (Gereformeerde) Churches in the Netherlands decided to withhold support from the WCC's Programme to Combat Racism because this might damage its relations with sister Reformed Churches in Southern Africa. Instead the Synod is to give aid to! "victims of political and social discrimination" in South Africa in consultation with the PCR.2

United States of America
In the United States, the Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa filed shareholders' resolutions with two mining corporations calling for a suspension of operations in South West Africa. International Business Machines and the Mobil Oil Company both yielded to pressure from church groups to disclose information on their operations in South Africa. Five Protestant denominations combined to form the Church Project on United States Investments in Southern Africa. A denial was issued of rumours that the United Methodist Church would be closing its mission work in South Africa, due to the racial situation. (See also, Foreign Investment, in this Survey.)

16 Ibid, 1 June.
17 Ibid, 27 June.
18 Ibid, 20 September.
19 Ibid, 16 August.
20 Sunday Times, 6 February.
21 Rand Daily Mail, 10 April.
24 Star, 15 March.

In New Zealand, 118 ministers of six denominations signed a full-page advertisement appealing to all sports bodies to discontinue S.A. sporting contacts involving racial discrimination.

PARLIAMENTARY SELECT COMMITTEE ON, AND COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY INTO, CERTAIN ORGANIZATIONS

In the House of Assembly on 4 February,' following a discussion of subversion, the Prime Minister announced that he intended appointing a Select Committee of Parliament to investigate the objects, activities, financing, and related matters of four organizations and their subordinate bodies: the University Christian Movement (UCM), the National Union of S.A. Students (Nusas), the Christian Institute of Southern Africa, and the S.A. Institute of Race Relations.

All of these organizations except the UCM then sent telegrams to the Prime Minister urging that, if the Government wished to investigate their activities, a Judicial Commission of Enquiry be appointed, instead of a Parliamentary Select Committee. Unlike a Select Committee, a Judicial Commission would conduct its hearings in public. Furthermore, it would publish the evidence submitted to it, which a Select Committee was not bound to do.

The Prime Minister rejected these representations. On 10 February he formally moved, in the Assembly, that the Select Committee be appointed, with power to take evidence and call for papers. According to information which the competent authorities had at their disposal, he said, there was a prima facie case against the organizations. This information would be made available to the committee. "I am not putting anyone in the dock", he continued. "If they are innocent, this Parliament will give them that certificate of innocence". Later in the debate the
Prime Minister added, "As far as my information goes, the Institute of Race Relations is the least dangerous of all these organizations."
Sir de Villiers Graaff said that the Prime Minister's motion was so vaguely phrased that neither would the Select Committee know what it would have to investigate, nor would any organization know what case it had to answer. He moved an amendment asking for the appointment of a judicial commission with a view to determining whether the organizations mentioned "are or have been engaged in activities subversive of the safety, security, or wellbeing of the State or of harmonious race relations in the Republic". This amendment was defeated.
Mrs. Helen Suzman maintained that the Prime Minister's
26 Rand Daily Mail, 12 May.
1 Hansard 1 col. 412.
2 Hansard 2 cols. 723-7.
3 Cols. 729-33.
A Cols. 745-53.

ENQUIRY INTO CERTAIN ORGANIZATIONS

objectives were to distract attention from urgent problems before the country, to smear everybody who was outspoken in criticism with allegations of subversion, to frighten off supporters of the organizations. She had been wondering what the four bodies had in common, she said, and could discern three things: they were all outspokenly critical of the Government's racial policy, were all multi-racial, and all received financial support from abroad. If the Security Police had found anything illegal about them, however, "they would have hauled them into court long ago". She thought the United Party was making a mistake in agreeing to
serve on the Committee, Mrs. Suzman added. If they refrained and left it to the Nationalists, this "would make it clear what a farce the whole thing is going to be."

Sir de Villiers told the Press that the United Party had four reasons for agreeing to serve on the Select Committee, in spite of its criticism of the committee's appointment. It was the party's parliamentary duty to do so. It would give the party a say in the selection of witnesses. It enabled the party to evaluate the evidence for itself and to put questions to witnesses. It was the only way in which the party could enter the final debate on the issue fully informed.
It was announced on 16 February that six National Party and three United Party members had been appointed to serve on the committee. Mr. J. Kruger (N.P.) was subsequently appointed chairman. On 2 March he moved in the Assembly:'
(a) that the Select Committee have power to allow witnesses to be assisted by counsel and/or attorneys to the extent that the Committee deemed fit; and
(b) that, if a witness so requested, his name should not, in the Committee's discretion, be published in the minutes of proceedings or evidence, nor should his identity be divulged in any other way.
This was agreed to.
On 12 June Mr. Kruger reported in the Assembly that the Committee had been unable to complete its work during the Session. At his request, it was turned into a Commission of Enquiry. The Commission's terms of reference were announced in the Government Gazette on 14th July." These were wider than those of the Select Committee, and were as follows: To, inquire into and report on:
(a) the objects, organization, and financing of the four organizations and any related organizations, bodies, committees, or groups of persons (the Select Committee's powers had related only to subordinate organizations);
(b) the activities of the organizations, bodies, committees, or groups of persons and the direct or indirect results of those activities;
(c) the activities of persons in or in connection with the organizations, bodies, committees, or groups of persons and the direct or indirect results of those activities;
(d) any related matter which came to the notice of the Commission and which in its view called for inquiry;
(e) to make recommendations if, in view of the Commission's findings, it appeared necessary to do so.

It was announced in August that Mr. Kruger (the chairman) and two other members of the Commission had resigned on their appointment as Deputy Ministers. Three other Nationalist Members of Parliament were appointed to replace them, Mr. A. L. Schlebusch being nominated as chairman. A United Party member resigned later: another member of this Party was appointed in his stead. A report by the Select Committee was published on 3 August. It was stated that the four organizations concerned had been asked to submit copies of their constitutions, minute books and financial statements for the past five years, and lists of donors. Nusas, had, however, refused to submit evidence or documents unless forced to do so by law. The president of Nusas, and the presidents of the S.R.C.'s of the Universities of Cape Town, Natal and Rhodes had then been summoned to appear for questioning. Others who had given evidence were four men (unnamed) representing the Bureau for State Security and Brigadier E. D. Aucamp of the Department of Prisons.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
(b) the activities of the organizations, bodies, committees, or groups of persons and the direct or indirect results of those activities;
(c) the activities of persons in or in connection with the organizations, bodies, committees, or groups of persons and the direct or indirect results of those activities;
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THE SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS
The S.A. Institute of Race Relations suffered a grievous loss on 26 March through the death of its President, Dr. William Frederick Nkomo, who had been elected to this post two months previously. Mr. Duchesne Cowley Grice was elected to succeed him.

At the 42nd annual meeting of the Institute, held in Durban in January, the outgoing President, Dr. Sheila T. van der Horst, gave her Presidential Address
entitled Separate Development: Is a Consensus Possible? Professor Philip Mayer delivered the annual Hoernlé Memorial Lecture, entitled Urban Africans and the Bantustans.1
The theme of the Council meeting was "Housing and Human Needs in South Africa". The following papers were presented:
"Housing and Human Needs in South Africa", by Professor H. L. Watts (RR. 129/71).
e.g. Star, 3 August.
1 These addresses have been published by the Institute.

S.A. INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS
"Housing Schemes for Urban Africans in Municipal Areas and the Homelands", by Miss Muriel Horrell (RR. 136/71).
"Problems in the Location of Housing and Human Settlement in South Africa", by Professor E. W. N. Mallows and Mr. William A. Birrer (RR. 137/71).
"Technological Considerations in a New Approach to NonWhite Housing", by Mr. T. W. Scott (RR. 138/71).
Professor Hansi P. Pollock presented a summary and evaluation of the papers and discussion (RR. 21/72). A further summary, together with the findings of Council (RR. 1/72) was contained in the January issue of Race Relations News. At the Council meeting a symposium was held on "Conditions and Problems in African, Coloured, and Indian Residential Areas in South Africa's Cities", at which the leading speakers were the Rev. J. Hess, Mr. I. Pitso, and Mrs. P. Ramasar. Mr. L. Schlemmer and Miss A. Perry presented slides on "Housing and Human Settlement in Durban". The Institute's Strategy Committee prepared a statement entitled "The Institute: Its Work and Its Vision", which was published in the issue of Race Relations News for December 1971.
Other publications produced by the Institute during the year are listed in its Annual Report. Among the many articles contained in Race Relations News were "A Guide to Multi-Racial Contact in South Africa" in the June issue, and "Some Aspects of Race Prejudice in South Africa", by Professor S. P. Cilliers, in the issue for July.
A special department of the Institute has been created to arrange Youth Programmes. As in previous years, the head office and regional offices have arranged a large number of talks and symposia. The Institute continues to subsidize studies by research workers at various universities on subjects related to race relations.
Other work of the Institute is mentioned in relevant chapters of this Survey.

THE S.A. BUREAU OF RACIAL AFFAIRS
Sabra's programme aimed at White high school pupils in South and South West Africa has continued since 1966. The programme covers aspects of apartheid theory, threats to South Africa, and preparedness of youth to withstand "foreign ideologies". A number of key papers delivered to youth congresses have been published.1 Lecturers include Afrikaner academics, State officials, staff of the
S.A.B.C., and M.P.'s. The programme operates in cooperation with a wide network of church, cultural, and other organizations, including the Afrikaanse Studentebond, the Rapportryers, the Transvaal Teachers' Association, the Coordinating Council of S.A. Trade Unions, and the Company for European Immigration.2

In reply to questions in Parliament, the Minister of National Education, Senator van der Spuy, said that the Department of Education, Arts and Science made grants of R6 099 to Sabra youth congresses between October 1966 and September 1967; the Department of Cultural Affairs made grants totalling R6 287 to four congresses between 1968 and 1970; and the Department of National Education granted R2 400 to two congresses in 1971. Assistance had been given to three further youth congresses since October 1971. The only condition for grants was that audited statements be presented. Asked whether similar grants would be made to the S.A. Institute of Race Relations, the Minister said applications were treated on their merits?

Government spokesmen denied Opposition accusations that Sabra congresses were used for the indoctrination of National Party policies. Speaking at a conference arranged by Sabra, the Department of National Education, and Rapportryers, Major-General P. J. (Tiny) Venter, head of the Security Police, warned that "sensitivity training," developed in Russia, was being used to, undermine the South African political and social order by "a sort of terrorism of the brain". Such training reduced "race-inhibitions" and led to a questioning of established norms, authority, and official race divisions. South Africa's fight on her borders would be of no avail if "ideological terrorists" were allowed to brainwash the country's youth from within.4 Recent student disturbances were an example of communist success in this strategy. At a biennial congress in September, Professor H. J. Moolman, Director of the Africa Institute, accused SABRA of presenting only "the White man's view". Although legislation had massive repercussions for Africans, no attempt was made to obtain their point of view. He had come to the conclusion that the aspirations of Blacks were not always the same as those prescribed for them by Whites. The congress rejected his suggestion that it invite Black leaders to put their views.5 The theme of the congress was "The Bantu outside their homeland". The outgoing chairman, and Rector of the Randse Afrikaanse Universiteit, Prof.
G. Viljoen, said South Africa might one day be forced to create White homelands to avoid integration. It would be a form of "Operation
2 A list of 18 organizations connected with the SABRA programme was given in the foreword
to Jaarboek Nr. 7, 1971, by the then Chairman, Prof. G. van N. Viljoen. This list
does not
appear to be exhaustive.
3 Hansard 11, cols. 846 and 876.
4 Rapport, 9 July.
5 Rand Daily Mail, 22 September; Vaderland editorial, 22 September; Rapport
editorial, 24
September.

ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED WITH RACE RELATIONS

Israel". Dr. R. D. Coertze, of the Department of Ethnology in the University of Pretoria, attacked the system of Urban Bantu Councils as giving urban Africans false aspirations for a different political future from that of "homeland" Africans.6 Following the election of Prof. C. W. H. Boshoff as Chairman, eight Western Cape intellectuals resigned from SABRA, including seven members of the Western Cape executive and a former vicechairman. A statement, signed by six of them, said that the present composition of the executive "represents an interpretation of policy direction so reactionary that, in our opinion, it offers no perspective on the handling of the challenges which social and economic realities will present in the near future."7 Die Vaderland referred to "an open clash between those who put the idealistic concept of separate development in the forefront and those who wish to hammer home the practical realities".8 Prof. S. J. (Sampie) Terreblanche, Professor of Economics in Stellenbosch University and one of those who resigned, said: "Our point is that it is not possible to accept a massive flow-back of Bantu to the homelands. They will always form a great part of the cities. This must be accepted".9 Professor Terreblanche said the resignation had also been a response to an apparent move by SABRA to leave open the possibility of a Coloured homeland, which was against declared Government policy.10 After assuming office, Professor C. Boshoff issued a statement expressing concern at the great number of Africans in the White areas. SABRA, he said, would continue purposefully to study ways to settle increasing numbers of Africans on an economic and family basis in their respective homelands. He claimed that the acceptance of Africans outside the homelands would eventually make the survival of the White State impossible. Professor Boshoff announced an expansion of SABRA’s programme of youth congresses, a "militant" programme to counter new proposals for political or social integration, and that he would personally undertake to devote more and more time to consultation with Black leaders "for the advancement of all our national, economic and cultural autonomy".

OTHER RESEARCH ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED WITH RACE RELATIONS
The Abe Bailey Institute of Interracial Studies reported that Dr. R. E. van der Ross's work on "The political-cultural development of the Coloured people during the twentieth century, as related to the problems of group identity" was to be published.

6 Rand Daily Mail, 23 September; Rapport, 24 September.
7 Rapport, 24 September.
8 Vaderland editorial, 26 September.
9 Rand Daily Mail, 25 September.
10 Star, 27 September.
11 Star, 28 September.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
Dr. D. Welsh received a fellowship, for the second half of 1972, for work on "Society, politics and higher education in South Africa". The seminars inaugurated in 1969 continued, mostly in the Western Cape. In collaboration with the School of African Studies at the University of Cape Town, a research workshop was held in January on "The position of the Coloured People in South Africa".

In his annual report in June, the Chairman of the Africa Institute of South Africa, Dr. F. J. de Villiers, said that the absence of a development bank for Southern Africa, which would specialize in meeting requirements "in the developing countries of the region", was a factor retarding development plans in the subcontinent. He welcomed an announcement by Dr. A. Rupert and the National Development and Management Foundation that such a bank is being planned. The Institute published data and statistics on Africa and Southern Africa throughout the year. A general conclusion, among others drawn by Dr. de Villiers, was that political emancipation "has significantly stimulated economic development in the Black states and it is clear that the creation of national states generated a favourable climate for aid-giving". This had led in turn to capital investment by S.A. companies and aid, trade and selective loan agreements by the S.A. Government. Nine main areas of current research, some nearing publication, included: a study of the relations between Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland, internationally and with South Africa (Mr. R. Bodenmüller); an analysis of interaction in political, economic, social, and other spheres between the various people and territories in Southern Africa (Prof. J. H. Moolman); social and juridical aspects of African labour in South Africa (Mr. W. J. Breytenbach); broad and in-depth studies of the African reserves (Mr. T. Malan and Mr. P. S. Hattingh). From the beginning of 1972, the Institute's Bulletin has appeared in new format. The second volume of the annual, The South African Journal of African Affairs, was published in March. Occasional papers published in 1972 included Population and Resources in South Africa, and Economic and Social Forces affecting the Organization of the Bantu Population, both by Dr. G. M. E. Leistner.

The Institute of Social and Economic Research at Rhodes University published Some Socio-economic Aspects of African Entrepreneurship, by Gillian P. Hart, based on research financed by the S.A. Institute of Race Relations. (See section
Among current research projects of the Institute were: the tempo and scope of transfer of higher grade jobs to Transkeian citizens (N. Charton); an ethnological study of the Chinese community in Port Elizabeth (A. N. Ross); a sociological study of the African press (F. Y. St. Leger). Research which reached the publication stage this year also included: Income Distribution and Economic Growth in South Africa, by A. M. K. M. Spandau, and African Middle-class Elite, by T. Nyquist.3

In February, the Institute for Social Research, at the University of Natal, Durban, organized a working conference on development in KwaZulu. Published papers and proceedings are to be found under the title, Towards Comprehensive Development in KwaZulu.4 In the process of publication during the year were Urban African Attitudes, by L. Schlemmer, and Social and Political Attitudes Among Whites in Durban, by L. Schlemmer and Dr. R. Turner.5 Other studies completed are not yet published. Research in progress included studies of Indian urban settlement, (R. Davies) and of attitudes of African, Indian and Coloured school-leavers (Ann Perry). The latter study is partly financed by the S.A. Institute of Race Relations.'

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS
Black Sash
During the year demonstrations took place against, inter alia, detention without trial and deaths of detainees, bannings of churchmen and others, conditions in the Alexandra hostels, Johannesburg, the disruption of Black family life, and police violence against students. At the January opening of Parliament, banners were carried reading: "Remember that 80 per cent of South Africans have no voice in Parliament; that hundreds of thousands are uprooted by the Law of the Land; that families are broken by Law; that there is punishment without trial; that people are in solitary confinement." Students and others joined several protests. The Johannesburg City Council limited some protests to five persons only, and continued to require separate applications for each and every day of any protest.' Speaking at the University of the Witwatersrand, Mrs. Sheena Duncan, Southern Transvaal Chairman, said the Black Sash welcomed the growth of Black consciousness. "We look forward to . . . a common society, but the Black pressure group seems to us to offer the greatest hope of bringing about change." The Western Cape Council opposed a call for economic withdrawal made by Mr. Joel Carlson4 and argued that pressure on 17th Annual Report, for 1971.

' cf. also brief reports by Dr. E. Hellmann and R. F. Margo, Memoranda of the S.A.I.R.R. Nos. 23/72 and 16/72 respectively.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

Foreign investors to pay equal wages for equal work was important to Black people.5

The Black Sash held its eighteenth national conference in Johannesburg during October. Mrs. Jean Sinclair was unanimously re-elected national president.

Much of the attention of the conference was directed at the "tragic absurdity" of apartheid, and its "monstrous offspring" - migrant labour, which was held to be at the centre of the "vicious circle which produces broken families, separation, poverty, exploitation of labour, low wages, starvation, and malnutrition."

In the Black Sash's view the total system added up to an affront to the humanity of the majority of South Africans and it warned of an inevitable price which would have to be paid sooner or later.

The delegates reaffirmed their pledge to fight apartheid, to expose injustice, and to work for meaningful contact across the colour line.3

National Council of Women of S.A.

In November 1970 a committee of the Executive Board of UNESCO was instructed to investigate and report on whether NonGovernmental Organizations with affiliates in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia or Portuguese Africa practised or co-operated with apartheid. Following upon detailed reports submitted to the International Council of Women by its affiliated National Councils in S.A. and Rhodesia, the ICW President informed the Director General of UNESCO, inter alia, that, "Both in South Africa and in Rhodesia, the national affiliates of ICW pursue faithfully the principles laid down in the constitution of ICW - non-discrimination in membership and organization, and active work to mitigate the effects in practice of national legal systems where these are not in accord with this principle."

UNESCO subsequently approved the maintenance of the ICW's Consultative Status.

The President, Mrs. Barbara M. Grieve, participated in the organization of a nationwide petition to the Government protesting against police action against students and urging steps to achieve free and equal education for all races. The NCW also sent letters of protest to the Prime Minister and newspapers. In a statement, the President said: "Women's struggle against discrimination has been maintained for decades. We have suffered from that based on sex. We uphold those who now oppose discrimination based on race."2

ACTION SOUTH AND SOUTHERN AFRICA
OTHER VOLUNTARY SERVICES

In a speech given wide publicity at the beginning of the year, Dr. Anthony Barker, medical superintendent at the Charles Johnson Memorial Hospital in Nqutu, Zululand, urged that the "homelands" should be opened to voluntary student help. These areas were "so jealously guarded and the townships so closed that our students have to go beyond our borders to express themselves in any kind of action". Dr. Barker said he valued self-help schemes in neighbouring countries, such as those supported by Dr. Anton Rupert and others (see Survey, 1971) but added: "... it is only too plain that such far reaching help is rendered because even Dr. Rupert cannot usefully help within the boundaries of his country."

Groups of medical students again rendered voluntary service during the winter vacation. Groups of Stellenbosch students visited Lesotho, Malawi, Botswana, and Swaziland, the seventh such visit.2 The Secretary for the Department of the Transkeian Interior denied press reports that Stellenbosch students had been banned from entering the Transkei. He said the necessary application forms had been issued to students but no replies had been received.3 Seventy students of the University of Pretoria were reported to have spent their vacation serving voluntarily in "homeland" hospitals but the report did not say which areas were involved.4 Wits medical students participated in the "flying-doctor" service to Swaziland, which is backed by Mr. Harry Oppenheimer.5 Ten students from the University of Cape Town conducted a malnutrition survey in Malawi.6 Members of the S.A. Voluntary Service (see previous Surveys) finished building a clinic at Liphiring, Lesotho. Classrooms and other school buildings were built near Ramsgate, Natal, and at Grasmere, Hammanskraal, Val, and Valdezia in the Transvaal. As a matter of policy, SAVS only undertakes projects where the local community is willing to participate. SAVS members also continued teaching through tutorials and helped to supply Black students with required books.7

ACTION SOUTH AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

It is mentioned earlier that, as from the end of July, Mr. Theo J. A. Gerdener resigned from the Cabinet, in which, for the past two years, he had been Minister of the Interior. He subsequently resigned his seat in Parliament.

2 Rand Daily Mail, 23 June.
3 Daily Dispatch, 24 June.
4 Vaderland, 12 June.
5 Star, 31 August.
6 Cape Times, 9 August.
7 Records of SAVS Secretary, University of Witwatersrand.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

Mr. Gerdener said in June' that during the past six to eight years he had often maintained that the formation of a secretariat or body which would have no governmental or political implications and which would attempt to further co-operation on numerous other levels, was essential if communist threats from outside should increase. He was reported2 to be particularly concerned with steps to promote better internal race relations, and to build an "anti-communist" front in
Southern Africa by the extension, between groups and States, of as much common
ground as was possible and practicable.
According to these reports, he held negotiations with South African businessmen
and financiers, and had wide-ranging talks with community leaders, representing
various shades of "forward thinking" in South Africa and other states of Southern
Africa. He arranged a large meeting near Johannesburg on 14 October, behind
closed doors, of "politically non-aligned" people.
It was announced at this meeting that a trust fund to finance the project had been
legally established. The aim was ultimately to raise R50-million. Ten trustees, of
various racial groups, were appointed.
Mr. Gerdener explained some of his plans at a public meeting held on 18 October.
Ways in which relationships between groups in South Africa itself might be
improved, he suggested, were to close gaps, improve the recreational facilities
available to Blacks, help in the field of illiteracy, provide suitable literature, and
make documentary films on the way in which people of different racial groups
were already co-operating.
A further aim would be to help to accelerate the economic and humanitarian
development of under- or semi-developed countries in Southern Africa. One
effective way of doing this might be to invite such countries to send suitable
persons to a training institute in the Republic where they would be given free,
"crash", courses in spheres where the needs of their countries were the greatest.
They would then be expected to return home and, under the control of their
governments, act as trainers to new groups of trainees.'
1 Rand Daily Mail, 20 June.
2 Sunday Express, 20 August; Rand Daily Mail, 24 August; Sunday Tribune, 10
September.
3 Sunday Express, 15 October; Rand Daily Mall, 19 and 20 October.

THE POPULATION OF SOUTH AFRICA
SIZE AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION
Some notes on the size and distribution of the South African population were
given on pages 59-60 of last year's Survey. Further information, relating to
Africans, was contained in Report 02-05-01 by the Department of Statistics,
issued during the year under review, and was summarized by the Institute of Race
Relations in RR. 11/72.
POPULATION GROWTH
In October 1971 the S.A. Institute of International Affairs, in co-operation with
the Rand Afrikaans University and the Foundation for Foreign Affairs, Inc., of
Chicago, arranged a symposium on the Population Explosion. The proceedings
were published during 1972 by MacMillan, London, under the title International
Aspects of Over-Population.
One of the papers given at the Symposium was by Professor J. L. Sadie, entitled
"The Costs of Population Growth in South Africa."1 In this paper Professor Sadie
said that all four of the major ethnic groups in the country have long since passed
the first demographic phase, in which both mortality and fertility proceed more or
less unchecked.
The African population, he continued, is moving along the second, or explosive phase, as a result of a decline in mortality, while fertility has remained almost unchanged. The rate of natural increase is 2.65 per cent per annum. During the past five years the Coloured population appears to have traversed the third phase, in which a reduction in fertility begins to exceed that in mortality. If it continues on that course, it must be considered as entering the fourth phase, with an incipient decline in the rate of growth. But this rate, at about 2.9 per cent per annum, is still higher than that of the other three ethnic groups. The Asians have been in the fourth phase for two decades, their rate of natural increase having dropped during that period from 3.39 per cent to 2.6 per cent per annum.

The Whites can be considered to be in the fifth phase, with a rate of natural increase of only 1.4 per cent per annum.

As mentioned last year, in 1970 the total population was 21,448,169. Its percentage composition was: Africans 70.2 per cent, Whites 17.5 per cent, Coloured 9.4 per cent, and Asian 2.9 per cent.

1 Published in the S.A. Journal of Economics, June, Vol. 40 No. 2.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

In a book written following the symposium mentioned above, Dr. Nic. J. van Rensburg calculated that, should the 1960-70 growth rates be maintained, by the year 2000 AD the total size of the population might be between a minimum of 52.51 millions and a maximum of 69.20 millions. The possible totals for each ethnic group, and the percentages that each would constitute of the total population, might be:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Minimum Population</th>
<th>Maximum Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>39,580</td>
<td>52,94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>6,645</td>
<td>10,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>4,859</td>
<td>7,10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>1,426</td>
<td>2,18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dr. van Rensburg pointed to the social and economic problems that are likely to arise in the provision of adequate housing, water, food, employment, and educational facilities.

Other, lower, estimates were given by Mr. J. F. Otto, director of physical planning in the Department of Planning, at a national conference of the S.A. Property Owners' Association in February. He forecast that, should present growth rates be maintained, the population might double in size by 2000 A.D. Mr. Otto was particularly concerned with the urgent need for the building of more homes.

AGE GROUPS AND INFANT MORTALITY RATES

In the paper quoted earlier, Professor Sadie summarized the age structures of the population, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-14 years</td>
<td>43.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-64 years</td>
<td>54.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Whites, he pointed out, possess the economic advantage of having the highest complement of potentially productive persons. The dependancy rate is far higher among Coloured and African people; and, without family planning, this problem is likely to worsen.

Such planning, Professor Sadie pointed out, would decrease the infant mortality rates, which he estimated as being (per 1 000 live births) 140 among Africans, 130 among Coloured people, 40 among Asians, and 22 among Whites. With fewer children, more attention could be given to their nurturing.

**ILLEGITIMACY RATES**


**POPULATION OF SOUTH AFRICA**

'tics,' of the children born between 1967 and 1970, about 3 per cent of the Whites, 7 per cent of the Asians, and 43 per cent of the Coloured, were illegitimate. No figure could be calculated for Africans because not all births are registered, despite legislation making this compulsory.

**POPULATION REGISTRATION**

A start has been made with the issuing of the new identity documents to Whites, Coloured, and Indian people, and certificates of citizenship to Africans. It is officially estimated that the process may take about five years to complete.

Questioned in the Assembly on 29 May, the Minister of the Interior said that, during 1971, Race Classification Boards finalized 111 appeals (involving 135 persons) against classifications that had been made by officials. The following details were given:

(a) in 26 appeals by persons classified as Coloured, 10 were reclassified as White, while 16 were confirmed as Coloured;
(b) in 13 appeals by persons classified as Indian, 4 were reclassified as Malay, and 9 were confirmed as Indian;
(c) in 72 appeals by persons classified as African, 40 were altered to Coloured, and 32 confirmed as African.

Cases of hardship are still reported, several of which, during the past year, have related to African women who have become widowed after marriages to Coloured men. The women are then reclassified as Africans, and have to leave their previous homes. They may have children with Coloured identity cards, in which case families are divided.

**IMMORALITY**

On 4 February the Minister of Justice was asked in the Assembly to furnish statistics in regard to charges, prosecutions and convictions under the Immorality Act during 1971. He replied that there was no available information relating to charges. So far as prosecutions and convictions were concerned, he could give figures for the period 1 March to 31 December 1971 only. These were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prosecutions</th>
<th>Convictions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M F M F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Whites ... ... 543 19 252 10
Coloured ... ... 13 195 9 81
Asians ... ... 16 11 8 4
Africans ... ... 15 296 7 144

4 Reported in the Sunday Express, 21 May.
6 Hansard 17 col. 1101.
I e.g. Rand Daily Mail, 15 July.
9 Hansard 1 Question cots. 31-2.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
It is, once again, noteworthy how many of those who have to face the stigma of prosecution are, apparently, not convicted. Again, there have been suicides since the last Survey was compiled. A White policeman who probably faced prosecution hanged himself, and another White man, who had been charged, flung himself from the top of a skyscraper the day after being released on bail.'

MEASURES FOR SECURITY AND THE CONTROL OF PERSONS
DEFENCE EXPENDITURE AND EQUIPMENT
According to the official Estimates of Expenditure for 1972-3,1 the following sums are budgeted for Defence:
Revenue Account
Defence ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 33536000
Buildings for defence other than houses 40 000
Loan Account
Public Works, .................. 3 267 550
Housing of personnel .............. 3 919 950
Purchase of shares of the Armaments Development and Production Corporation of S.A.............. 8730 000
R351 293 500

The latest published information regarding the strength of the Defence Force was summarized on page 63 of last year’s Survey.
During discussion of his Vote in the Assembly on 27 April, the Minister of Defence said that all the construction work on the Decca navigator system round the coasts had been completed. Receivers had been installed in ships; Air Force installations had progressed far; and maps had reached the stage of completion.
He hoped that the Advokaat project would be completed by October, the Minister continued. This is an underground maritime headquarters in the Southern Cape, connected with Walvis Bay and Durban as advance bases.
Three Satellite Radar Stations have now been completed at Mariepskop in the mountains of the Eastern Transvaal, Ellisras near the Limpopo frontier, and Mafeking. A mobile radar unit ranges the northern and north-eastern Transvaal. Computers at these stations relay data to the subterranean nerve centre of the Northern Air Defence Sector of the S.A. Air Force at Devon, near Springs.
On 8 September The Star quoted the latest issue of The Military Balance of the Institute for Strategic Studies as having reported that the South African Navy has nine frigates (five held
2 R18 836 000 more than during the previous year.
3 Hansard 12 cols. 5787-5799.
4 Sunday Times, 17 September.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
in reserve), three submarines, ten coastal minesweepers (seven in reserve), one escort minesweeper, two, destroyers, five seaward defence boats, and one fleet-replenishment tanker. Six corvettes are on order.
Again according to the Institute for Strategic Studies, the Republic has 800 armoured cars, about 25 Saracen armoured troop-carriers, 100 Centurion tanks, 20 Comet tanks, and 50 Ferret scout-cars.
As noted last year, South Africa has produced an air-to-air rocket, called Voorslag. Cactus anti-aircraft missiles have been jointly invented and financed by France and South Africa: it was announced in August that the United States was to manufacture 3 600 of these, under licence. South Africa is building two marks of the French Mirage supersonic jet fighters.
In his speech on his Vote, quoted earlier, the Minister of Defence said that the Republic could no longer be isolated by arms boycotts: it was self-sufficient so far as domestic requirements were concerned. South Africa could manufacture cannons of calibres varying between 20mm. and 260mm. bored and 20mm. and 160 mm. ground, together with a wide series of calibres and models of rifles. It was independent in respect of armoured cars; and was producing a radio beacon for parachute troops and a man-pack transmitting/receiving communication system for use by the commandos. Machine pistols are being manufactured.

BLACK MEMBERS OF THE DEFENCE FORCE
The Minister went on to say that the S.A. Coloured Corps was a Permanent Force unit. Salaries had been improved. Nevertheless, recruiting for the Corps had not been as successful as had been hoped. He intended discussing with the Minister of Coloured Affairs and the Executive of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council the possible establishment of a special service battalion, on a voluntary basis, for Coloured men. After 10 to 12 months' training, men would be drafted to the Permanent Force, especially the Navy and Army. Instructors would have to be trained first. If this scheme succeeded it could be extended to Indians in Natal, but not, at the present stage, to Africans.
(As noted in a subsequent chapter, Black men, including Africans, are serving as fully-armed members of the Police Force, guarding the Republic's borders with the Caprivi Strip.)

VOTE FOR SECURITY SERVICES
In the State's Budget for 1972-3, a sum of R5 500 000 was voted as a contribution to the Security Services Special Account, set up in terms of Act 81 of 1969. (This was R1 985 000 more than in the preceding year.)
- Star, 26 July.
SECURITY OF THE STATE
POTGIETER COMMISSION'S REPORT
A one-man commission, consisting of Mr. Justice Potgieter, was set up in 1969 to enquire into matters relating to the security of the State. The Prime Minister announced later that a parliamentary committee under his chairmanship, consisting of equal numbers of members of the government and the opposition, would decide how much of the Potgieter report could be released without prejudice to the country's security. Following this committee's deliberations, an abridged version of the commission's report was published during February, as R.P. 102/1971. The Minister of Justice said1' that the commission's recommendations had been adopted in toto.

Mr. Justice Potgieter recommended that all intelligence relating to the continued existence and security of the State, and the vulnerabilities and capacities of an enemy or potential enemy, should be centralized in one Department of State, headed by a Secretary for Security Intelligence, and under the control of the Prime Minister. This department should be the existing Bureau for State Security, constituted basically as it already was.

Existing departmental intelligence services (i.e. those of the Police, Defence Force, and other State Departments) should be retained, and these services should appoint liaison representatives at the Bureau to assist in an advisory capacity in preparing the national intelligence estimate, to be submitted to the Prime Minister for consideration by the State Security Council.

Except in so far as it may be necessary for the S.A. Police to collect information covertly for the purposes of investigating offences connected with the security of the State, it should be the exclusive function of the Bureau to collect information covertly. Other Departments should be allowed to collect overtly data relating to their functions (e.g. information on road communications obtained by the Department of Defence), but, in general, it should be left to, the Bureau, too, to collect even by overt means intelligence relating to State security.

It should be left to the Bureau to evaluate intelligence. Other departments, for example the Security Police, should forward such information in raw form, with an indication of the reliability value the department concerned attached to the information.

As was already the case, the Bureau should not be vested with any powers of arrest, detention, entering of premises, or other similar police work. Nor should it have powers in regard to the combating of a threat to the security of the State. The Bureau's activities should at all times be restricted to matters which have an actual connection with the security of the State.

Mr. Justice Potgieter recommended legislative measures to create a State Security Council, and to amend Sections 10 and 29 of 10 Assembly. 8 June, Hansard 18 col. 9083.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
the General Law Amendment Act of 1969. The legislation that resulted is outlined below.
SECURITY INTELLIGENCE AND STATE SECURITY COUNCIL
ACT, No. 64 OF 1972
This Bill was introduced by the Prime Minister during May, and was supported by the United and Progressive Parties.11
(a) It set out the functions and duties of the Bureau for State Security, and of other departments of State, in regard to security intelligence.
(b) It established a State Security Council, consisting of:
the Prime Minister as chairman;
the senior Minister of the Republic, if he is not a member under any other provision;
the Ministers of Defence, Foreign Affairs, Justice, and Police; such other Ministers as the Prime Minister may from time to time co-opt as members;
the Secretary for Security Intelligence;
the Commandant-General of the S.A. Defence Force;
the Secretaries for Foreign Affairs and for Justice;
the Commissioner of the S.A. Police;
such other heads of departments of State as the Prime Minister may from time to time co-opt.
(c) The Act set out the functions of the State Security Council, which are, at the request of the Prime Minister, to advise the Government on the formulation of national policy and strategy in relation to the security of the country and the manner in which this should be implemented; to advise on a policy to combat any particular threat to the security of South Africa; and, on the recommendation of the Bureau, to determine intelligence priorities.
In terms of Proclamation R192 of 4 August the post of Secretary for Security Intelligence was created (the incumbent was previously designated Security Adviser to the Prime Minister). The present incumbent is General H. J. van den Bergh.
GENERAL LAW AMENDMENT ACT, No. 102 OF 1972: PROVISIONS RELATING TO SECURITY OF THE STATE
Sections 10 and 25 of the 1972 Act amended Sections 10 and 29, respectively, of the General Law Amendment Act of 1969.12 In the following paragraphs, words that were added are in italics, while those omitted are enclosed in square brackets.
(a) Section 10
"Any person who has in his possession or under his control any sketch, plan, model, article, note, document or information
SECURITY OF THE STATE
which relates to munitions of war or any military, police or security matter, and who publishes it or directly or indirectly communicates it to any person in any manner or for any purpose prejudicial to the safety or interests of the Republic, and who at the time of such publication or communication was aware of or should reasonably have suspected that such sketch, plan, model, article, note, document, or information related to munitions of war or any military, police or security matter, shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding R1 500 or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding seven years, or to both such fine and such imprisonment."

(b) Section 29(1)

"(1) Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in any law or the common law contained, no person shall be [compellable] compelled, and no person shall be permitted or ordered to give evidence or to furnish any information in any proceedings in any court of law or before any body or institution established by or under any law or before any commission as contemplated by the Commissions Act, 1947, as to any fact, matter or thing or as to any communication made to or by such person, and no book or document may be produced in any such proceedings, if [a certificate] an affidavit purporting to have been signed by the [Prime Minister or any person authorized thereto by him or purporting to have been signed by any other] Minister responsible in respect of such fact, matter, thing, communication, book or document, or, in the case of a provincial administration or the territory of South West Africa, the Administrator concerned, is produced to the court of law, body [or], institution or commission concerned... to the effect that the said Minister or Administrator, as the case may be, has personally considered the said fact, matter, thing, communication, book or document [affects the interests of the State or public security and that the disclosure thereof will, in the opinion of the Prime Minister or said person so authorized or other Minister, as the case may be, be prejudicial to the interests of the State or public security] and that, in his opinion, it affects the security of the State and that disclosure thereof will, in his opinion, prejudicially affect the security of the State."

The Bill was presented to the Assembly by the Minister of Justice on 8 June. Mr. M. L. Mitchell said that the official Opposition welcomed it.L3 13 Hansard 18 cols. 9083-90. See 1969 Survey, page 35, for criticism of the original Act.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
SUPPRESSION OF COMMUNISM AMENDMENT ACT,
No. 2 OF 1972
1. In terms of the principal Act as amended,14 the Minister of Justice had power, by notice in the Gazette, to prohibit certain persons from:
(a) being or becoming office-bearers, officers, or members,
(b) making or receiving any contribution of any kind for the direct benefit, or
(c) participating in any way in any activity, of any particular organization or any organization of a nature, class, or kind specified in the notice, except with the written consent of the Minister or a duly authorized magistrate. Those who could be so prohibited were all listed and banned persons, or those who were office-bearers, officers, or members of any organization which has been declared unlawful.

In terms of the 1972 amendment, those who can be so prohibited are all listed and banned persons, or those who at any time before or after any organization has been declared unlawful, were or are office-bearers, officers, or members of that organization.

When introducing the Bill, the Minister of Justice said that the amendment expressed the Government's original intention. It had always been desirable, for example, for the Minister to be able to prohibit persons who were members of the African National Congress from joining student organizations or trade unions, in case they promoted subversive activities within these bodies. It was an almost impossible task to prove that a particular person had been a member of the A.N.C. at the time when that organization was declared unlawful. However, a recent court case had cast doubt upon the Government's original intentions, which were now to be more expressly set out.

2. Further sections of the Act simplified the procedure for the registration of new newspapers, and for granting exemptions from clauses of banning orders which required the persons concerned to report regularly to the police.

GENERAL LAW AMENDMENT ACT, No. 102 OF 1972: PROVISIONS RELATING TO ATTORNEYS, NOTARIES AND CONVEYANCERS ADMISSION ACT

Section 32 of the Attorneys, Notaries and Conveyancers Admission Act of 1934 provided that a member of these professions may not practise as such while he is struck off the rolls or suspended. Unless with the written consent of the law society

14 Section 5 ter.
15 Assembly, 7 February, Hansard 2 col. 454. 16 Amending Sections 6 bis and 10quat of the principal Act.

PROHIBITION OF GATHERINGS

concerned, he may not, while struck off the rolls or suspended, be employed in any capacity whatsoever connected with these professions. The Amendment Act of 1972 laid down that if such a person is to be employed in some capacity by a practitioner, in cases where he has been struck off the rolls under the Suppression of Communism Act, he must obtain the consent of the Minister of Justice as well as that of the law society.

The Minister said that the reason for the amendment was that the Natal Law Society had granted permission for Mr. Rowley Arenstein (who had been
imprisoned for four years under the Suppression of Communism Act and was both banned and listed) to enter employment with his former articled clerk, who was now an attorney. "It did not take long before Arenstein was once again an attorney in everything but name. I forbade him by way of further restriction orders to carry on with this work, but agreed, after representations were made, for him to carry on with his work in connection with the recent Pietermaritzburg terrorist trial." 18

PROHIBITION OF GATHERINGS
As described in a subsequent chapter, there were protests and demonstrations by students at English-medium White universities and at Black universities during the second quarter of 1972.

On 7 June Government Notice 999 (replaced by No. 1017) was issued. As amended, it stated: "Deeming it necessary for the maintenance of the public peace, the Minister of Justice prohibits the assembly of any public gathering of a political nature, that is to say, a public gathering at which any form of state or any principle or policy of the government of a state is propagated, defended, attacked, criticised, or discussed, or which is held in protest against anything; with the exception of such a public gathering which takes place, for as long as it lasts, within the walls of a building", in 20 magisterial districts, from the date of the notice until 8 July. Magistrates of districts might grant exemptions. This action was taken under the Riotous Assemblies Act. On 15 June Government Notice! 1104 was gazetted, adding a further district to the list.

The Minister is reported" to, have said that he had taken these steps in view of the "defiant and provocative conduct of students and others at certain universities, and in view of certain information in the Government's possession."

Further action was taken for a longer period, under the Suppression of Communism Act, in respect of two areas of central Cape Town (including the land around the Anglican Cathedral) in terms of Government Notice 1389 of 11 August. From then until 17 Assembly, 2 June, Hansard 17 col. 8698.

See 1971 Survey, page 85. Mr. Arenstein was helping to assist the detainees or their relatives. Star, 7 June.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
11 August 1974 all assemblies or gatherings in these areas were banned if they were likely to promote aims of communism, or were political meetings or demonstrations as described above. Expressly exempted were bona fide divine services, and trading.

RESTRICTION (BANNING) ORDERS ON PERSONS
On 12 May the Minister of Justice said in the Assembly" that 34 banning orders on persons had been withdrawn during the previous twelve months, 21 orders were relaxed, and 83 had not been renewed on expiry. As at 30 April there were 237 restricted persons. A list of their names was gazetted on 28 July21: they included 28 Whites.

The Minister stated22 in June that 563 persons were then "listed" under the Suppression of Communism Act, of whom 25 were subject also to banning
orders. Of these, six were living abroad. During 1971, he said, one person was warned by a magistrate to refrain from engaging in activities considered to be furthering any of the aims of communism. During the year under review, one Coloured, one Indian, and three African men whose banning orders had expired were rebanned for further periods of five years. Another African was placed under restrictions for a further two years. A five-year banning order on Professor Raymond Hoffenberg, now living in Britain, expired in July. Under the Suppression of Communism Act, however, he may still not be quoted in South Africa unless permission is granted by the Minister of Justice. Questioned by the Press, the Minister said that he did not propose to give such permission in Professor Hoffenberg's case. The banning orders on Mrs. Helen Joseph and Miss Molly Anderson expired at the end of October, and were not renewed. Both women are still "listed", however, thus may not be quoted.

Three prominent churchmen were among those banned for five years in 1972. One of them was the Rev. Basil Moore, a former acting general secretary of the University Christian Movement, who was also placed under house arrest. Because of the persecution of his family by unknown persons and his children's consequent state of fear, he decided to leave South Africa. The other two were Anglican churchmen who, as described in a subsequent chapter, had shortly before been expelled from South West Africa. One of them was Mr. David de Beer, who had just been appointed to a post with the Christian Institute, and the other was the Rev. Steven Hayes. When Mr. de Beer was banned, in June, nine Anglican Bishops signed a protest, as did a number of prominent lay persons and members of his congregation. The Christian Institute arranged a Mass in thanksgiving for the witness that he and other restricted persons had given to Christ's love of the poor, at which a sermon was preached by Father Cosmas Desmond (placed under house arrest in 1971).24 Father Desmond's house arrest order confined him to, his home all weekends and on public holidays. He contravened the order to preach at the service on 2 July, after Mr. de Beer was banned, and subsequently attended Mass every Sunday. On 30 July he preached in a Methodist Church at a service of praise for the courage of Christians who had suffered for their convictions. No action was taken against him, however, and on 15 September he received a notice signed by the Minister of Justice, relaxing his order of house arrest between 7 a.m. and 6 p.m. on Sundays "for the sole purpose of attending bona fide religious services".25
Others who were placed under house arrest during 1972 included Mr. Sabelo Ntwasa, an official of the University Christian Movement, and Mr. M. D. Naidoo, who had just completed a five-year prison sentence under the Suppression of Communism Act. After completing a nine-year sentence for a political offence Mr. William Khanyile was restricted for the two years to a small village in a rural area of Natal. Further banning orders are mentioned in relevant chapters of this Survey.

During March, many of the restricted persons and a number of othersfasted over the Easter weekend, or for a week, as a sign of protest against punishment without trial. A protest demonstration was held by the Black Sash and university students.

**BANISHMENT OF AFRICANS IN TERMS OF THE BANTU ADMINISTRATION ACT**

Questioned in the Assembly on 29 February, the Minister of Justice said that eight removal orders under the Bantu Administration Act were withdrawn during 1972. Four Africans died in banishment: they included Mr. Paulus Mopeli, whose removal order had been issued as far back as 1950. It would appear that up to eight Africans, including one woman, are still living in banishment.

**EMERGENCY REGULATIONS IN THE TRANSKEI**

The emergency regulations for the Transkei, gazetted as Proclamation 400 of 1960, remain in force.

25 Rand Daily Mail, 16 September.
26 Hansard 5 col. 396.

**A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972**

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said in the Assembly on 14 April that 23 Africans were then under removal orders issued by chiefs (the same number as a year previously). The first of these orders had been issued in 1961.

According to the Minister of Police, 8 of the 24 Africans who were in detention on 31 March 1971, 20 were eventually released without charges being laid, the remaining four having been charged. Their trial had not been concluded at the date when the Minister spoke. Before being released or charged, these people had been in detention for periods ranging from 103 to 303 days. Since 1 April 1971, a further 6 Africans had been detained, but all were released, after periods ranging from 16 to 167 days, without being charged.

**TRAVEL DOCUMENTS AND CITIZENSHIP**

Questioned in the Assembly, the Minister of the Interior replied that, during 1971, 154,990 applications for passports were received from persons in South Africa and South West Africa. All but 83 of these were granted. No figures were available indicating the number of passports that had been withdrawn. Of those who had been refused passports, 12 were permitted to make use of permanent departure permits (three Whites, one Coloured person, four Asians, and four Africans).

There were 34 Whites (no Blacks) who were, during 1971, deprived of South African citizenship. Of these, 27 had, despite warnings, made use of passports of
other countries of which they were also citizens; six had obtained the citizenship of other countries by voluntary formal acts; and one was convicted of a drug offence during the first five years after he had acquired South African citizenship. The removal of 49 Whites and 122 Blacks was ordered in terms of the provisions of the law relating to deportation, the Minister indicated.

He said that no statistics were available in respect of the number of clergy, ministers, and religious workers whose passports had been withdrawn, who had left on exit permits, whose temporary residence permits were cancelled or not extended, or who were declared prohibited immigrants.

Among those who were allowed passports were several Black political leaders who had opposed Government policies, for example Mr. David Curry and Mr. Knowledge Guzana.

Those who were refused passports, or ordered to surrender them, included Mr. Peter Randall, the director of Spro-Cas, a member of staff of the Christian Institute, Mr. Drake Koka and Mr. Saths Cooper of the Black People's Convention, six senior executive members of Nusas, at least eight other prominent students or ex-students, and an Indian school-boy who had wanted to attend the multi-racial Waterford School in Swaziland. When the application by the sixth member of Nusas was refused, the president of this organization said that not a single member of his senior executive committee now had a passport.

It was mentioned in last year's Survey that Miss Shanthie Naidoo was, that year, granted a permanent departure permit by the Department of the Interior, but that this proved useless because the Department of Justice refused to relax her banning order to allow her to proceed to a port of departure. On re-application, both Departments allowed her to leave, during September, a condition being that she should refrain from political activities.

Mr. Roy Wilkins, head of the American National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, was granted a visa to visit South Africa; but an application by Congressman Charles Diggs was refused: he had wanted to re-enter the Republic and to visit South West Africa. Among others who were refused visas were Professor Robert Williams of New York, who was to have addressed a congress of the South African Students' Organization, and the two sons-in-law of the late Chief Albert Luthuli, who had wanted to attend the unveiling of a monument to his memory. Both of his daughters were allowed to come.

It was announced on 7 October that the Minister of the Interior intended refusing visas to academics from other countries who intended coming to South Africa to investigate the operations of overseas business concerns. The Rand Daily Mail
reported on 12 October that, for this reason, two officials of the African American Institute of New York had been denied entry. Several people from overseas have had to leave South Africa because their temporary residence permits were cancelled or not renewed. They included Father Wilfred Jackson of Ladysmith, who had worked at the Limehill resettlement township, the Rev. Dr. Ullrich Lochmann of the Theological College at Mapumulo, and Mr. Mark Douglas-Home, editor of Wits Student, in which a controversial cartoon had been published. As mentioned elsewhere, among those who were forced to leave South West Africa were the Rt. Rev. Colin O'B. Winter, the Rev. Stephen Hayes, and Mr. David de Beer of the Anglican Church. Another was the Rev. Hans Ludwig Althaus of the Rhenish Mission. Miss Antoinette Halberstadt was required to give up her work as principal of an Anglican school in Owambo, while Mr. John Witherow, Mr. James Corrigal, and Dr. Lothar Engel were refused permission to take up educational posts in that territory.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
ATTACKS ON PROMINENT PEOPLE
During 1972 there was an increased number of anonymous threats and attacks on prominent people, mainly opponents of the Government's racial policies. In September the Rev. Dr. C. F. Beyers Naud6, Director of the Christian Institute, told the Press that a number of duplicated smear letters had been circulated, some issued by the so-called "Patriotic South Africans for South Africa". After various attacks during the weeks that followed, newspapers received anonymous telephone calls, the callers saying "Scorpio has struck again". Leaflets issued by "Scorpio" were found in letter-boxes in Cape Town, attacking "leftists", liberals, Jews, and others. The police offered a reward of R1 000 for information about the organization.

Many of these actions took place in Cape Town. During 1971, damage was done to the cars of Dr. Michael Whisson and Dr. Francis Wilson of the University of Cape Town, Mr. Barry Streek of Nusas, and the Rev. Theo Kotze, Cape Regional Director of the Christian Institute. Anonymous telephone calls were received late at night by members of this Institute, and communist slogans painted on the walls of the Ecumenical Centre in Cape Town where the Institute has its offices. These activities were stepped up in 1972, Mr. Theo Kotze being a frequent victim. Petrol bombs were twice thrown at his home, and shots were fired at it, one smashing a bedroom window. Death threats were made in anonymous telephone calls and letters. The tyres of his car were slashed, a communist sign painted on the back walls of his home, and various unrequested delivery vans and taxis arrived there. Mr. Kotze was given police protection.

Two attempts were made to set fire to the offices of the Christian Institute in Cape Town. During September this Institute held its annual meeting in the hall of St. Thomas's Church in Rondebosch: a few hours later the hall was set on fire and badly damaged.

Others whose homes were attacked with petrol bombs were the historian, Mr. Leo Marquard, who was then organizing a Students' Defence Fund, and Mr. Geoff.
Budlender, president of the S.R.C. at the University of Cape Town (extensive damage was done). At the time of the attack, Mr. Budlender was addressing a meeting: attempts were made to disrupt the proceedings by scattering sneezing powder on the floor of the hall and throwing a petrol bomb against an outside wall.

Libellous pamphlets were issued falsely under the names of leading churchmen in Cape Town. Mr. Adam Small, a lecturer at the University of the Western Cape, was harassed by the arrival at his home of unrequested furniture vans and delivery lorries. Communist signs and slogans were painted on the homes of the Anglican Dean of Cape Town, Mr. Colin Eglin, leader of the Progressive Party, and Mr. Hamilton Russell, who had taken over the Students' Defence Fund, and on the offices of Nusas, the Progressive Party, and the Cape Times. The walls of a Methodist Church in central Cape Town were twice daubed with red paint.

There were attacks in other centres, too. During July, two attempts were made to set fire to Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's car. He has received threatening letters, and his chauffeur's home was set alight.

In Johannesburg, abusive and threatening telephone calls were made to Professor John Dugard, Dean of the Law School at the University of the Witwatersrand. A plastic pool belonging to the children of the Rev. Basil Moore was slashed, and the skinned body of their cat was left on the doorstep. Death threats were made by telephone to Mr. Adam Klein and Mr. Ralph Judah of the S.R.C. at the University: they were given police protection.

Two White men were arrested in Cape Town on 9 October, in connection with the attacks there.

CONTROL OF MEDIA OF COMMUNICATION

In reply to questions in the Assembly during February, the Minister of the Interior gave the following information regarding the activity of the Publications Control Board in respect of material other than films.

Between 1956 and the establishment of the Board in 1963, 5 515 publications had been banned. Since 1963, the Board had banned 6 520 publications and 25 other objects. There were 11 938 publications and 16 other objects that remained prohibited.'

During 1971, the Board had examined the following material (excluding films):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publications</th>
<th>Other objects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Submitted by members of the public</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Examined in terms of the Customs Act</td>
<td>845</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It had declared undesirable 13 of the publications submitted by members of the public, and 515 of the publications and 24 of the other objects examined in terms of the Customs Act.'

During 1971, there had been 7 appeals to the courts against decisions of the Board in respect of material other than films, and 6 appeals had been upheld.
1963 and the end of 1971, the Minister had altered 11 decisions of the Board in respect of material other than films.\(^4\)

In February, the Minister tabled information about 54 works the prohibitions on which had been lifted. Authors of the works included Robert Graves, Saul Bellow, Ernest Hemingway, Bernard Malamud, Emile Zola, D. H. Lawrence, George Orwell, J. P. Sartre, Christopher Isherwood, and Alberto Moravia. The Minister refused to give reasons for lifting of the prohibitions, some of which had been in force since 1956.\(^5\)

The Board had examined 14,212 films between 1963 and the end of 1970 and 2,280 during 1971. Of these, 305 had been totally prohibited, 2,353 had been approved subject to excisions, 1,930 had been approved for exhibition only to persons of a particular race or class, and 11,904 had been unconditionally approved.\(^6\)

\(^1\) Hansard 3 col. 285.
\(^2\) Hansard 2 col. 127.
\(^3\) Hansard 3 col. 271.
\(^4\) Hansard 3 col. 288.
\(^5\) Hansard 3 col. 251.
\(^6\) Hansard 2 col. 162.

**MEDIA OF COMMUNICATION**

Of the full-length feature films examined during 1971, 90 had been totally prohibited, 349 had been approved subject to excisions, 98 had been approved for exhibition only to persons of a particular race or class, and 291 had been unconditionally approved.\(^7\)

Since 11 February, 1971, there had been 35 appeals to the courts, all by film companies, against decisions of the Board on films. Twenty-two appeals had been rejected, 3 upheld, and 10 upheld subject to age restrictions or excisions.\(^8\) During the same year, 42 appeals had been made to the Minister and he had altered decisions in respect of 13 films.\(^9\)

The Minister of Justice said, in reply to a question in the Assembly, that 5 publications had been banned under the Suppression of Communism Act between 1950 and December 1970. None had been so banned during 1971.\(^10\)

The Minister of Community Development, replying to questions on behalf of the Minister of Justice, said no statistics were kept of charges or convictions in respect of possession of publications banned under the Suppression of Communism Act. He gave the following information in respect of charges and convictions for possession of material prohibited under the Publications and Entertainments Act:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Charges</th>
<th>Convictions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1965-66</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-67</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967-68</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-69</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969-70</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No statistics were available for before 1 July 1965.\(^1\)
In February, the Minister of the Interior told Parliament he had received representations for amendment to the Act from churches, other organizations, and private persons, most favouring stricter legislation, but he had no intention of amending the Act.2 In April, the Southern Transvaal Synod of the NGK recommended that the Act be amended, inter alia, to exclude appeal to the courts and to establish a special appeal board as recommended by the Cronj6 Commission.3

In May, there was wide public criticism of the Publications Board following another successful appeal to the Supreme Court, on behalf of the magazine Scope, against a decision of the Board to ban the May 5 issue and all future editions. In giving judgment against the Board, Mr. Justice Leon said he found

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
none of the photographs to which the Board objected in any way undesirable. Referring to a photograph depicting a Black male embracing a fully clothed White girl in what appeared to be Greenwich Village, New York, Mr. Justice Leon said he regarded as far-fetched in the extreme the Board's submission that the photograph was contrary to accepted social standards in South Africa and would encourage young readers to try to follow this example.14

On 20 May, the Deputy Minister of the Interior announced the appointment of an Inter-Departmental Committee of Inquiry into the application of the Publications and Entertainments Act.5 Participating Departments were those of Posts and Telegraphs, Customs and Excise, Bantu Administration and Development, Commerce, National Education, and the South African Police. The terms of reference of the Committee included inquiry into the possible extension of prohibitions on publications and films and into the manner of appeal against the Board.'

Shortly after replacing Mr. Theo Gerdener as Minister of the Interior, Dr. Connie Mulder emphatically rejected a report by the Afrikaanss paper, Rapport, which had said he favoured "a lighter hand on censorship."7 The Minister said: "If publication media publish things which are aimed at polluting the spirit of the people and which try through conditioning to pull the nation down, to lower moral values, then the State has a duty to protect the nation and especially the youth. That is how I see my task and this is what I shall do."" Two days later, Dr. Mulder said the report of the Inter-Departmental Committee would be considered by a Select Committee and any legislation necessary would be introduced in 1973.11

Speaking at Umlazi in May, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi attacked the Publications Control Board for classifying adult Africans for film purposes with children of
other races under 12 years of age. "One has to be Black," he said, "to feel the humiliation inflicted on our human dignity by such decrees." The Soweto Urban Bantu Council also protested against this practice. At the beginning of the year, the Johannesburg Film Society announced it was suspending indefinitely the Neil Smith Award for the best film of the year. The Society said "it is quite clear to us that the selection of films which eventually achieves public exhibition in South Africa is no longer at all representative of world film production as a whole . . . Rather then lessen the importance of this award . . . we have decided to defer its presentation until times are better." Addressing the Cape Town PEN Club, Miss Nadine Gordimer, South African writer, said that the statement that writers in South Africa are a persecuted professional group was one of fact and not an opinion. The Publications and Entertainments Act contained no less than 97 definitions of what was considered undesirable, in addition to the general provisions of the Act. Not only were writers limited by laws restricting freedom of expression, but their human experience was also, limited by "the compartmentalized organization" of South African society. 

PRESS AND RADIO
In an SABC radio discussion on Press freedom, Mr. Allister Sparks, Deputy Editor of the Rand Daily Mail, said that more than 20 laws impinged on Press freedom in South Africa. The laws were so difficult to interpret that editors were "walking, through a mine field blindfold." He stressed the importance of radio as a press medium and accused the SABC of bias. He said it was "highly ironic" that attacks on the one-sidedness of the South African Press should be made in an SABC programme. Speaking on the same programme, Mr. Rend de Villiers, former editor of The Star, attacked the South African Press, and especially the Afrikaans Press, for being too uncritical and subservient. At a Day of the Covenant meeting in December 1971, General H. J. van den Bergh, chief of the Bureau for State Security, allegedly claimed that criticism levelled at the Government by the English Press all stemmed from an organized campaign with well-worked out plans. The Editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr. Donald Woods, later announced that he was to sue General van den Bergh for defamation. He said the inference from the General's remarks was that editors of
some or all English language newspapers were "knowing agents of unlawful or treasonable activities.24
In a poll conducted on behalf of the Sunday newspaper, Rapport, 44.8 per cent of White South Africans questioned regarded the SABC as impartial; 40.7 per cent believed it to be biased in favour of the National Party. 0.3 per cent believed it was biased in favour of the Opposition; 13.5 per cent said they were uncertain. Of Afrikaans speakers, 59.7 per cent believed that it was impartial and 29 per cent that it was biased in favour of the National Party. The figures for English-speakers
21 Rand Daily Mail, 26 January.
22 Rand Daily Mail, 2 February.
24 Daily Dispatch, 21 February.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
were 23.3 per cent and 57.6 per cent respectively. Most of the people who accused the SABC of bias were in the 25 to 54 age group. It was particularly lower income groups that found little fault with the SABC's objectivity.5
In July, Chief Buthelezi lodged an official complaint against an attack by the SABC on the KwaZulu Government's opposition to the S.A. Government's consolidation plans for KwaZulu. The SABC refused the Chief a right of reply but later apologized to him." Following calls by Chief Buthelezi, and Chief Kaiser Matanzima of the Transkei, for unity among Black people, the SABC broadcast a sharp reminder to the chiefs that they were still trustees of Pretoria. Chief Buthelezi then threatened to establish his own radio station or to broadcast over Radio Zambia or Radio Dar-es-Salaam."7

TELEVISION
Dr. P. J. Meyer, Chairman of the SABC Board of Control, announced in June that the first television transmissions in South Africa would take place in 1975.8 Dr. Meyer said that a series of surveys had been conducted to assist planning for the new service. Of 838000 White families in South Africa, 737000 would obtain television sets, although not all at the same time. The first phase of the project would cost R60-million. The main investigation, being undertaken by the Human Sciences Research Council and the SABC, would indicate "what effect television will have on the social structure of the country" and was unique of its kind in the world.9
The Minister of National Education, Senator J. van der Spuy, said in Parliament that the first phase of television will reach 2 992 742 Whites and 8 136 910 Blacks. This compared with 3 646 945 Whites and 17 298 469 Blacks who could receive broadcasts at present.30
2- Rapport, 2 April; Star, 3 April.
26 Rand Daily Mail, 22 July; Star, 21 July.
27 Natal Mercury, 1 August.
28 Vaderland, 26 June.
29 Transvaler, 31 August; Natal Mercury, 1 September. SO Star, 7 June.

JUSTICE
CRIMINAL STATISTICS
According to the Annual Report of the Department of Prisons for the year 1 July 1970 to 30 June 1971,1 the daily average of sentenced and unsentenced prisoners during that period was 91 108. The total number of sentenced prisoners who were admitted to prison during the year was 474 065 (10 596 fewer than in 1969-70), the racial groups of the persons concerned being:

- Africans ................. 403 159
- Coloured ................. 59 736
- Whites .................. 9271
- Asians ................... 1 899

A summary of the sentences imposed is:2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. Percentage</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Death</td>
<td>100 0,02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life</td>
<td>19 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indeterminate</td>
<td>1 243 0,26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 to 8 years</td>
<td>13 745 2,90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Over 4 months but less than 2 years | 56 741 11,97
| 4 months                | 145 229 30,64
| Up to and including 1 month | 256 246 54,05 |
| Periodic imprisonment   | 388 0,08       |
| Corporal punishment only (cane) | 354 0,08 |
|                         | 474065 100,00  |

* =less than 0,01 per cent.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT
It is stated, in the report quoted, that 47 prisoners who had been sentenced to death were in custody on 30 June 1970, another 100 being admitted during the year. Of these, 80 were executed, 19 had their sentences commuted, 7 appealed successfully, and the remaining 41 were in custody at the end of the year.

Figures for the 1971 calendar year were given by the Minister of Justice in the Assembly on 28 March:3
2 Percentages calculated by the writer.
3 Hansard 9 cols. 749-50.

86 A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentenced to death</th>
<th>Executed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Crime</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murder and robbery</td>
<td>- - 5 - 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murder and housebreaking</td>
<td>- - 2 - - 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>4 25 - 56 2 18 1 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape and housebreaking</td>
<td>- - - - - - 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>- 2 - 5 - 1 - 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
COMMENT ON CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

In an address given during May, Mr. Justice J. H. Steyn, chairman of the National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Rehabilitation of Offenders (NICRO), said that South Africa's daily prison population had increased in ten years by 76 per cent, while the total population had grown by only 24 per cent. South Africa had a daily average of 417,0 prisoners per 100,000 of the population. Comparable figures were: the Netherlands, 25.4; Norway, 44.0; Sweden, 61.0; Belgium, 63.2; France, 70.0; England, 72.5. "It is obvious," Mr. Justice Steyn said, "that the composition of our peoples, their educational standard and level of development, is such that an unfavourable comparison is to be expected. But can we be satisfied that this by itself explains the disparity?"

The speaker dealt with the responsibilities of the police, the courts, the academician, the prisons, and the legislature. He called, inter alia, for police training in areas of public relations. Seminars in the specialized field of sentencing were suggested for judicial officers together with academicians: sentencing institutes were accepted practice both in the United Kingdom and the United States. This might lead to the greater use of probation, fines preferably of a compensatory nature and related to the capacity of the accused to pay, periodic imprisonment, and suspended sentences with innovative conditions. More attention should be given to individualized punishments, and sentences should not be predetermined by the legislature.

Dealing with prisons, Mr. Justice Steyn said, "It is sad that the custodial functions of the Prisons Department in respect of so many short-term prisoners must seriously limit their efforts in respect of the eight per cent who are committed for sufficiently long periods to enable them to apply the prisons' rehabilitative techniques to this comparatively small group."

The judge called for more research in criminology, and the creation of a permanent commission of criminal law review to identify unsatisfactory features in the administration of criminal justice. One of the priorities must be social defence - the development of techniques necessary to design protection against destructive social forces.

Reacting to this speech, the Minister of Justice said in the Assembly that, when using comparative statistics for prison populations, the judge should have referred only to the Whites in South Africa: the figure in their case was about 86 per 100,000. "Unfortunately our Non-White prison population is a high one". It should be pointed out, he added, that while there were only about 6,500 persons in prisons in the Netherlands, there were some 20,000 there out on probation. This system
could be used to an increasing extent in South Africa if NICRO recruited persons of high standing and integrity to accept responsibility for people on probation. In a talk that was broadcast on 30 July, Mr. Justice V. G. Hiemstra urged the establishment of two bodies. A permanent Commission of Review of Criminal Law and Procedure was needed, he said, to streamline the law and its processes and to eliminate unsatisfactory aspects. Besides this, there should be an Institute of Criminology to do independent research, studying the social forces behind crime, and methods of preventing crime and rehabilitating offenders. One of the most destructive social forces, the judge said, was the disruption of family life. He urged that conditions should be created in which people felt needed and wanted, not useless and rejected.

A national symposium on Crime and Punishment was convened by NICRO in Johannesburg early in October. It endorsed the suggestions outlined above. Mr. Justice Steyn said on 4 September that, in the area of prevention, his Institute hoped to stimulate the legislature to "decriminalise" conduct which contributed largely to the great number of short-term offenders who were imprisoned. Obvious examples here were influx control regulations and public drunkenness. Sentencing officers had to be stimulated to realise that imprisonment was not the answer to all anti-social conduct.

NICRO'S after-care hostels for discharged prisoners had proved very successful, the judge said (these were described on page 81 of last year's Survey). They were bringing about a reduction in the rate of recidivism.

CRIME IN SOWETO
On 11, 12, and 13 July The Star published a series of articles on Soweto, Johannesburg, pointing to the high crime rate there. No-one could tell the authors exactly how many Africans live in the Soweto complex - estimates ranged from 650 000 to 1 000 000. The police estimated, it was said, that there was an average of 13 murders a week, about as many reported rapes (the actual number being much higher), and some 50 or 60 robberies, at the point of a knife or bicycle spoke. Reported assaults with intent to do grievous bodily harm ran at between 60 and 80 weekly: again, many cases were undoubtedly not reported. Some 43 gangs roamed the streets at night.

Possible reasons for the situation were discussed. Among them were the ill-lit streets, dearth of telephones, insufficiency of schools, broken families and illegitimacy, breakdown of traditional parental control, insecurity of tenure, inferior status in society, disillusionment about the enforcement of law, fear of reprisals if crimes were reported, a lack of community spirit. Conditions were compared with those at Mamelodi, Pretoria, where the crime rate was very much lower, but it was clear that there was no easy explanation. The Star urged that a criminological study be undertaken in Soweto. At the national symposium convened by NICRO, Mr. Justice Hiemstra said that it was not possible to meet the situation in Soweto with sentences and short-term imprisonment.
The Commissioner of Police announced in December 1971 that a separate police division was to be established for Soweto. This will begin operating in January 1973.

BRANDVLEI PRISON

It was mentioned on page 77 of last year's Survey that, following serious charges made by certain prisoners at the Brandvlei Prison at Worcester, a one-man commission was appointed to investigate conditions there. The Commissioner's report was tabled in Parliament during February. He stated he had encountered no evidence that any matter relating to the prison needed rectification. There were some prisoners there who were vicious and defiant of authority: they had formed gangs and murdered fellow-prisoners. The gangs decided who would volunteer to be State witnesses. When these witnesses were called at trials they "made an aboutturn with the object of defeating the ends of justice". Other prisoners capable of giving evidence were deterred by intimidation. The Commissioner made several suggestions to cope with gangsterism and intimidation.

In reply to a question in the Assembly, the Minister of Justice said that fellow-prisoners had killed three prisoners and injured two at Brandvlei in 1970. During 1971 they had killed two, and seriously injured two.

Rand Daily Mail, 15 February. Hansard 5 col. 381.

PRISON LABOUR ON FARMS

The outcome of all the cases that resulted has not been reported; but seven men appeared in court in February on charges of murder. After a trial lasting almost five weeks they were acquitted because the judge found serious discrepancies in the evidence of State witnesses, making this evidence totally unreliable.

RATION SCALES FOR PRISONERS

During February, the Minister described the ration scales being used in prisons. These were severely criticised by Mrs. Helen Suzman and others. Shortly afterwards, the Minister gave full details of revised scales for prisoners of different groups and categories, which were to come into effect from 1 April.

PRISON LABOUR ON FARMS

The Cape Western Regional Office of the S.A. Institute of Race Relations has compiled a report on prison labour used on private farms. It quotes the Minister of Prisons as having said in a report to the Coloured Persons' Representative Council that the Prisons Department was training about 3,750 Black male prisoners in various trades, and several thousand more in farming activities on farms owned by the State and used for rehabilitative purposes. But the Department had insufficient facilities for the productive employment of all male Black prisoners, hence the services of some of them were hired out to private persons or bodies.

Farmers in various parts of the country have formed associations which provide capital for the erection of prison outposts, built according to Departmental specifications. The outposts are administered by the Department. Each farmer who has contributed capital for the buildings is entitled to a pro rata number of prisoners to work on his farm. There are twelve of these outposts in the Western Cape. According to an article entitled "Crime and Employment" in the March
issue of the South African Outlook, there are nine more in the Bethal and Middelburg districts of the Transvaal and one near Hennenman in the Free State. The Institute's Cape Western office states that the outposts in that region each house about 250 prisoners, 98 per cent of whom are serving sentences of two years or more. They are selected by the Prisons Department in accordance with their aptitudes, and may be encouraged to remain on the farms as free workers after their discharge.

The article in the Outlook estimated that convict labour increased the value of a Cape Western farm by at least R1 000 per convict. The Institute's office quoted Rapport as having stated in 8 Rand Daily Mail, 26 February.

9 17 March, Hansard 7 cols. 580-4.

10 Chairman's Progress Report, 1972 Session.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

March that a share in a prison outpost undertaking that was bought for R2 000 had recently been sold for R4 000.

The Minister said in his report to the Coloured Persons' Representative Council that the tariff charged by the State for the use of prison labour was, per worker, 15 cents on weekdays and 10 cents on Saturdays. Besides this, the farmers had to provide watchmen to guard the men while working, transport to and from the prison, and the costs of the erection and maintenance of the building. Working hours must be such that the men are fetched at 7 a.m. and arrive back at 5 p.m.

The total cost to the farmer is estimated by the Institute's office to be 40 cents a day per worker (including amortization of the capital costs).

According to the article in Outlook, the usual defence of the prison outpost system is that it provides useful work for the convicts, who often become skilled labourers. But this does not "mitigate the fact that the net result is to depress wages of free labourers and to give private employers a vested interest in crime, for no matter how much they deplore lawlessness, farmers who have spent R50 000 building a jail will not willingly allow it to stand empty".

The Star reported on 11 March that a few years previously, a farm jail at De Dooms had been closed after protests from the United States that table grapes from this area were competing unfairly in America because they had been produced with the help of prison labour. There was reported to be further pressure from abroad to have all the farm jails closed, because the use of prison labour was a violation of the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs.

In his speech in May, quoted earlier, Mr. Justice Steyn, chairman of the National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Rehabilitation of Offenders (NICRO), advocated that the rates charged for prison labour should be brought into line with minimum wages in the open market. NICRO is reported to have written to the Minister of Prisons objecting to the subsidization of farmers by the hiring to them of prison labour at low rates. The Minister is reported to have told the Coloured Persons' Representative Council that the prison outposts would gradually be phased out, as the State farm prison system was extended.
Outlook urged the Government to abolish all farm jails. But I went on to say that even this would not be enough if convicts were replaced by migrant labour, thus entrenching a system that breaks up families. The Cape Western office of the Institute of Race Relations states that when the De Dooms outpost was closed, the farmers formed a labour recruiting organization and ferried contract labour from the Transkei in open trucks, very much overcrowded, and "virtually non-stop, rain or shine". The Institute's Regional Committee was anxious to see all the farm outposts closed, but was

POLICE FORCE AND PRISON WARDERS
concerned lest the farmers affected should follow the example of those near De Dooms. This might mean that there would be at the very least another 3 000 migrants in the Western Cape. CONDUCT OF MEMBERS OF THE POLICE FORCE AND THE PRISONS DEPARTMENT
It is stated in the Report of the Commissioner of the S.A. Police for the year 1 July 1970 to 30 June 197111 that the following awards were made to policemen during that period:
2 awards of the S.A. Police Star for Distinguished Service (Whites);
1 award of the S.A. Police Star of Merit (a Coloured man);
91 awards of the S.A. Police Star for Exemplary Conduct (43 Whites and 48 Blacks);
901 awards of the S.A. Police Medal for Faithful Service (368 Whites and 533 Blacks);
6 special commendations for outstanding devotion to duty (5 Whites and 1 Black).
The Annual Report of the Department of Prisons12 states that during the same period 105 prison officials were awarded the Medal for Faithful Service, and 71 the Medal for Merit (their racial groups were not given). The Police Commissioner reported that nine Whites and nine Africans had been killed during the year in the course of their duties (five of each group in motor accidents). It was stated on behalf of the Minister in the Assembly13 that, during the twelve months ended 29 February, 164 policemen had been permanently disabled and 1 914 injured while on duty. The Minister of Prisons said14 that, during 1971, one prison warder had been killed and five seriously injured by prisoners.
It was mentioned in the Commissioner's report5 that, in the year reviewed, 5 580 cases were reported of resisting, obstructing, or assaulting police officers in the execution of their duties.
In the Assembly on 24 March16 the Minister of Police was asked how many adult and juvenile members of the public had been shot at and killed or wounded by members of the police in the execution of their duties during 1971. He gave the following information:
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

Killed  Wounded

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Adults</th>
<th>Juveniles</th>
<th>Adults</th>
<th>Juveniles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A further question was asked about the convictions of policemen for certain offences in 1971. The Minister replied that 191 had been convicted of common assault, 20 of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm, and 3 of culpable homicide. Of these men, 30 had previous convictions, in 17 cases for assault (together, in some instances, with other offences).

Asked about actions for damages for alleged assault that had been brought against members of the Police Force in 1971, the Minister said that of the actions that were pending at the beginning of the year, and the 141 new actions brought during the year, none had succeeded. Fourteen actions had been settled out of court, damages amounting to a total of RIO 500 having been paid. There were 108 actions still pending at the end of the year.

Full information about these pending actions is not available, but two results have been published. Two policemen were convicted during 1971 of having assaulted Mr. Temba Mkize. One of them was sentenced to six months, three of which were suspended, and was dismissed from the force. The other was fined R100, transferred back to the uniform branch, and severely reprimanded. Mr. Mkize had brought an action for damages: he was paid R1 250 in an out-of-court settlement, of which R625 was to be recovered from each of the two convicted men.

During April, damages of R215, with costs, were awarded against the Minister of Police, to Mr. Harold Teba, who claimed that he had been manhandled and injured by two policemen.

The clashes between police and students that took place during student demonstrations in June is described in a subsequent chapter. One of the factors that aroused public concern was the use by the police of plain-clothes men, in very casual dress, when students in Cape Town were attacked. It was stated by a senior officer that "when men had to be assembled hastily..., we were short of uniformed policemen."

LEGAL AID

A description of the functioning of the Legal Aid Board was given on page 79 of last year's Survey. The Government allocated a further R210 000 to the Board in 1972-3, together with R20 000 for use in South West Africa.

17 10 March, Hansard 6 col. 507.
is 4 February, Hansard 1 question columns 65-6. 19 Minister of Police, Assembly 5 May, Hansard 13 cols. 964-5, and Rand Daily Mail, 6 May. 20 Sunday Times, 2 April. 21 Ibid, 11 June.

LEGAL AID
In an article contributed to New Nation in September, Mrs. Felicia Kentridge of the Law School of the University of the Witwatersrand stated that as at 31 March, the Board had handled 96 criminal cases (27 concerning Whites, 31 Coloured, and 38 Africans) and 5,305 civil cases (covering 3,128 Whites, 1,230 Coloured persons, and 947 Africans). Although growing, these figures were still very low, she said. It was necessary, especially on the criminal side, to alert the public to the fact that legal aid did exist.

At the time of writing, continued Mrs. Kentridge, there was only one Legal Aid Officer in Johannesburg. If the Board were to function effectively there, invaluable help, as subsidiary channels, could be given by the voluntary Johannesburg Legal Aid Bureau (which had been giving an average of 1,010 interviews a month), and the clinic run by law students at the Coloured township of Riverlea.

Mr. Sam L. Gross contributed an article on legal aid to the April issue of Crime, Punishment and Correction, the journal of NICRO. He was of the opinion that the administration of the existing scheme was too rigidly centralized in Pretoria. Each province, he considered, should be semi-autonomous, and each should be subdivided. The Provincial Law Societies should be the controlling bodies in their areas, all answerable to the Association of Law Societies of S.A. This Association should administer the scheme, by itself or jointly with the General Bar Council, with the Department of Justice maintaining a supervisory function.

DETENTION AND TRIALS UNDER THE SECURITY LAWS

IMPRISONMENT UNDER THE SECURITY LAWS
In reply to a question in the Assembly on 25 February, the Minister of Justice said that, during 1971, three Whites and thirteen Africans were convicted under the Suppression of Communism Act, and one White and one Coloured person under the Terrorism Act. There were no convictions under the Unlawful Organizations Act or under Section 21 of the General Law Amendment Act of 1962 (which relates to sabotage).

Those serving sentences as at 1 January 1972 were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Section 21 of the General Law Amendment Act, 1962</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suppression of Communism Act</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unlawful Organizations Act</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrorism Act</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DEATHS IN DETENTION
The Minister of Police was asked about those who died in detention during 1971. He gave the information that follows, which excludes detainees under the Terrorism Act. All the deaths were of people arrested during 1971. (The names and particulars furnished by the Minister are omitted here.)

No. of deaths in 1971

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suicide</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural causes</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assaulted by fellow-prisoner</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post mortem not yet completed</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcoholic poisoning and in some cases found in an injured state</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Injuries sustained before arrest</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Result of epilepsy</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Injuries sustained in attempt to escape by jumping from a moving car</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

43


ANGLICAN DEAN OF JOHANNESBURG

APPEAL BY THE ANGLICAN DEAN OF JOHANNESBURG

The trial of the Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, the Very Rev. G. A. ffrench-Beytagh, was described on pages 87-9 of last year's Survey. On 1 November 1971 he was found guilty by the Judge President of the Transvaal, Mr. Justice Cilie, of three counts under the Terrorism Act, namely:

(a) of having incited or encouraged those present at a Black Sash meeting in 1970 to contravene the laws of South Africa and to support and prepare for violent revolution with the object of bringing about social, political, and economic changes;

(b) of having encouraged a secret Security Police Agent, Mr. L. H. K. Jordaan, to support the commission of acts of violence and to take part in preparations for a violent uprising against the State;

(c) of having received R51 400 from the Defence and Aid Fund in London, via Miss Allison Norman, and of paying it out to members of banned organizations or their relatives, pursuant to the conspiracy of the African National Congress, or with intent to endanger the maintenance of law and order in the Republic.

The judge found that the Dean had knowingly possessed pamphlets of the banned African National Congress, but that there was no evidence that he had distributed these pamphlets. Possession of them was not an act, as charged, of participation in terroristic activities.

The judge said that the Dean had not been tried for his political beliefs. He believed and accepted that the Dean had acted out of conviction in committing the offences. In the circumstances of the case, he thought that a fitting sentence was
the minimum prescribed by the Terrorism Act, i.e. five years' imprisonment. Leave to appeal was granted, and the bail of R10 000 allowed to stand. The appeal was heard in the Appellate Division from February to April, by the Chief Justice, Mr. J. Ogilvie Thompson, and two judges of appeal, Mr. Justice Botha and Mr. Justice Trollip.

On 14 April, the Chief Justice announced that the Dean's appeal was allowed, and that his conviction and sentence were set aside. The other two judges concurred. The Chief Justice said he agreed with the trial judge that the appellant had not been on trial for his political views. The mere expression, even if in somewhat intemperate terms, of views opposed to the provisions of certain existing legislation, or to the policy of the Government relating to separate development, was not necessarily to be equated with the crime of participation in terroristic activity created by the Terrorism Act.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
The convictions of the trial court on all three counts were set aside. On count (a) above, the Chief Justice said that the State had failed to prove that the appellant had advocated violence, or that he was endeavouring to further plans of the African National Congress or had been actuated by "intent to endanger the maintenance of law and order".

On count (b), Mr. Jordaan's testimony stood alone, and there were several unsatisfactory features in his evidence. The Chief Justice stated he had come to the conclusion that Mr. Jordaan had been a wholly unsatisfactory witness, and that the trial court had erred in accepting his testimony where it conflicted with that of the appellant.

On count (c), the State had relied on the accumulative effect of certain facts of circumstantial evidence. In the Chief Justice's opinion, the State had not discharged the onus of proof resting upon it beyond reasonable doubt. The Defence had admitted that the appellant had used funds from overseas to pay for the legal defence of persons charged with "political offences", and to, provide assistance for their dependants and for others in need of help. But it had not been proved that the money came from the London Defence and Aid Fund, nor that the money had been administered pursuant to, a conspiracy of the A.N.C. or with intent to, endanger the maintenance of law and order, rather than on purely humanitarian grounds.

The Chief Justice agreed with the trial judge that the possession of pamphlets for distribution, without any proof of distribution, was not an act of participation in terroristic activities. But he added that the State had not proved beyond reasonable doubt that the Dean had knowingly possessed the pamphlets.

TRIAL OF MEMBERS OF APDUSA
The commencement of the trial of thirteen alleged members of the African People's Democratic Union of South Africa (Apdusa) was described on pages 89-90 of last year's Survey. Four of them were Africans from Pondoland in the Transkei, the rest being Indians, Coloured men, or Africans from Cape Town and other centres. By the time that their trial concluded, in April, all had been in custody, including long periods of solitary confinement, for well over a year, and
in some cases for 16 months. Their trial began on 16 August 1971 in the Supreme Court, Pietermaritzburg, before the Judge President of Natal, Mr. Justice James, and two assessors.

The men were charged on four counts under the Terrorism Act, being accused (a) of joining in a conspiracy to, commit certain acts to endanger the maintenance of law and order in South Africa in furtherance of a common purpose to overthrow the Government by force of arms; (b) committing specific acts in a campaign to recruit people for military training with the

APDUSA

intention of endangering the maintenance of law and order; (c) actually recruiting people for such training; and (d) giving assistance to known terrorists.

According to the evidence given by various of the accused and the judge's summning up, Apdusa was formed in 1961, adopting the policy of the Non-European Unity Movement. A related organization was the Society of Young Africans. Members demanded a universal adult suffrage, compulsory education of all children to the age of 16 years, and the abolition of laws regarded as oppressive. Their policy was non-collaboration with the authorities.

Following disturbances in the Transkei, many of the prominent members were placed under banning orders and some of the principal leaders left the country illegally, setting up a headquarters in Zambia. By 1970 the movement was at a low ebb in South Africa. In an effort to qualify for financial assistance from the Organization of African Unity and allied bodies, the members in Zambia decided to, infiltrate South Africa, revitalize Apdusa there, and recruit men for military training. Not all of the accused agreed with this last plan. The police became aware of it, and detained large numbers of people, many of whom appeared as witnesses at the trial of the thirteen.

The men from Pondoland, where recruiting took place, were detained at the Mkambathi Camp in a forest in this area. As described on page 85 of last year's Survey, they signed affidavits which were placed before the court, alleging that, while at the Camp, they had been severely ill-treated by the police. The judge examined these allegations at considerable length, but came to the conclusion that he could not accept them. He pointed out, however, that these men from Pondoland had been detained in terms of Proclamation 400 of 1960 (Transkei Emergency Regulations), and said it was unfortunate that this proclamation 'makes no provision for detainees to be visited by a magistrate from time to time, because if the complaints of the accused regarding ill-treatment were genuine this would have given them an opportunity to put their complaints on record. Furthermore, if they did not take the opportunity' thus afforded, it might be a pointer to a lack of genuineness in their complaints. In this regard detainees under the proclamation are in a worse position than persons detained under the Terrorism Act'.

Judgment was given on April 4, 5, and 6. All thirteen of the accused were found guilty on two or more of the counts. The sentences imposed on each count were to run concurrently. The total sentences to be served ranged from five to eight years. Mr. Justice James indicated that if the leaders of Apdusa, in Zambia, had been
apprehended and brought before the court, very much more severe sentences would have, been imposed. Leave to appeal was granted.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
The men who alleged that they had been ill-treated instituted an action for damages against the Minister of Police, which is pending at the time of writing. Mr. Joseph T. Maleka appeared with the thirteen accused when they were originally brought before the magistrate's court, but he was tried separately, on three counts under the Terrorism Act. On 23 March he was acquitted and discharged.

PERSONS DETAINED TOWARDS THE END OF 1971
As reported on page 90 of last year's Survey, there were a number of police raids and of detentions in October and November of 1971. Questioned about this in the Assembly, the Ministers of Justice and of Police said that during 1971 and the first three months of 1972 there were 37 people detained in terms of Section 215 bis of the Criminal Procedure Act, as potential witnesses in serious criminal cases, and/or for their own safety, and/or to guard against intimidation or flight. No-one had been detained, during the year ending 25 February, under Section 21 of the General Law Amendment Act of 1962. It was not in the public interest to disclose how many had been detained under the Terrorism Act.

The Press estimated that, altogether, 47 persons had been detained. The head of the Security Police is reported to have said on 15 March that no-one was still being held incommunicado under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. It transpired, from subsequent court cases, that, by then, all of those originally so held had been charged with offences, or were being held, instead, under Section 215 bis of the Criminal Procedure Act, as potential witnesses.

INQUEST FOLLOWING THE DEATH OF MR. A. E. TIMOL
The death of Mr. Ahmed Essop Timol, one of the detainees, was described on page 91 of the issue of this Survey for 1971. He was alleged by the police to have jumped through a tenthfloor window at the police headquarters at Jan Vorster Square, Johannesburg, where he had been taken for interrogation. There were numerous calls for a full judicial enquiry into his death and into the methods of interrogation used by the Security Police, but the Prime Minister said he saw no reason for this, since there would be an inquest. A post mortem was carried out by a Government official assisted by an independent pathologist who was present at the request of the Timol family.

After some delay occasioned by a dispute in the Supreme Court as to the family's right of access to certain documents, the inquest opened in a magistrate's court at the end of April.

DETENTION OF MR. ESSOP
Statements allegedly written by Mr. Timol during the three days before his death were handed in by the police as exhibits. He is reported to have said that during
January 1970 he received training, at the home of Mr. Jack Hodgson in London, in secret writing and codes, using an explosive device in order to scatter leaflets from a container, and other matters. Stephanie Kemp gave him theoretical training in Communist doctrines. He was then sent to South Africa to recruit members and establish a group. Members of the Communist Party in London had A.N.C. pamphlets printed for distribution in South Africa. They also sent him draft copy, in code, for a communist pamphlet Inkululeko, which he assembled, typed, and cyclostyled.

It was alleged that Mr. Timol had been arrested, together with Mr. Mohamed Essop, when the car in which they were driving was stopped by the Security Police in Johannesburg in the early hours of 23 October. A large number of copies of Inkululeko and A.N.C. leaflets, together with documents bearing secret texts, had been found by the police in the boot of the car: some of the secret messages, deciphered by the police, were letters from "Stephanie".

After a lengthy hearing, the presiding magistrate announced his findings on 22 June. He found that Mr. Timol had committed suicide, and that no-one was to blame for his death. A document found in Mr. Timol's possession, which formed part of the court record, instructed members of the Communist Party "to harass the enemy", to resort to civil and criminal actions, to see to it that these received as much publicity as possible, and to commit suicide rather than to betray the Communist Party. He had to accept that Mr. Timol was familiar with these instructions, the magistrate said. Mr. Timol must have realized that any information he gave might implicate others. There was no reason to doubt the evidence of police witnesses that Mr. Timol had not been assaulted by the police. The magistrate recommended that future detainees under the Terrorism Act should be examined by a district surgeon as soon as possible after their arrest. This might avoid the necessity for future long inquiries, and might save the police unnecessary embarrassment.

Mr. Timol's parents instituted an action for damages against the Minister of Police and the head of the Security Police, in the sum of R10000. The outcome has not been reported at the time of writing.

ORDER AGAINST SECURITY POLICE REGARDING MR. M. S. ESSOP

Also mentioned in last year's Survey (page 92) was an interim interdict, issued by Mr. Justice Margo, restraining the police from interrogating Mr. Mohamed Salim Essop in any manner than that prescribed or permitted by law, or applying any undue or unlawful pressure on him. He had been arrested in Johannesburg with Mr. Timol early on the morning of 23 October, and was, allegedly, examined by the Chief District Surgeon from Pretoria three days later, at the request of the police. A neuro-surgeon was consulted, who diagnosed a condition of hysteria. Mr. Essop was then transferred to a public hospital in Pretoria and examined by a physician and a neurologist, who confirmed the diagnosis but added that they could not rule out simulation of
the condition of hysteria. Mr. Essop was then transferred to a prison hospital. His father had heard from a journalist that he was in the public hospital and went there immediately, but his son's presence was denied. However, he saw his son through a fanlight, gaining the impression that he was seriously ill. The father then made urgent application to the Supreme Court for an order against the police. On the return date, a Full Bench of the Supreme Court in Pretoria confirmed the interim order against the security police restraining them from interrogating Mr. Essop unlawfully or applying unlawful pressure on him. The two judges are reported to have considered that Mr. Essop had probably lapsed into a condition of hysteria because of fear of the police; but they were unable to question him because he was being held incommunicado. Notice of appeal was lodged by the Commissioner of Police and the head of the Security Police. Mr. Essop senior instituted an action to claim damages amounting to R10000 from the police.

PROSECUTION OF MESSRS. ESSOP, MOODLEY, AND ESSAK AND MRS. DESAI

After preliminary appearances before magistrates, Mr. Mohamed Essop, Mr. Indhrasen Moodley, Mr. Yussaf Essak, and Mrs. Amina Desai appeared in the Supreme Court, Pretoria, during June, charged under the Terrorism Act, with two alternative charges under the Suppression of Communism Act. These four people had all been arrested during October 1971, and were held in solitary confinement until charged. Thereafter, Mrs. Desai was allowed conditional bail but the men remained in custody.

The substance of the main count was that they, jointly or severally, had unlawfully endangered the maintenance of law and order by conspiring with one another and/or the S.A. Communist Party and/or Mr. Ahmed Timol and/or persons unknown.

Counsel for the State described the arrest of Mr. Timol and Mr. Essop, and the discovery in the boot of the car in which they were travelling of many copies of A.N.C. leaflets and of the communist pamphlet Inkululeko. There were also documents with secret texts, a typed document and a secret message implicating certain of the accused, and a list of 583 names and addresses of people. Later, the police had found a list of names and addresses and some envelopes in Mr. Essop's room.

Mr. Essop said in evidence that he and Mr. Timol had been to a party. He knew nothing of the pamphlets in the boot of the car. Mr. Timol had paid him to type the names and addresses on the envelopes, but in fact he had not done so. He was told that they were needed for a mail order business, mainly to do with soft goods, being conducted by Mr. Timol. Counsel for the State stated that it should have been clear from the first page of the list that the envelopes were not required for a
softgoods business; but Mr. Essop maintained that he had merely glanced at the list before putting it aside. He was totally opposed to communism and violence, he said.

The case against Mr. Essack was that his fingerprints had been found on three envelopes sent through the post, containing copies of Inkululeko. He denied any complicity in the production or distribution of this pamphlet, stating that he had twice posted envelopes for Mr. Timol, who said they were in connection with his mail-order business.

The State produced evidence that Mr. Moodley had handed copies of Inkululeko to two people in Durban. Mr. Moodley testified that he and his wife had received them through the post. He had merely glanced at them. He handed them to the two witnesses to demonstrate that the S.A. Communist Party was not inactive, as they had thought. He agreed that he had asked the witnesses to destroy the pamphlets.

The State alleged that Mrs. Desai, a widow living alone, had allowed Mr. Timol to store materials in her home, and had experimented with the preparation of gunpowder. In her pantry were bottles containing substances required to decipher secret letters. In her yard was a plastic bucket with a residue of material which, on expert evidence, indicated that gunpowder had been exploded in the bucket. Her typewriter had been used to type envelopes found to contain A.N.C. leaflets. Mrs. Desai denied any knowledge of these matters. Mr. Timol was a regular visitor, "one of the family", she said, and had the full run of her house. She was out a lot as she ran a business. Mr. Timol had borrowed her car on the night he was arrested. She had been his innocent dupe, she maintained. The

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

bottles in her pantry had belonged to her deceased sister: she had herself removed them from a carton in an outhouse.

Among those who gave evidence for the State was Mr. Dinesh Naik, who had been in detention under the Terrorism Act and, subsequently, Section 215 bis of the Criminal Procedure Act.

After a month's adjournment of -the court, judgment was given on 30 October. The judge, Mr. Justice Snyman, convicted all four accused on the main count, under the Terrorism Act. The explanations of their actions that they had advanced were unlikely, he found. He stated that it was unnecessary for the prosecution to establish that the accused had been in direct communication with one another. Where someone conspired with an organization to commit an offence, he became a conspirator with every person who acted in the same way.

In the course of his judgment, the judge said that several of the State witnesses had been accomplices. Even where they were not, they had been detained and interrogated by the police, sometimes for long periods. The court had to approach their evidence with caution.

Mr. Justice Snyman said, "It became obvious to me during the trial that as a result of these interrogations [of the accused and some State witnesses] a good deal of information and also statements were obtained by the police which, by reason of the law and rules of evidence, the State was prevented from placing before me".
Under the Judges' rules of evidence, an accused person had to be warned and informed of his rights before he could be questioned by the police. Any confession made by him had to be freely and voluntarily made. "The position which has, thus, come about in relation to the Terrorism Act is that while the legislature has given extraordinary powers to the police to extract information from a terrorist or a person withholding information relating to terrorism ... prosecuting counsel are prevented from placing such evidence before the court." This made a most frustrating position for the prosecutor, and the trial court's position was also unsatisfactory. A danger of a miscarriage of justice was involved, both from the point of view of the State and the accused.

In view of the fact that the three young male accused had been trapped into a conspiracy by Mr. Timol, and in view of Mrs. Desai's age and previous exemplary life, the judge sentenced all four to the minimum permissible sentence of five years. He expressed the wish that they would be enabled to study while in prison. People had the right to agitate for laws to which they were opposed to be changed, the judge stressed, but this must be done in a lawful manner. Application for leave to appeal was made, but was refused. Mrs. Desai was, however, granted bail, set at R10 000, pending a petition to the Chief Justice.

TRIALS UNDER SECURITY LAWS
CASE AGAINST MESSRS. COUSINS AND NOTCUTT AND MISS BEHRMAN

Among those detained in Johannesburg during November 1971 were four young Whites, Messrs. Benjamin Cousins and Martin Notcutt, Miss Eve Behrmann, and Dr. Colin Marquard. Dr. Marquard was released without being charged, but the others appeared in a magistrate's court on 24 December 1971 on unspecified charges under the Suppression of Communism Act. They were released on bail of R500 each on condition that they reported weekly to the police and surrendered their passports.

When they appeared in court a second time, on 31 January, the hearing was postponed without evidence being led, at the request of the prosecutor, in order that further investigations could be made. They appeared again on 28 February. The case was then once more postponed, until 13 March, when a trial date would be determined.

On 13 March their names were called without response, and a warrant for their arrest was issued. It transpired that they had fled to Botswana, with Dr. Marquard. He and Mr. Cousins had British passports, but Mr. Notcutt and Miss Behrmann possessed no travel documents, and applied to the Botswana Government for political asylum. However, Miss Behrmann qualified for British Citizenship by becoming married to Dr. Marquard. Mr. Cousins and the married couple left for England. Mr. Notcutt remained in Botswana until July, when he was granted asylum and a refugee document allowing him, too, to proceed to Britain.

CASES AGAINST MESSRS. WAGNER, DAVIS, AND JACOBSEN

The cases against three more Whites who had been detained at about the same time were finalized during the year under review.
Mr. Jurgen Wagner, a German citizen, paid R20 admission of guilt for possessing dagga.

Mr. David Davis was sentenced to six months, suspended for three years, on being found guilty of possessing a banned book, and was fined R150 (or 75 days) for contravening the Customs and Excise Act by possessing three books that were liable to forfeiture.

Mr. Quentin C. B. Jacobsen, a British citizen, was held for about 140 days in solitary confinement except that British consular officials were allowed access to him. He appeared in court on 21 March, charged under the Terrorism Act, with two alternative charges under the Suppression of Communism Act. It was alleged (a) that while in Britain he had photographed pages of a book dealing with explosives and demolitions with the intention of distributing the photographs in South Africa; (b) that he had taken photographs of strategic points in South Africa with the intention of committing sabotage; (c) that he had smuggled dagga out of the country to raise money for financing subversive activities; and (d) that he had conspired with others to commit sabotage.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
Evidence for the State was given by three ex-detainees who apparently had been held under first the Terrorism Act and subsequently the Criminal Procedure Act - Messrs. Martin Cohen, Ian Hill, and Seadom Tilotsane. It was alleged by the State that a fourth ex-detainee, Mr. Jacob Varachia, had been associated with the case. Most of the incriminatory evidence was given by Mr. Tilotsane, but the judge, Mr. Justice Marais, found his evidence to be unreliable, and that the State had failed to prove its case. On 21 April Mr. Jacobsen was acquitted and discharged.

MR. EPHRAIM LEGODI
On two occasions during April0 the Ministers of Police and of Justice were questioned in the Assembly about Mr. Ephraim Legodi, but incomplete information was given. In May, the Minister of Justice and Prisons made a full statement in the House."

It transpired that during August 1971 three Africans, including Mr. Legodi, and a White man, were arrested on being suspected of having killed and robbed a White. During the preliminary enquiry it was decided to call Legodi as a State witness. He was released for a time on undertaking to find another African who was implicated. Legodi was unemployed, had no fixed address, and, on being re-arrested, made a statement which differed from his original one. It was clear that he had been "tampered with", the Minister said. On 9 November 1971 he was detained under the Criminal Procedure Act because the Attorney General was of the opinion that he might abscond, and was held in solitary confinement until 26 March. A woman by whom he had had two illegitimate children, and his cousin, were informed of his original arrest, but did not ask to see him.

A magistrate visited him 18 times while he was in protective custody, and he was allowed tobacco and reading materials. After he eventually gave evidence in court he was paid R140, representing 50 cents per day that he was held as a potential witness.
At the trial, one African was found guilty of murder and robbery and sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment, the second received eight years for robbery, while the White accused was discharged for lack of evidence. The judge, Mr. Justice Margo, rejected Legodi's evidence. He is reported to have said, "From the outset we have approached his evidence with great caution. It seems obvious that a person who is kept in protective custody in order to testify in due course as a witness, may be vulnerable to the pressure imposed on him by being in custody, and may, therefore, be induced to testify in a manner which he thinks would please his captors". Furthermore, the judge added, Legodi was probably party to the crime.

SIX MEN WHO APPEARED IN COURT IN NOVEMBER

On 20 November, six men appeared in the Pretoria Magistrate's court in connection with allegations under the Terrorism Act. No charges were made, and they were remanded in custody until 15 January. They were Mr. A. Moumbaris (an Australian citizen), Mr. J. W. Hosey (an Irish citizen), and four Africans from the Republic, Messrs. T. Cholo, J. Mpanza, P. A. Tembu, and G. K. Sejaka.

It was reported that they had been arrested in June or July 1971, and detained pending police investigations.

MR. FANA C. MZIMELA

Mr. Fana C. Mzimela appeared briefly in court in Pietermaritzburg during October, on charges under the Terrorism Act. He was remanded in custody until November 20. It was alleged, in the indictment, that, inter alia, he had conspired with members of the African National Congress-in-exile to leave South Africa secretly; to undergo training in guerrilla warfare and espionage; and to enter Rhodesia bearing arms and join with others in armed fighting against security forces, with the eventual aim of penetrating into South Africa to organize armed revolution.

On 20 November he appeared in the Supreme Court, Pietermaritzburg, before Mr. Justice Henning and two assessors. Evidence was given by two State witnesses that they had participated with the accused in various of these activities. Mr. Mzimela was found guilty on two counts under the Terrorism Act, and was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment.

MOVEMENTS-IN-EXILE AND GUERRILLA FIGHTERS

UNITED NATIONS: GENERAL ASSEMBLY'S CONSIDERATION OF VIOLENCE AND TERRORISM
During September, shortly after the killing of the Israeli athletes at the Munich Games, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, the United Nations' Secretary-General, asked the General Assembly to inscribe on its agenda the consideration of acts of violence and terrorism against innocent people. There were misleading reports about Dr. Waldheim's reply at a Press conference, when he was asked whether or not he intended that the activities of "liberation movements" in Southern Africa should be included.

South Africa's Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, then asked the Republic's Ambassador at the United Nations to clarify the matter with Dr. Waldheim. The latter cabled back a verbatim transcript of what he had actually said. He is reported to have added that the reason for his request to the General Assembly "did not relate specifically to the situation in Southern Africa or, indeed, to any other specific situation". In accordance with the Charter, "the Secretary-General must urge peaceful settlement and is against any acts of violence or terrorism as a method of solving problems". Discussing this reply, Mr. Vorster said, "I want to make it clear that if at any time a double standard is applied with regard to terrorism, then South Africa would not continue a day longer with those negotiations." (The Republic's decision to withdraw conditionally from deliberations of the Trusteeship Committee when this Committee decided to admit, as observers, members of African liberation movements, is described in the next chapter.)

By 66 votes to 27, with 33 abstentions, the General Assembly passed a motion calling for "measures to prevent international terrorism which endangers or takes human lives or jeopardizes fundamental freedoms", and for "study of the underlying causes of those forms of terrorism and acts of violence which lie in misery, frustration, grievance and despair, and which cause some people to sacrifice human lives, including their own, in an attempt to effect radical change". The South African Ambassador, Mr. Carl von Hirsch, then issued a statement reading, "My delegation voted in favour of inscription on the agenda of the item on terrorism . . . because we are in no doubt that effective steps to prevent terrorism are long overdue and must be taken, and because we remain hopeful that Rand Daily Mail, 14 September.

GUERRILLA FIGHTERS

such steps will be taken by this assembly, notwithstanding the attempts of some members to circumscribe the ambit of the item and to introduce confusion and doubt. I wish to make it clear, however, that our affirmative vote should in no way be interpreted as acceptance of the restricted or ambivalent definition of terrorism which some members evidently have in mind. Terrorism is terrorism so far as we are concerned, and wherever and whenever it may be perpetrated it brings with it the same misery, as those who have been its victims would testify."3

In a speech to the Assembly a few days later, South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Hilgard Muller, is reported, to have re-emphasized that there could be no differentiation between types of terrorism. Terrorism would survive "so long as this and other organizations continue not only to condone the use of force and
violence as a means to an end but, in certain circumstances, to support and even to subsidize it." It was inexplicable and unforgivable that United Nations members "should actively, or even obliquely, support in any way programmes of force, violence and terror", while at the same time disavowing South Africa's policy of dialogue and communication. "We must speak with one voice on this scourge (of terrorism), without equivocation".

On 2 November the General Assembly approved a resolution calling upon all member states and the U.N. agencies "to provide moral and material assistance to all peoples struggling for their freedom and independence". The right of such people to use all necessary means at their disposal was recognized. The states and agencies were urged to assist national liberation movements of the territories in Africa, in consultation, as appropriate, with the Organization of African Unity. The voting was 99 to 5, with 23 abstentions. Those voting against the resolution were the United States, Britain, France, South Africa, and Portugal.

The chairman of the legal committee, Mr. Eric Suy of Belgium, recommended on 9 November that, during the current session of the Assembly, attention should be focussed on the question of defining international terrorism. It was of the utmost importance that the U.N. should express its concern and disapproval, he considered."

FINANCIAL AND OTHER ASSISTANCE FOR GUERRILLA FIGHTERS

A meeting of the Ministerial Council of the Organization of African Unity, held in Addis Ababa during February, decided to increase the special fund for the Dar-es-Salaam-based Liberation Committee by a substantial percentage. A spokesman said that instructions had been given to the Committee to divide the extra money between those liberation movements that were effectively mounting the struggle in various territories, whether by military or political means."

As mentioned in previous issues of this Survey, in 1970 the World Council of Churches set up a special fund to combat racism and decided to make annual grants from this fund to a number of groups. Movements-in-exile and guerrilla fighters would be included, on the recommendation of the OAU. The money was to be used for humanitarian, not military, purposes. An appeal was made in 1971 for donations to the special fund: it is understood that some have been received.2 The three Nordic Governments, among others, are reported3 to have given assistance to some groups for humanitarian purposes such as education and health services. Denmark's Foreign Minister said in March that his country was contributing about R650 000 in goods or services (none of it in cash). It would be
paid direct to movements that were recognized by the OAU (i.e. not channelled through the OAU's Liberation Committee).

During the same month the chairman of the Evert Vermeer Foundation in Holland announced that, in co-operation with other organizations in that country, a large-scale fund-raising campaign was being launched to raise money for the African National Congress (ex-South Africa), Rhodesia's African National Council, Frelimo in Mozambique, Swapo (ex-South West Africa), and the Dutch branch of the Defence and Aid Fund. No strings would be attached to grants made to the African groups, but the purchase of weapons would not be welcomed.' The British Labour Party is augmenting its funds to aid "liberation movements" by asking for weekly contributions from its branches and from trade unions.' Other organizations that are assisting were mentioned on page 94 of last year's Survey.

ACTIVITIES OF GUERRILLA FIGHTERS

Caprivi Strip

Two White South African police sergeants were killed in the Caprivi Strip, in January and April, when vehicles in which they were travelling drove over landmines which had apparently been laid by guerrillas crossing from Zambia. Ten others were injured in these explosions, seriously so in at least seven cases.6 It was reported' in January that policemen on border patrol had recovered a number of landmines planted near the road.

African, Coloured, and Indian members of the police force

1 Rand Daily Mail, 21 February.
2 Natal Mercury, 19 August.
3 Star, 21 March.
4 Rand Daily Mail, 24 March.
Ibid.
6 Star, 6 January and 1 April.
7 Sunday Express, 9 January.

GUERRILLA FIGHTERS

have been serving in the Caprivi Strip together with Whites for some time, being equipped with the same uniforms and weapons.

Rhodesia

According to a Press report,8 because of past heavy casualties the Rhodesian movements-in-exile have abandoned plans for direct armed confrontation, and are, instead, aiming at forming armed cells of Africans in rural areas of Rhodesia. The only reported incidents were the explosion of two land mines near the Zambian border in September and October. The first wrecked a private car and injured the driver, while the second killed a Rhodesian soldier on patrol and injured another.

Portuguese territories

It is reported that sporadic fighting between Portuguese security forces and Frelimo and Coremo guerrillas continues in the Cabo Delgado area in the extreme north-east of Mozambique, and the Vila Cabral area near Lake Malawi, but that
the main activity has been in the Tete area around the Cabora Bassa dam project. This area protrudes between Rhodesia, Zambia, and Malawi. The Frelimo men apparently come from Tanzania via Zambia, then, in some cases, via southern Malawi. The dam site itself is well guarded, thus the attacks have been on supply routes such as the railway line linking the village of Tete (a little to the south of the dam) with the coast, and the international road from Rhodesia to Malawi, which passes through the projecting strip of Mozambique. It is thick bush country, providing concealment.

It is reported that small African settlements have been attacked too, and chiefs murdered or kidnapped, in order to intimidate the people and deter them from reporting Frelimo movements. The Portuguese are resettling scattered groups in large villages for their protection and also to prevent them from giving any assistance to the guerrillas.

During February in particular several trucks travelling along the international road in armed convoys were blown up by landmines, with casualties, and two convoys were fired upon in hit-and-run raids. A train hit a landmine during September: no-one was injured but several coaches and the line were damaged. Bridges along the road have been blown up. The railway line was again cut, in a number of places, in mid-November.

It was reported in May that Portuguese security forces had intercepted and captured a party of 21 Frelimo demolition experts, bearing arms and explosives. Sporadic fighting continues, too, in the north and east of the country.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
Angola. Maintenance of the necessary security forces in the large areas involved is a severe drain on the Portuguese budget.

A Press report stated that a spokesman for the Guinea Liberation Movement claimed that his organization had overrun two-thirds of that country, and had 10,000 men under arms. Portuguese authorities maintain that these claims are much exaggerated.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS
THE UNITED NATIONS
For the second year in succession, the United Nations General Assembly refused in December 1971 to endorse the South African delegation's credentials. The action was not intended to unseat the delegation but to serve as a warning to South Africa to change her policies.1

South Africa was not represented (she is entitled to observer status) at the meeting of the Security Council in Addis Ababa in January.2 In an important change of strategy, the Council passed an Argentinian resolution authorizing the Secretary-General to hold consultations with the South African Government over South West Africa (Namibia).3 Later in the year, Dr. Alfred Escher was appointed the Secretary-General's personal representative in respect of this territory. The
Foreign Minister, Dr. Hilgard Muller, said that South Africa's future relations with the United Nations would largely be determined by the outcome of the discussions on South West Africa.4
Towards the end of 1971 the General Assembly's special political committee approved by 87 votes to one (Portugal) with six abstentions (Belgium, France, Australia, New Zealand, the United States, and the United Kingdom) a resolution calling on all governments fully to implement the arms embargo against South Africa.'
A study published in England in February, *The International Trade in Arms*, concluded that the arms embargo had done no more than temporarily inconvenience South Africa and Rhodesia. South Africa's own arms production, French sales of sophisticated aircraft, missiles, and submarines, and British co-operation had cumulatively enabled South Africa to shrug off the embargo.1
These conclusions were borne out by Dr. Barakat Ahmad, rapporteur for the UN Special Committee on Apartheid. He said that despite the embargo imposed in 1963, the value of arms sold to South Africa had quadrupled between 1960 and 1969, and that in 1969 South Africa had imported more arms than all of subSaharan Africa put together. Mr. Abdulrahim Farah, retiring chairman of the UN Special Committee on Apartheid, reported to the Secretary-General that the "large-scale expansion of the manufacture of arms, military vehicles and ammunition within
1 Star, 21 December 1971.
2 Rand Daily Mail, 26 January.
3 Star, 11 February.
4 Rand Daily Mail, 16 October.
5 Rand Daily Mail, 16 November 1971.
1 Cape Times, 24 February.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
South Africa with the assistance of foreign governments and companies is creating a new situation by which the whole object of the arms embargo might be lost". Dr. Ahmad said that South Africa's expenditure on sophisticated armaments development was irrelevant to the questions of suppressing internal revolt and threatening neighbouring States. "What the South African regime wants is to make itself an attractive ally to the Western powers and bind itself with them militarily so that they should feel an interest in its stability and survival."3 The strategy of the South African Government was to constantly "harp on the so-called communist threat in order to entice the Western powers to an alliance and in order to build up a regional group under its domination".
In September the United Nations Fourth Committee, which deals with trusteeship and non self-governing territories, resolved by 78 votes to 13 to grant observer status to guerrilla movements when it discusses South West Africa, Rhodesia, and the Portuguese colonies. South Africa immediately withdrew from the committee's proceedings on these territories, but not from the committee itself. The Prime Minister said his Government wanted "no part in this violation of the Constitution and encouragement of terrorism as well as the further extension of
the already known double standard". The chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid replied that "in our view the biggest terrorist of all is South Africa'. Portugal also withdrew from the committee's proceedings.

According to the Rand Daily Mail of 3 November, the Special Political Committee adopted five lengthy resolutions, reaffirming certain resolutions passed in previous sessions. One of these called upon the Security Council to invoke economic and other sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the United Nations' Charter, with a view to eliminating apartheid. The voting was 96 in favour, three against (Britain, the United States, and Portugal), with 21 abstentions. South Africa was one of about a dozen delegations which were absent. Other resolutions, inter alia, requested all international agencies and organizations to deny all aid and commercial or other facilities to South Africa; commended the activities of anti-apartheid movements; and called for campaigns to put an end to foreign investment in the Republic.

The resolution calling upon the Security Council to invoke sanctions under Chapter VII was passed by the General Assembly on 15 November, by 100 votes to 4 (the United States, Britain, South Africa, and Portugal), with 21 countries abstaining.

2 UN Unit on Apartheid: Arms Embargo against South Africa, New York, June.
3 Natal Mercury, 16 August.
4 UN Unit on Apartheid, op. cit., Rand Daily Mail, 29 September.
2 Star, 10 October.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS
EUROPE
France

Seven French senators who visited South Africa for ten days in January tabled an 88-page report in the Senate in which they said South Africa was badly misunderstood. The South African was not a racist in the general meaning of the word, having lived alongside Africans for three centuries and seen that fusion was not possible, although co-existence was. The rightness or efficacy of apartheid could be debated, but not the Government's sincerity, when one considered the financial sacrifices the policy imposed on the nation.

Trade links between the two countries were modest, but France was viewed favourably in South Africa, which could have important consequences for French industries and banks. Exports for motor vehicles, transport material, and aircraft made up 72 per cent of French sales to South Africa, and now France was turning from the sales of finished arms to the granting of licences.'

As stated below, France has played an important role in helping South Africa establish contacts with Black Africa.

The United Kingdom

It was reported in February that there was intensive lobbying of defence policymakers in Whitehall to persuade the British government to place greater emphasis on maritime defence around the Cape.
The British Labour Party is apparently to extend its Southern Africa Solidarity Fund (previously limited to supporting guerrillas in the Portuguese colonies) to include guerrilla movements in South Africa and Rhodesia such as the African National Congress and the Pan African Congress. No conditions will be attached to the grants. A policy document published in July by the Labour Party's national executive said that the party was committed to total abrogation of any arms agreement with South Africa entered into by the present British Government. A future Labour government would terminate South Africa's trading privileges, refuse her special facilities with the European Economic Community, and repudiate existing agreements in respect of South West Africa. The Labour Party would also support international action against South Africa and the use of trade embargoes - "but would expect parallel action by the international community to re-direct Britain's trade elsewhere". A resolution passed at the Labour Party's annual conference in Blackpool asked that a future Labour Government should curb further investment and bring to an end all investment in South Africa, intensify the campaign against emigration and terminate South Africa's "illegal presence in Namibia", and cease the supply of NATO arms to Portugal. Labour Party resolutions do not, however, bind Labour Governments.

In 1971, Britain's purchases from South Africa amounted to R412 587 000 and South Africa's purchases from Britain to R676 144 000.

The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany withdrew its financial support for uranium prospecting in South West Africa. The Government bore 75 per cent of the costs of prospecting which the Urangesellschaft MBH concern in Frankfurt was conducting in collaboration with the British firm Rio TintoZinc.

The West German Government also threatened to withdraw financial support from the Max Planck Society if it proceeded with plans to establish an observatory in South West Africa.

Following a 16-day visit to South Africa as the guest of the South Africa Foundation, the former German minister, Dr. Gerhard Schröder, said that the opposition Christian Democrat party would strengthen West Germany's links with South Africa when it came to power.

The Netherlands

After a visit to the Netherlands, the political correspondent of The Star reported that the already uneasy official relations between that country and South Africa could only deteriorate. The conservative Anti-Revolutionary Party saw the situation in South Africa as "complex", and did not wish to intervene. The Christian Historical Union had a long tradition of "building bridges", but had found that apartheid was not a bridge. They did not agree with isolation, however,
believing that a prosperous South Africa would have a greater desire to solve its problems. The Democrats of 1966 favoured "more vigorous action on behalf of the underdogs in South Africa," and the Socialist Party thought that "dialogue" was pointless unless "pressure that hurts" was put on the Government. Mr. H. Wieringa said that the Socialists believed that they should give greater public encouragement and financial assistance to the "liberation movements." 5

A campaign to raise funds for guerrilla movements in South Africa was launched in the Netherlands in May. It had the support of the Dutch Labour Party and the Socialist International. 1

4 Star, 5 October
I Department of Trade and Industries. London.
2 Windhoek Advertiser, 8 February.
3 Rand Daily Mail, 10 March.
4 Rand Daily Mail, 6 April.
5 Star, 6 October.
I Natal Mercury, 25 March.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS
Scandinavia
Following a visit to Zambia in March, the Danish Foreign Minister announced that Denmark would give R650 000 to guerrilla movements in Africa to finance schools and hospitals in liberated areas. The Netherlands campaign mentioned above, reportedly also had the support of Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Finland. 

Portugal
While visiting London in March to renew the 600-year-old Anglo-Portuguese alliance, the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Dr. Rui Patricio, said that Portugal had "the best of relations" with South Africa and that these would continue. 

ASIA
Israel
South Africa opened a consulate-general in Israel in April. 

China
The Deputy Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China, Mr. Chiao Kuan Hua, told the United Nations that the Chinese people resolutely supported the "heroic struggle" in Southern Africa and the Portuguese colonies. But he added that the people in Southern Africa who "have not yet achieved independence are increasingly aware that the only way to overthrow the White colonialist rule and win national liberation is to rely on their own efforts." 

Japan
Japan's policy towards South Africa appears to be ambivalent. Japan vehemently attacked apartheid at the Addis Ababa UN meeting in February and eschewed any possibility of establishing diplomatic relations with South Africa. 1 (Relations exist at consular level). However, Japanese exports to South Africa increased by 586 per cent from 1961 to 1970 and imports from South Africa by 331 per cent. Trade between the two countries is expected to rise from the 1970 level of R502 000 000 to R1 490 000 000 over the next decade. Efforts are apparently being
made to have the Japanese prohibition of direct investment in South Africa relaxed.
2 Cape Times, 17 March; Rand Daily Mail, 12 April.
3 Natal Mercury, 25 March.
4 Natal Mercury, 15 March.
5 Star, 19 April.
6 Star, 4 October.
1 Star, 1 February.
2 Financial Gazette, 23 July.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

AMERICA

The United States

Mr. Nixon's administration continued to show greater sympathy towards South African policies than had those of either of his predecessors. In a report to Congress, Mr. Nixon said the United States would "not condone recourse to violence, either as a means of enforcing submission of a majority to a minority or as a formula for effecting needed social change". The outside world was "witnessing with sober hope the suggestions of change inside South Africa, where questioning voices are being raised.... Private companies, many of them American, are considering new ways to open opportunities for African workers. There is an imbalance between the needs of South Africa's active economy and her adherence to racial policies which deprive her of the growing pool of human talent which that economy requires. There is some hope in that anomaly". Southern Africa contained within itself the seed of change.

The US had maintained its arms embargoes in the areas of "minority rule", "stressed the need for self-determination in colonial areas," and "facilitated contact between the races", which was a record "second to none among the major powers". Future policy would be to support progress in Africa by encouraging communication between the races and "making known directly to the parties involved our views on their actions".

Mr. Nixon's views were repeated by senior members of his administration. The US Permanent Representative at the United Nations, Mr. George Bush, told the meeting of the Security Council in Addis Ababa that the United States had adhered to her arms embargoes against South Africa and Portugal. The US had also been "second to none" in the enforcement of mandatory economic sanctions against Rhodesia.

The Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr. David Newsom, said the introduction of Blacks into skilled jobs, the "evolution" of Black leaders in the Reserves, and a "certain ferment" within the White community in Southern Africa represented an "evolution toward change". More and more American companies were making an effort to improve the conditions of employment of their Black employees. Later in the year, Mr. Newsom denied that US policy towards South Africa had "softened" with the advent of the Nixon administration. It was facile to allege that the United States would intervene on the side of the White regimes in
the event of trouble in Southern Africa. By the strict maintenance of arms embargoes towards both South Africa and the Portuguese territories, the US had Richard Nixon: US Foreign Policy for the 1970's-A Report to the Congress, 9 February.
2 US Information Service: America Reports, Johannesburg, 16 February.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

demonstrated its support for self-determination and its desire to avoid any support either for apartheid or colonial rule.1

The assessment of Southern Africa by the Secretary of State, Mr. William Rogers, was less optimistic than that of Messrs. Nixon, Bush, and Newsom. In 1971 there had been limited signs of ferment in South Africa and a willingness on the part of some leaders to speak out in favour of progressive changes. But "unfortunately, the indiscriminate application of harsh security legislation detracted from these promising indications of progress"!

At the beginning of April, The New York Times published a detailed study of the changes in American policy on Southern Africa. Its conclusion was that the Nixon administration was quietly pursuing a policy of deliberately expanding contacts and communication with the White governments of Southern Africa. These changes had been widely reported in the South African press, but barely noticed hitherto in the American press. They included the sale of small executive jet aircraft to South Africa and of Boeing 707's to Portugal, the ending of the ban against the import of Rhodesian chrome ore in defiance of the United Nations, and a series of abstentions and negative votes in the UN on Southern African resolutions. The policy had generated "unconcealed delight among corporate and other interests that make up the powerful Rhodesian and South African lobbies" in Washington, although this had not been the intention of the policymakers.3

Earlier in the year it had been reported that the United States was to pay R327 000 000 to the Portuguese Government for the Azores military base.’ The Washington correspondent of the morning group of South African newspapers, Mr. Raymond Heard, wrote that further evidence of the change in American policy towards South Africa was: the appointment of Mr. John Hurd as ambassador in Pretoria "to establish rapport with the South African establishment"; and a recent cabinet-level decision in Washington to allow the Export-Import Bank to guarantee on liberal terms a R37 000 000 loan to enable General Motors to bid for a South African Railways locomotive contract. In August the appointment of Mr. James Baker, a Black diplomat, was announced after what was reported to have been a two-year search by the State department for a man who could bear up under the "psychological pressure of being in a Whitesupremacist country".3

Four State Department advisers who visited South Africa during the year recommended that the US government allow Rand Daily Mail, 29 June.
2 Ibid, 8 March.
American aid and investment to be made in the Reserves, a policy which they claimed would be supported by Chiefs Matanzima and Buthelezi. Such aid would take the form of, inter alia, agricultural assistance to the Transkei and an agricultural school in KwaZulu, technical assistance for the homelands, and leadership training grants. No decision on the recommendations has yet been made. The four advisers also recommended the appointment of three Black diplomats to South Africa within the year, and claimed that the US embassy in South Africa was in the lead of other embassies in its "association with the oppressed peoples of South Africa".

Mr. Nixon's African advisory council recommended that the US Government train the unenfranchised majority in South Africa for self government whether or not the South African Government was itself serious about developing the Bantustans.

Mr. Nixon's policy towards South Africa was endorsed by the Republican Party. By contrast, the Democratic Party and its 1972 presidential election nominee, Senator George McGovern, pledged themselves to "end United States complicity" with Southern Africa's White minority governments should Senator McGovern be elected President. A Democratic administration would not return to the interventionism of the past, but would: abolish American tax credit for US companies and subsidiaries paying taxes to White minority governments in Africa; withdraw South Africa's American sugar quota; press US business in South Africa to take measures for the fullest possible justice for their Black employees; assign Blacks to all levels of the US diplomatic and consular corps in South Africa; vigorously support UN sanctions against Rhodesia (especially chrome imports); give full support to the United Nations' assertion of control over South West Africa; and end all military aid to Portugal.

Senator McGovern said that the Nixon administration's policy failed "to comprehend the degree to which violence is intrinsic to the stability of these minority governments. . . . Tacit and covert support for these regimes can only serve the cause of continued racial oppression". The policy of expanding contacts with South Africa only enhanced the legitimacy of White minority rule.

Mr. Charles Diggs, chairman of the House of Representatives' sub-committee on Africa and former chairman of the congressional "Black caucus", visited South Africa in 1971, but was subsequently barred from the country. He has said that his campaign for equal rights in South Africa is only just beginning. With

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

3 Ibid, 3 and 4 April.
1 Rand Daily Mail, 31 January.
2 Cape Times, 17 April.
3 Sunday Times, 27 August.
117
FOREIGN AFFAIRS

regard to United States companies in South Africa he said that there was a "force labour situation that protects their huge margins of profit - by their own admission the highest in the world". He intended to call a conference in the United States and draw up an "action agenda", support possible boycotts of South African goods, press US businesses to improve employees' working conditions, and persuade business, labour, and civil rights leaders to visit South Africa. Mr. Diggs has also started to press the administration to force the termination of further sales of South African gold to the International Monetary Fund under the 1969 agreement. The very urgent human issue of the plight of African mineworkers who suffered conditions akin to "the old age evil of slavery" had to be injected into the gold debate. Mr. Diggs also published a 471-page report on his three special study missions to Africa, predicting a Vietnam-type "holocaust" in South Africa.

The administration's "soft" policy was criticized by others too. Most of these critics cited the Azores agreement, the Export-Import Bank loan, the sale of "civilian" jets to South Africa, and the US's violation of sanctions against Rhodesia as evidence. A "Washington office on Africa" was opened in October by three anti-apartheid church groups and the American Committee on Africa. Its head, Mr. Edgar Lockwood, said that the office "would work to keep members of the Congress and the Administration informed on political issues which affect the course of political struggle for majority rule" in Southern Africa.

The Minister of the Interior, Dr. C. P. Mulder, announced in October that he had had enough of foreign visitors' investigations of foreign companies' employment practices, and would in future refuse them entry to the country. Subsequently it was reported that two officials of the African-American Institute in New York who wanted to study Black employment conditions had been refused entry to the Republic. Earlier in the year, the political reporter of the Sunday Times, on his return from Washington, warned that previous refusals of visas had led to a serious deterioration in South African-American relations, and that more refusals would lead to further deterioration. The Director of the South African Institute of International Affairs said that South Africa's relations with the United States were likely to enter a "delicate phase" with the growth of American pressure-groups in respect of US companies' operations in the Republic.

It was reported in 1972 that United States trade with South
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

Africa had grown by six per cent in 1971, exports rising from R352 000 000 to R435 000 000 and imports dropping from R202 000 000 to R201 000 000.6

The Argentine

A South African/Argentinian chamber of commerce was established in June, with headquarters in Buenos Aires and Johannesburg.1

Brazil

The Brasilia correspondent of The Star reported that Brazil was to make a big effort to improve economic and political relations with Black Africa, but that she was not prepared to accede to South African requests to elevate diplomatic relations between the two countries from ministerial to ambassadorial level. Nor did Brazil have any interest in any "South Atlantic Pact" with the Argentine, Portugal, and South Africa.2

AFRICA

Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland

Relations between South Africa on the one hand and Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland on the other deteriorated in 1972. Dissatisfaction with South Africa's "peremptory" failure to consult them as partners in the rand monetary area over devaluation, and the suspension of foreign currency transactions at the end of 1971, led the three countries to establish a commission to examine their relationship with the Republic. The commission advised against their leaving the area, but they are to seek changes in its method of operation, including greater consultation over fiscal and monetary decisions, and guarantees that South Africa will honour their foreign exchange transactions. The question of representation on the board of the South African Reserve Bank was also to be raised.1

Botswana maintained her policy of keeping links with South Africa to the minimum dictated by economic necessity, while moving towards a closer economic and political alignment with Zambia and Tanzania. South Africa still has no diplomatic representative in Gaberone.2 The construction of the Nata-Kazungula road, linking Botswana and Zambia, is due to start in 1973 and be completed by 1977. The road, which will be financed by an American loan, originally encountered strong opposition from South Africa. The president, Sir Seretse Khama refuses

6 US Information Service: America Reports, Johannesburg, 15 March.

1 Financial Gazette, 16 June.
- Star, 9 October.
Financial Gazette, 28 January.
3 Daily Dispatch, 9 August.

120
FOREIGN AFFAIRS

to allow guerrilla movements to operate from Botswana," but does grant asylum to political refugees from South Africa, South West Africa, Rhodesia, the Portuguese colonies, and even Lesotho. Several thousand such refugees, the majority of them from Angola, have passed through Botswana.5 Lesotho's attitude towards South Africa cooled during the year. The Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, who for six years has helped South Africa promote her policy of "dialogue" in Africa, made several outspoken attacks on apartheid and also slowed down the progress of dialogue. Chief Jonathan intervened to dissuade a representative of the Ivory Coast from holding talks in South Africa, because he felt Lesotho was being "used" by South Africa. Lesotho's proposals for dialogue were based on the Lusaka Manifesto,' whose signatories are committed to work for equality and non-racialism throughout Africa. South Africa, it was reported, regards dialogue as a means of making friends and increasing her influence in Africa, which approach is seen as incompatible with the Manifesto. Lesotho has been sending regular reports on political activity in South Africa to African states and asked all African States favouring dialogue to postpone action until a joint approach has been approved by the Organization of African Unity.2 Chief Jonathan said that racial discrimination had escalated to such a point that "even the moderates begin to doubt whether force may not be the only solution". The opportunity for a peaceful solution would not endure forever. "The opposition to racism is escalating to such a point where soon there will be no room for dialogue and the victims of the system will see violence as presenting the only chance for the attainment of equality and freedom."3 Later in the year, Chief Jonathan said that South Africa would be to blame if dialogue finally collapsed. It had virtually done so already because Mr. Vorster had "adamantly" refused to discuss peaceful change in South Africa's race policies. Dialogue must now start within South Africa itself.4 Lesotho supported the seating of observers from the movements-in-exile at hearings of the United Nations Trusteeship Committee. It saw contact with them as a means of promoting a nonviolent settlement in Southern Africa.1 South Africa has announced that she is to exchange consular representatives with Lesotho. Contrary to usual diplomatic practice, however, there was no simultaneous announcement from Lesotho.2

4 Business South Africa, February.
5 Star, 15 March.
2 Rand Daily Mail, 4, 6, and 7 March.
3 Star, 21 March.
4 Sunday Times, 20 August.
1 Star, 13 October; Rand Daily Mail, 14 October.
2 Natal Mercury, 5 August.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
Numerous other complaints were made about South Africa over economic matters, involving both the Government and the private sector. Despite the fact that all four countries are partners in a customs union, Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland were not consulted about the imposition of import controls in November 1971 and they were reportedly investigating the case for collecting their own customs duties. "Concern and anger" were also expressed by the three countries over what they saw as South African attempts to thwart development projects which could endanger established industries in the Republic. The Lesotho National Development Corporation, with the endorsement of the Lesotho Government, attacked South African firms which thought they could take advantage of Lesotho and make a "fast cent" by producing inferior goods and selling inferior service. Lesotho shelved two industrial projects during the year, and also abandoned plans to establish a Japanese motor assembly plant because of pressure from South Africa.

A maize mill—which will go ahead—also encountered opposition from South African interests. Lesotho and South Africa also had a dispute over the former Ox-bow project, known as the Malibamatso scheme. To be viable, the scheme must be able to sell water to South Africa, but South Africa does not want to pay the 14 cents per 4 546 litres which Lesotho is asking. Lesotho was reportedly anticipating South African opposition to plastics, electronic components, manufactured steel, and synthetic fibre factories because of the competition they would create.

The viability of a R5 000 000 000 plant established by Swaziland Chemical Industries depends on its being able to import cheap ammonia and phosphoric acid from Iran and on selling surplus output in the Republic. Despite "tremendous pressure" from Pretoria, the Swazis refused to shelve the project. South African fertilizer companies responded by asking the Government to raise the tariff on the two imports. No decision appears to have been taken yet on this question, but the South African Government was reported to be threatening not to extend to purchasers of Swazi fertilizer the 15 per cent subsidy usually paid to fertilizer consumers. The possibility of a similar conflict of interest appeared over a proposed urea formaldehyde plant in Swaziland, a pharmaceuticals and household chemicals industry, and a television set production plant. Swaziland was also reported to be concerned that the construction by South Africa of the Morgenstond dam on a tributary

3 Financial Mail, 7 April.
6 Rand Daily Mail, 21 January.
1 Financial Mail, 7 April.
2 Business South Africa, April.
3 Star, 20 July.
4 Financial Mail, 7 April; Star, 16 June.
5 Financial Gazette, 21 April, 14 July.
122

FOREIGN AFFAIRS
of the Usuthu River would prejudice irrigation and industrial projects in Swaziland by reducing the river’s flow.”

The landlocked location of Lesotho and Swaziland also led to differences with South Africa: ten Black businessmen en route to Swaziland from elsewhere in Africa were refused transit visas at Jan Smuts Airport. All three countries were reportedly inconvenienced by South Africa’s alleged lack of co-operation over facilities for United Nations staff travelling between the three of them.

Yet despite the uneasy state of relations between the Republic and her neighbours, circumstances are drawing them closer together in important respects. The four countries, and Malawi, Rhodesia, Mocambique, Angola, and South West Africa are likely to become inter-linked in a vast power grid covering the subcontinent, through the construction of hydro-electric dams like Cabora Bassa and the Cunene River Scheme.’ The Financial Gazette reported that 1972 would see the beginning of a “very heavy commitment to Angola”.

Angola

South Africa’s economic links with Angola are likely to increase. The South African Foreign Trade Organization has been undertaking market investigations there for South African companies.’ Hitherto, South African interest in Angolan mining opportunities has been largely through General Mining’s holding in the Cabinda oilfields and De Beers’ diamond explorations. In 1972, however, both General Mining and the Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Company were seeking concession rights, while Union Corporation and the Industrial Development Corporation were negotiating participation in an iron ore export project.’

Mocambique

Opening the Rand Easter Show in Johannesburg, the Governor-General of Mocambique, Mr. Manual Pimental dos Santos, said there could be no slackening in vigilance on the borders of South Africa and Mocambique. He added that the Cabora Bassa dam would ”represent the first step towards the establishment of an inner-African power-transport grid”. The Republic’s Southern Cross Fund presented the Portuguese armed forces in Mocambique with R60 000 worth of medical equipment.’

6 Business South Africa, April.
Rand Daily Mail, 21 July.
2 Star, 20 July.
t Star, 26 January.
2 Financial Gazette, 25 February; 3 March.
3 Sunday Express, 26 March.
4 Daily Dispatch, 18 April.
123

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
Rhodesia
Following the Peace Commission's finding that the HomeSmith agreement was not acceptable to the people of Rhodesia, Mr. Vorster said that the Commission's report "does not in any way change South Africa's relations with and attitude towards Rhodesia and its Government". South Africa recognises Rhodesia de facto, but has never made a de jure act of recognition.

Zambia
In 1971 Britain replaced South Africa and Rhodesia as the principal supplier of Zambia's imports. Zambia continues to pursue a policy of reducing her dependence on the White-rulled states. In a surprising announcement which was neither confirmed nor denied by his Government, the Zambian Finance Minister said Zambia was to relax trade restrictions with South Africa. He said his country would continue buying from the South until the Tanzan railway was completed in 1975.

Malawi
The State President, Mr. J. J. Fouchd, paid an official visit to Malawi in March. It will be recalled that Mr. Vorster visited Malawi in 1970 and that President Banda visited South Africa in 1971. The two countries signed an extradition agreement, effective from April 1972. It provided for extradition for offences such as murder, culpable homicide, abortion, rape, prostitution, kidnapping, robbery, hijacking, and narcotics offences. The agreement also provided that extradition might be refused if the offence for which it is requested is regarded by the requested country as a political offence. Offences under military law which are not offences under ordinary criminal law are also excluded from the scope of extradition. In mid-year two men hijacked a South African aircraft to Malawi, but they were not extradited, despite a request to that effect. Instead they were tried in Malawi. Malawi was the only African state which continued firmly to support the policy of dialogue with South Africa.

Dialogue
As indicated above, South Africa's policy of promoting dialogue with Black Africa suffered several reverses in 1972—-not only in Lesotho, but in Ghana, Uganda, and the Afro-Malagasy and Mauritian Organisation (OCAM) too. The precarious nature

FOREIGN AFFAIRS
of the policy and its dependence on individual African leaders were well-illustrated by changes in South Africa's relations with the Malagasy Republic. Although trade with Madagascar was small (exports there amounting to R2 393 000 in 1970), close ties were being made through the exchange of cabinet-level official visits and the establishment of a permanent commission to further
cooperation. South Africa was also building roads, hotels, and an airport on the island, and the Government was considering helping Malagasy pay for a R42 000 port and dry-dock complex. In May, however, the government of President Philibert Tsiranana collapsed after a student-inspired public revolt. The new government of General Gabriel Ramanantsoa completely repudiated "dialogue"; South Africa had not changed its policy of apartheid "one iota"; rather under the "more and more threadbare mantle of dialogue, the segregationists in Pretoria have looked only for one thing: to divide the Africans and to find susceptible clients to support their imperialist and racist policy". After making initial overtures to South Africa, General Amin, the President of Uganda, last year proposed the formation of an army under the OAU to defend African States against aggression from the White-rulled states and to do away with White minority rule in Southern Africa. The deposed Prime Minister of Ghana, Dr. Kofi Busia, had been willing to consider dialogue with South Africa based on the Lusaka Manifesto. The new leader, Colonel Ignatius Acheampong, has pledged support to the OAU declaration rejecting dialogue as a means of bringing about change in South Africa. He has also declared Ghana's support for the Southern African liberation movements.

Next to Malawi and Lesotho, the Ivory Coast under President Felix Houphouet-Boigny was the African country doing the most to promote the policy of dialogue. It was reported at the beginning of the year that a minister from the Ivory Coast was to visit South Africa, but the visit did not take place, apparently partly at the instance of Lesotho. Liaison between South Africa and the Ivory Coast had already involved substantial South African financial aid, but President Houphouet-Boigny was evidently awaiting support from elsewhere in Africa before carrying contact further.

President Leopold Senghor of Senegal reportedly altered his stance to one of support for contact with South Africa following the visit to his country in 1971 of the leader of the Progressive

1 Star, 17 April.
3 Daily Dispatch, 23 March.
4 Sunday Times, 21 May.
5 Star, 19 May.
6 Rand Daily Mail, 6 October.
8 Daily Dispatch, 23 February.
1 Star, 14 February.
2 Star, 13 January.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
Party and Mrs. Helen Suzman. However, he supported dialogue with Black and White South African liberals, not with the Government, and said that aid to liberation movements should continue.
Following a meeting between them in France, Presidents Houphouet-Boigny and Senghor endeavoured to promote dialogue at the conference in Togo of the fifteen-nation Afro-Malagasy and Mauritian Organization (OCAM) in April. A communiqué issued after the conference made no mention of South Africa, but the issue of dialogue had evidently caused friction within OCAM.

Of the OCAM nations, Chad and Gabon were reported to favour some form of dialogue. The coalition government of Mauritius was divided: the Prime Minister was against dialogue, but some ministers were in favour of it. Trade and investment from South Africa were welcome, however, and South Africa's Southern Sun Hotels group joined an international consortium to develop and manage a R3 500 000 hotel in Mauritius. South African Airways has landing rights in Mauritius, denied to it in Black Africa. In 1972 Zaire, Niger, Dahomey, Togo, Upper Volta, and Cameroun all opposed dialogue, although in 1970 and 1971 nearly all of them appeared to think it worth considering. The stance of the Central African Republic under President Bokassa was uncertain.

Only Malawi was absent from the summit meeting of the 41-member Organization of African Unity in Rabat in June. The 1971 meeting of OAU heads of state had been opposed to dialogue and had resolved by 28 votes to 6, with 5 abstentions and 2 absentees, that member-states should make no attempt to solve the problems of South Africa without the guidance of the OAU. Although it was reported earlier in 1972 that Presidents Houphouet-Boigny and Senghor would attempt to persuade the OAU to change its attitude to dialogue, President Houphouet-Boigny did not attend the conference in Rabat, and the question of dialogue was not even raised.

The retiring president of the OAU, President Moktar Ould Daddah of Mauritania, had travelled to twelve Western capitals and to Tokyo to try and stop arms sales to and trade with South Africa. The most positive response had come from Turkey and Scandinavia. Citing Britain's veto of a Security Council resolution on Rhodesia, French arms sales to South Africa, and American

*1 Star, 2 March.
4 Star, 5 June.
5 Star, 15 March.
6 Star, 24, 27 April.
1 Natal Mercury, 1 January; World, 7 March.
2 Star, 21 March.
3 Rand Daily Mail, 6 October.
4 Cape Times, 28 March; Star, 15 March; Rand Daily Mail, 22 May, Sunday Tribune,
8 October.
5 Star, 28 June.
7 Star, 27 April.
8 Star, 15 June.
126

FOREIGN AFFAIRS
purchases of Rhodesian chrome, President Daddah accused the Western powers of "refusing to help Africa rid itself of the colonialist and racist yoke."

It was reported that diplomats in Bonn, Paris, and the United States saw dialogue as being on the verge of collapse. Paris was the principal link between South Africa and the former French colonies, but the French were reported to "have cooled off considerably to South Africa," disillusioned that South Africa had been unco-operative and lacking in initiative in the cause of dialogue. The French also evidently feared they might become embarrassed by their economic and other ties with South Africa.

At the United Nations in September, the foreign minister and chief architect of the dialogue policy, Dr. Hilgard Muller, reiterated South Africa's belief in dialogue, and added: "Let me make it clear once again that we are prepared to discuss even South Africa's internal policies in the course of such a dialogue." There was no response from any African country to his statement.

At the end of 1972, South Africa's established official links with Africa were limited to an exchange of ambassadors with Malawi, consuls-general in Angola and Mozambique, and an accredited representative in Rhodesia. Consular links were due to be established with Lesotho.

NAVAL CO-OPERATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA

In the speech from the throne in January, the State President issued what amounted to an open invitation by South Africa to nations interested in Indian Ocean and South Atlantic defence to take part in the regular Capex exercises off the Cape Coast. Hitherto only British and South African ships have taken part in the exercises, but a degree of co-operation between the French and the Argentinian and the South African navies does exist, and its extension would be welcomed by South Africa.

I Daily Dispatch, 14 June.
Sunday Times, 24 September.
Rand Daily Mail, 30 September.
2 Sunday Tribune, 8 October.
3 Rand Daily Mail, 5 May.
Cape Times, 29 January.

128
GROUP AREAS AND HOUSING

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AMENDMENT ACT, No. 93 OF 1972

Section 3 of Act 93/1972 empowered the Community, Development Board, in its discretion, to pay an amount, in addition to compensation, to make good any actual financial loss or any inconvenience caused by the expropriation of or acquisition of "affected property" under the Group Areas Act. Such an amount will not be taken into consideration when determining an appreciation contribution or a depreciation contribution. (The payment of these contributions is dealt with later.)

PEOPLE AFFECTED BY THE GROUP AREAS ACT, AND NUMBERS RESETTLED
Replies to a question in the Assembly, the Minister of Community Development gave the following figures, indicating the number of families who, as at the end of 1971, had under the Group Areas Act become disqualified to remain in their previous homes, and the number who had by then been resettled.

Number of families

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disqualified</th>
<th>Resettled</th>
<th>Still to be resettled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>1598</td>
<td>1433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>76544</td>
<td>41199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>38561</td>
<td>26294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>1233</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Africans are dealt with under other legislation.)

Slightly different figures for the end of 1971 were given by the Minister on other occasions. On 9 June he presented a break-down of the number of families who then had to be resettled in certain areas because of group areas proclamations:

Number of families

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Durban complex</td>
<td>12294</td>
<td>5999</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Peninsula</td>
<td>11814</td>
<td>660</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>128</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Elizabeth</td>
<td>1591</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>170</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pietermaritzburg</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witwatersrand</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>5367</td>
<td>2273</td>
<td>652</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 22 February, Hansard 4 col. 306.
2 Hansard 2 col. 143; Hansard 5 col. 381.
3 Hansard 18 col. 1190.

GROUP AREAS AND HOUSING
HOUSING REQUIRED AND PROVIDED

On 9 May the Minister said that his department, in collaboration with the Departments of Statistics and of Planning, had estimated the number of dwelling units that were required annually to meet the anticipated population increase. (The figures quoted probably did not include dwellings needed for removals under the Group Areas Act.)

Provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal</td>
<td>15735</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape</td>
<td>6444</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>3420</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free State</td>
<td>2556</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>2550</td>
<td>12430</td>
<td>1100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>266</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>1420</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Certain metropolitan areas and cities
Durban complex Cape Peninsula Pretoria Port Elizabeth Pietermaritzburg Witwatersrand
Whites
... 2521 ... 2307
3044
... 1579 ... 325
... 10851
Coloured Indians
942 7414 130 1 927 103 1 784
3 950 219
166 105
438 974
So far as Whites were concerned, the existing backlog was being eliminated, the Minister said; but he admitted that he was not satisfied with the situation in regard to Coloured people. Summarizing information given by him on other occasions it would appear that, during 1971, the following numbers of assisted housing units were provided for families who qualified for sub-economic, lower-economic, economic, and higher-economic dwellings:

Family units
White Coloured Indian
By Community Development Board and National Housing Commission ... ... ... ... ...
By local authorities ... ... ... ...
Hansard 14 col. 1013.
614 4796
552 1 056 13643 2320

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
Besides this, during 1971 the private sector built 20 908 dwellings for Whites, 3 344 for Coloured families, and 804 for Indians, in the main metropolitan areas and cities.
The Minister gave various sets of figures indicating the shortage of housing, but pointed out that these were not meaningful, because there was overlapping of names on the waiting lists kept by various authorities.
None of his statistics related to Africans, he added, because African housing was dealt with by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development.

INCOME LIMITS FOR SUBSIDIZED HOUSING
In reply to a question on 4 February, the Minister gave the income limits for assisted (subsidized) housing, as follows:
Economic housing Monthly household income,
White families: no children ...... R270
1 or 2 children ... R300
3 or 4 children ... R360
more than 4 children R400
Coloured and Indian families (irrespective of number of children) R225
Sub-economic housing (irrespective of number of children)
White families .................. R 130
Coloured and Indian families ...... R60

CRITICISM AND DISCUSSION OF THE HOUSING SITUATION
Various Members of Parliament, in particular Mr. L. E. D. Winchester and Mr. R. G. L. Hourquebie of the United Party', and Mrs. Helen Suzman of the Progressive Party", have been very critical of the activities of the Department of Community Development, maintaining that the provision of housing was not: meeting the demand.
This point was repeatedly stressed during the Council meeting of the Institute of Race Relations in January, the theme of which was "Housing and Human Needs in South Africa". The papers delivered are listed on page 54. It was emphasized that, within the next 30 years, housing demands would double. Long-term planning was an urgent necessity, as was research into building materials, design, and adaptation of dwellings to environment and climate. All of this should be carried out in

7 Hansard 2 cols. 110-2, Hansard 18 col. 1190.
8 Hansard 1 col. 52.
'E.g. Hansard 15 cols. 7335-6, 7297-8.
10 Cols. 7367-9.
130

GROUP AREAS AND HOUSING
consultation with the people who would occupy the houses, to find out their desires and their ability to pay.
There was already a critical shortage of housing in most of the cities, due to the natural growth of the population, an influx 'from rural areas, and the need for rehousing those displaced by group areas proclamations. It was increasingly impossible for young married couples to acquire homes of their own. Hence there was acute over-crowding, particularly in Coloured, Indian, and African townships. In her summing up of the discussions, Professor Hansi P. Pollak wrote, "Speakers pointed out what it meant to live one's entire life in overcrowded conditions - over-crowded houses, overcrowded pavements, overcrowded streets, overcrowded station platforms, overcrowded trains, unending bus queues, overcrowded buses. Day after day, night after night, that elbowing for room, the impossibility of any respite from pressure."
Appreciation was expressed of the significant work done by 'the National Building Research Institute; but it was, nevertheless, considered that most township planning was unimaginative and stereotyped. The basic design of the
standard four-roomed "matchbox" houses had not been changed in twenty years. It was recognized that, until the wage levels of the bulk of the workers rose substantially, there would continue to be need for 'subsidized housing; however, all were agreed that the subeconomic dwellings being provided were of too low a standard. The inferior construction and the lack of internal doors were particularly criticised. Parents and adolescent children had no privacy. People were frequently moved to such housing schemes before basic community and social amenities were available. Theoretically, Coloured and Indian families could move to better homes when they could afford them; but in practice houses of better standards were very often not available.

It was considered that most local authorities could do more than they were doing to promote healthy community living. The Council urged that householders should be encouraged to improve their dwellings - and not deterred, as they were in some areas.

The Council appreciated that there was just not enough land to permit the urban sprawl to continue unchecked, with the concomitant high costs of servicing and of transport. It recommended that experiments in high-density housing be continued, urging that increased attention be given to thicker walls and better construction, public safety on staircases, refuse disposal, laundry and drying facilities, and the provision of safe places for children to play.

The urgency of the situation was repeatedly emphasized.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

PROPERTY VALUES

Replying to a question on 11 February, the Minister said that the value of houses, flats, and vacant land owned by his department in certain areas, according to the actual purchase prices paid, was:

R

Durban ...... 19337642
Johannesburg ... 22429 905 East London ... 1 819 796 Port Elizabeth ...
7586798 Cape Town ...... 15420792

Mr. L. E. D. Winchester2 described the department as "the largest estate agent in the world". "What is the use," he asked, "at a time when people are crying out for housing, of buying up valuable properties and then doing nothing with them?" On several occasions he has referred to the high profits that the department often makes on the sale of properties it has bought or expropriated, in particular from Indians. Examples were given by Mr. Gavin Maasdorp in the Spro-Cas Economic Report, Power, Privilege, and Poverty, published by the Christian Institute of Southern Africa.

In reply to a further question on 3 March, the Minister said that in the 1970-1 financial year the Community Development Board paid R236 551 in depreciation contributions, received R7 839 in appreciation contributions, and paid one amount, of R3 429, to a White man in respect of the goodwill value attaching to a business.

ADMISSION OF AFRICANS TO HOTELS OUTSIDE AFRICAN AREAS
During August, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, accompanied by a White priest, Father Cosmas Desmond, went to Johannesburg's President Hotel for lunch, but the Chief was refused service. The chairman of the Hotel Board told the Press4 that, in order to simplify "unfortunate and embarrassing formalities", his Board was to ask the Government for a list of prominent Africans who could be admitted without question, and for "definite guide lines" as to the necessary formalities. As things were, he said, an application had first to be made to the Department of Community Development. If liquor was to be served, a letter of authority from the chairman of the Liquor Licensing Board was needed. If these documents were granted, they had then to be presented to the local police commander to receive his stamp of approval.

The Minister of Justice commented15 that certain hotels had, 1 Hansard 2 col. 173.
t2 Rand Daily Mail, 12 and 26 February.
13 Hansard 5 col. 441.
14 Rand Daily Mail, 21 August.
15 ibid, 23 August.

GROUP AREAS AND HOUSING
for many years, possessed authority to accommodate Blacks, but that his permission was required before they could be served with liquor. An hotel could apply for such authority in its own discretion, if it considered that, by doing so, its White custom would not be affected.

INDIAN BUSINESSMEN
On 10 February6 the Minister of Community Development gave information in the Assembly about the number of Indian traders who had thus far been affected by group areas proclamations:
Natal Transvaal Cape
Numbers who had become disqualified occupants ..........1 061 2407 1 078
Numbers who had been resettled ... 231 181 135
Numbers trading under permit in areas allocated to other groups 187 740 79
Indians who had become disqualified occupants as a result of proclamations and who were not in possession of permits could legally remain in occupation of their premises until evacuation notices were served on them, the Minister stated. (A considerable number of such notices have been served, in various towns.)
There were 55 vacant shops available for Indian occupation in Natal and 15 in the Transvaal, with others under construction, the Minister continued. Vacant land was procurable, too. The general policy was not to enforce removals of traders until alternative accommodation was available.
(Such alternative accommodation is provided in Indian group areas, usually situated some distance from the centres of the towns concerned, or, as described below, in "open" business areas.)
Section 2 of the Group Areas Amendment Act, No. 83 of 1972, made it clear that the Government had power to proclaim group areas to be used for particular purposes (e.g. for business, but not for residence). The Minister of Planning said in the Assembly that, thus far, the provisions of the Section had been used for establishing business areas in Pretoria, East London, Port Elizabeth, Roodepoort, Newcastle, and Ladysmith.

In reply to questions on 22 February, the Minister of Economic Affairs said that two Indians had received financial assistance from the Industrial Development Corporation, totalling R42,000, to establish small industrial concerns in Indian group areas, in Stanger and Rustenburg respectively. They were making elastic, shoe laces, and clothing, and provided employment for 16 Hansard 2 col. 140.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

26 Indians and 32 Africans. Besides this, the Corporation had granted six loans, amounting to R1,882,000, to enable Indians to establish concerns in industrial and other areas of Durban, Glendale, Pietermaritzburg, and Port Shepstone. Employment opportunities for 614 Indians and 255 Africans had thus been created.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES

It was announced from The Hague in October that the executive committee of the International Union of Local Authorities (IULA) had "adopted a resolution pronouncing itself against all forms of racial discrimination. It also took note of the opinion of the Unesco executive board that IULA’s South African members had not given sufficient proof of their opposition to policies of apartheid and racial discrimination. Under the circumstances the executive committee saw no other way but to decide, by a vote of eleven against four, with three abstentions, to suspend its relations with its South African members" (i.e. the United Municipal Executive of South Africa and South West Africa).

NOTES ON GROUP AREAS AND HOUSING

Johannesburg

The Chief Officer of the Johannesburg Municipality's Coloured and Asiatic Division, Dr. E. J. Jammime, has estimated that there is a shortfall of more than 5,000 dwelling units for Coloured families in and around the city, a shortage that is likely to mount rapidly unless the pace of building is very considerably expedited. His figure, apparently, includes provision for rehousing families at Western Township (Westbury), which is being redeveloped, and Noordgesig (declared an African area). Besides this, however, there are several hundred Coloured families at Alexandra Township and in White group areas who will be displaced; and Coloured people are migrating to Johannesburg from all parts of the country because of the employment opportunities available. Mr. J. F. Oberholzer, M.P.C., chairman of the city's management committee, has estimated that the rate of influx is about a hundred families a month. Many
Coloured people are living in appalling slum conditions in parts of Newclare and in Kliptown.

A large new housing scheme is being developed by the Department of Community Development at Eldorado Park, near Kliptown. According to various Press reports, about 490 dwelling units (houses and flats) will be ready by the end of the year. The City Council will have provided some 850 more dwellings at Westbury and Riverlea. Some of those at Westbury are subeconomic; but the majority of the new houses are for home ownership or economic letting.

Much Press publicity was given to the plight of about 23 Coloured families at Newclare who lived, for more than four weeks in many cases, during the coldest part of the winter, in tents hired for them by the Roman Catholic Society of St. Vincent de Paul. They had but rudimentary sanitary services. It transpired that the Department of Community Development owned land there on which some 80 families lived in 23 old houses. The Department planned to demolish the houses to make way for a much-needed school, and it arranged for the legal tenants to be resettled. Immediately after they left, however, other families moved in: they were technically "squatters" who paid no rent. Eventually the Department demolished 13 of the houses, displacing the 23 families, consisting of about a hundred people. They, apparently, maintained that they could not afford to pay the rentals charged at Eldorado Park. The municipality and members of the public gave them emergency help while they were in the tents. It was reported that they were eventually moved to houses in Eldorado Park at reduced rentals, made possible partly by funds contributed by the public as a result of an appeal by the City Council.

A Handbook of Lenasia (the Indian group area) has been compiled by Mr. M. Y. Dinath of the City Council's staff. He points out that Johannesburg's Indian community is not a homogeneous one, but consists of a number of differing religious and linguistic groups, with marked cultural differences. The rapid resettlement of the people at Lenasia, without regard to these differences, brought tremendous pressure on community life. Increased rents and transport costs were a serious financial burden. Houses provided by the Department were too small for the old "extended families", causing a growing need for welfare services for the aged and handicapped.

Since taking over responsibility for the township the City Council has spent considerable sums on improving conditions; but services and amenities are still very inadequate. It was announced in August 2 that the Provincial Administration plans to build a hospital there.
Chinese people in the Transvaal experience much difficulty in obtaining housing (there is no Chinese group area there). Provided that White neighbours do not object, they may be granted Departmental permits to rent houses in White group areas (but new White neighbours may subsequently raise objections). There has been talk of building large blocks of flats for Chinese in the Fordsburg area of Johannesburg; but the Taiwan Consul-General indicated that the people would object to enforced removal to such an area.

Reef Towns
In December 1971 the so-called Asiatic Bazaar in Germiston was proclaimed a White group area. About 250 families (mainly Indian but including some Coloured) will eventually be displaced. A spokesman for the Department of Planning said that removals would not be enforced until alternative accommodation was available, at an extension of Actonville in Benoni for the Indians. A second group area for Coloured people on the East Rand is being planned. There is much need for further housing, for many Coloured families are reported to be living in highly insanitary shanty towns at Cerutiville and De Beersville near Nigel, and elsewhere.

Other Transvaal towns
A few further towns in the Transvaal have been proclaimed group areas for Whites only, for example Dendron, Delmas and Hectorspruit. Coloured and Indian people are gradually migrating from small towns such as these to the cities or towns where economic opportunity exists. Klerksdorp, for example, is reported to be becoming a commercial and light industrial centre for Indians of the Western Transvaal. A Coloured group area has been proclaimed at Witbank.

Cape Town
The grave housing shortage for Coloured people in the greater Cape Town area, and plans for large new townships, were described on page 159 of last year's Survey. It was mentioned that Professor S. P. Cilliers, head of the Department of Economics at the University of Stellenbosch, estimated in January 1971 that 43,000 families were then in need of housing, and that at least another 54,000 dwelling units would be needed by 1980. The Cape Western Regional Office of the Institute of Race Relations estimated the shortage in October 1972 as being 38,040.

According to the Minister of Coloured Affairs, 7693 houses were built for Coloured people in the Peninsula during 1971. A very large new housing scheme, which may eventually

22 Star, 25 August.

23 e.g. Rand Daily Mail, 23 February; Star, 28 February. 24 Star, 4 January. 25 Sunday Times, 8 October; Rand Daily Mail, 13 October. 26 Fiat Lux, May. 27 Assembly, 17 March, Hansard 7 cols. 3629-31; also Hansard 17 col. 1045.
cater for up to 250 000 people, is to be developed at Mitchells Plain, between the existing Coloured townships on the Cape Flats and Strandfontein Beach.

Another major scheme, he said, was planned for Mamre, some 50 km to the north of Cape Town, which was proclaimed a Coloured group area on 25 February. This will be a "growth point" in the Government's industrial decentralisation scheme, where both White and Coloured entrepreneurs will be offered financial and other assistance if they employ Coloured workers. Any Whites who establish concerns there may be required to live at Darling, a little to the north.

Replying to questions in the Assembly on 21 March, the Minister of Community Development gave the following statistics in regard to District Six:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of people so far removed</td>
<td>9936</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number still living there</td>
<td>424 33 918</td>
<td>1494 144</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

His department had bought up many of the properties, the Minister said, thus far having paid R5 148 093 for them. It had demolished 355 dwelling units, while there were 6 063 still to be demolished.

In an article in the August issue of Progress, Mr. W. J. M. van Heerden quoted figures to show that, owing to removals and dispossession caused by the Group Areas Act, the proportion of Coloured people in Cape Town who owned their homes dropped from 27.6 per cent in 1960 to 23.1 per cent ten years later.

Other parts of the South-Western Cape

After years of uncertainty, the School Street area in Paarl was in 1962 proclaimed a Coloured group area. Coloured people, who had lived there for generations, regarded it as a prestige suburb. But early in 1972 the Group Areas Board reinvestigated the position, and on 30 June the suburb was proclaimed a White group area. In an article published in the August issue of Race Relations News, Dr. O. D. Wollheim described the despair felt by Coloured residents.

New group areas, or extensions to existing areas, have been proclaimed for Coloured people at Grabouw, Hawston, Bonnievale, and Worcester. Eendekuil in the Piketberg district has been divided between White and Coloured, and Mossel Bay allocated to Whites.

Dr. Wollheim (Cape Western Regional Secretary of the Institute of Race Relations) has pointed out that, in Grabouw '8 Hansard 8 col. 627.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

and other small towns, Africans have for generations lived among or near the Coloured people. When such areas are proclaimed Coloured, no alternative provision is usually made for the Africans, who consequently become illegal residents, even if they possess "Section 10" rights.

Other towns in the Cape Province

As mentioned in previous years, many hundreds of Indians and Coloured people have been required to leave parts of Port Elizabeth that have been zoned for Whites, including South End. A Press report states that in 1967 the Department of Community Development erected a business complex called Lotus Building in
the Indian group area to accommodate some of the displaced Indian traders. The cost to the Department was R187 000. In October 1971 it was announced that the building was to be sold by tender to members of the Indian community. Fearing rent increases, the tenants formed a consortium and put in a tender of R240 000; but an offer of R300 786 was accepted from an Indian in Zeerust. According to the regional office of the Institute of Race Relations in Port Elizabeth, about 6 890 dwellings are needed for Coloured people there. The City Council has plans in hand to overcome this backlog, housing units of a variety of types to be made available.

The group areas proclaimed for Grahamstown were described on page 199 of the 1970 Survey. A further proclamation, of 13 October, dealt with a previously unzoned area, dividing it between Whites and Indians, with a border strip. Mr. F. 0. Joseph, Regional Secretary of the Institute of Race Relations in East London, has sent a report on housing there. There are 1 220 Coloured families on the waiting list for accommodation, he states, 721 of them requiring sub-economic dwellings. The previous position was slightly relieved during 1971, when 500 of the very poorest were accommodated in houses at Duncan Village that had been vacated by Africans (who are progressively being moved to Mdantsane). Ultimately, 970 Coloured families will be housed in vacated site-and-service units in this village. In the new Pefferville estate, 604 subeconomic and 47 better-type houses are being built. Plots for ownership building are available at Buffalo Flats; and a suitable site for 136 municipal flats is being sought.

Although there is no official group area for the Indian population of some 2 000 souls, their probable future area is known, and the City Council is building 146 economic dwellings and 75 sub-economic flats there. Plots will also be available for sale. Present accommodation, mainly in North End (zoned for Whites) is very seriously overcrowded, at least 60 families being in immediate need of housing. Various small towns in the Cape have been set aside for Whites during the year under review - Sea Vista, Jeffries Bay, Rosmead, Skietfontein, and Aurora. Group areas for Whites and Coloured have been proclaimed in Barkly West, Kirkwood, Misgund, and Joubertina.

Durban

There continues to be a grave shortage of housing for members of all the Black groups in Durban. The Indian area of Chatsworth has grown into a large town; but many families have been waiting for houses there for years. More than 1 000 of them are in a "sub-sub-economic" transit camp at Merebank, which has highly inadequate washing, toilet, and other facilities. Whole families are occupying one room or living in the bush, in the Clairwood area. Conditions are similar among the Coloured population: again, housing has lagged far behind the demand. There are reported to be bad slums in the Wentworth area,
and homeless people existing in the bush nearby. An old military camp in this
district is being used as temporary accommodation for more than 50 families3".
Two further Coloured group areas have been proclaimed near Durban. The
Minister of Planning said in the Assembly on 26 May33 that one of these areas,
known as Stockville Valley, near Gillets, was occupied by some 200 Indian small
farmers (representing about 2 000 souls), who sold their produce, mainly flowers,
on Durban and other local markets. In the other area, adjoining the Mariannhill
Coloured group area, there were a number of Indian squatter families, but they
would not be displaced for about ten years.
Early in October the local road transportation board upheld an objection by the
S.A. Railways against the renewal of carrier certificates to Indians who have been
operating bus services between Chatsworth and the city, the reason for the
objection being that the buses were competing with the train service, which was
being run at a loss. Some 70 000 Indians signed a petition to back an appeal to the
National Transport Commission34.
Other Natal towns
Extensions to the Group areas for Indians and Coloured people have been made in
Pietermaritzburg.
31 Natal Mercury, 11 March and 27 July.
32 ibid, 22 June, and Sunday Tribune, 30 July. :13 Hansard 16 cols. 1091-2,
8274-5.
3,1 Rand Daily Mail, 25 October.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
The future of the people of Newcastle was undecided for almost two years, while
the area was replanned; but a proclamation of 3 November extended the existing
White and Indian group areas and demarcated a new Coloured area. It was not
clear to the Indians whether or not the plan was a final one3".
The revision of group areas in Ladysmith, involving the displacement of further
Indians, was described on page 194 of the 1970 Survey. In the Assembly on 10
February the Minister of Community Development said that 61 Indian traders
had, in consequence, become disqualified. Of these, eleven had been resettled, the
rest having been allowed for the time being to remain under permit. It was
announced during the following month"" that members of the local Indian Group
Areas Committee had visited Pretoria for discussions with officials of State
departments concerned, and that an agreement had been reached. Indians whose
properties had been expropriated would be compensated at realistic market
values. A trading complex would be developed where businessmen could buy or
rent shops.
Group areas for Indians have been proclaimed at Port Shepstone and Marburg.
AFRICAN HOUSING SCHEMES
General policy
It was mentioned on page 163 of last year's Survey that the Institute of Race
Relations was making a study of the housing of Africans who were employed in
urban areas. The results were published as RR. 136/1971.
It was recalled in this paper that, in mid-1969, the Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development asked local authorities to give consideration to two propositions. These were:

(a) Where a town is situated in the vicinity of a homeland, the Africans employed in such town should be accommodated on a family basis in a Bantu township in the homeland concerned.

(b) Should the distance between the city and the nearest homeland be too great to make it feasible for the Africans to travel to and fro daily, the families should nevertheless be accommodated in the homeland, hostel accommodation being provided for the workers in the urban area. The workers would be able to visit their families periodically.

Transport committees were being set up to study the question of commuting, the Secretary said.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration stated in May 19711 that, according to the official planners, it should be feasible

35 See 1971 Survey, page 162, also Rand Daily Mail, 8 and 9 November. 36 Natal Mercury, 25 March.

1 Star, 19 May 1971.

AFRICAN HOUSING SCHEMES

to transport workers daily between points up to 70 miles (113 km) apart, or, on a weekend basis, between points up to 400 miles (644 km) apart.

In order to ascertain how this policy was being implemented, the Institute of Race Relations circularized local authorities, receiving more than a hundred replies.

Towns officially considered to be within commuting range of a homeland

In most cases where a town is fairly close to the border of a homeland, all the Africans, the so-called single men as well as the families, have been or are to be accommodated in homeland townships. Even domestic servants will, in some instances, have to live there, in terms of the "white by night" policy favoured by some local authorities.

Some towns that are further away reported that the official plan appears to be that their urban African townships will be retained for the time being, at any rate, but not extended. In certain of these towns there is stated to be no shortage of family housing. But in other cases, further married couples who want to live together will have to move to a homeland to do so. Several local authorities reported that family houses that are vacated for any reason are being converted into hostels for migratory workers.

In some of the smaller towns the municipal townships are being deproclaimed, and all the Africans except workers who are accommodated in hostels will have to move to, homeland townships, which may be very long distances away. Among extreme examples are Douglas, where families are being moved 225 km to Mothibistat; and Parys, where "excess" families may have to live 322 km away, at Witzieshoek.
The S.A. Bantu Trust is creating a number of regional townships to act as labour reservoirs. Besides the families of men who commute to work, they will accommodate displaced farm labour tenants and squatters, and people removed from black spots. There are to, be townships such as this near Lichtenburg, Newcastle, Dundee, Hammersdale, Queenstown, and Grahamstown. A regional township called Itsoseng is being established to the west of Lichtenburg, into which families from as far afield as Carletonville, Potchefstroom, Klerksdorp, and Wohnransstad may have to move. The distances involved are up to about 170 km. "Excess" families from Bloemfontein, and probably other towns in that region, will probably have to live in the Thaba "Nchu Reserve, 61 km away from Bloemfontein by rail. At present, a single trip takes 1 hours, and workers pay just over R6 for a monthly season ticket.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
The situation in some of the larger cities, such as Pretoria, and Durban, is described later. Towns that are further away from homelands
The position in the smaller towns that are further away froml homelands appears to be a confused one, the future being uncertain. In most of them, no further family housing has been provided for some years past, overcrowding has resulted, and insanitary squatter camps have sprung up in a number of places. Because of strict influx control, no additional family housing is needed in many of the towns of the South-Western Cape, although further hostel accommodation is being provided, in some cases by employers for their own workers. In industrialized metropolitan areas that are remote from homelands the building of family housing is continuing, but at much below the rate required to meet the needs of the growing African labour force and the natural increase in the settled African population. Examples are given later. Recommendations in regard to townships in metropolitan areas
The Institute's Council took note of the relaxation, in homeland townships, of many of the restrictions that apply in municipal townships. It saw no reason for this differentiation. In particular, it urged that the Government should make freehold tenure available to Africans in the "White" municipal areas, restore home ownership there, and reintroduce sub-economic housing (discontinued in 1958). These recommendations were sent to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development. It was pointed out by the Institute's Director that the existing policy caused anomalies... Tswana people living in Ga-Rankuwa or Mabopane, in a homeland adjoining Pretoria, had far greater freedom from restrictions, than did Africans living in the municipal townships of Pretoria,, although many worked side-by-side in the same establishments. In a reply dated 23 March, the Minister's Administrative, Secretary rejected this argument. Whites had no privileges in the homelands, he said, thus Africans in White areas could not be granted rights such as home ownership. The Department was not prepared to re-introduce sub-economic housing for Africans., Existing
rentals were reasonable, and transport and other services were subsidized. Local authorities had power to reduce or remit rents in deserving cases.

During January, a deputation from the Johannesburg City Council had discussions with the then Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Dr. P. G. J. Koornhof, pleading, inter alia, for:

(a) home ownership and freehold title for the Africans of Soweto;

AFRICAN HOUSING SCHEMES
(b) exemption from influx control measures for African professional people, businessmen, and certain others; (c) increased powers for the Urban Bantu Council.

On the last point, Dr. Koornhof is reported to have stated that the powers of the Urban Bantu Council had to be "within the framework of local authority functions, and must in no way derogate from the status, functions, or powers of the homeland representatives in Soweto." He said that he was prepared to consider the representations, but asked for further detailed motivation. Later, Dr. Koornhof stated that certain Press reports of the discussions had been misleading and "would raise false hopes" among Africans. No changes such as those requested were being contemplated, he added.

Families of certain men to be allowed to join them
On 2 and 3 February, Dr. Koornhof announced that married African teachers in White areas would in future be allowed to take their families with them when they were transferred to other urban centres, and would receive top priority for housing. (This previously applied in the cases of public servants and policemen.) He said, too, that an African with "Section 10" rights who was working on a fairly permanent basis in the town concerned, and who married a woman from a homeland or White rural area, would in future be allowed to bring his wife to live with him provided that a house was available. (This was previously allowed only if the man married a woman who herself qualified to live in any prescribed urban area.)

While welcoming this announcement, the Press and others pointed out that the acute shortage of housing would limit the number of Africans who would be able to bring their wives to join them in towns.

Improvements to houses in municipal townships
A further announcement by Dr. Koornhof was to the effect that Africans in legal occupation of houses in municipal townships would be allowed to improve their dwellings, for example by adding a stoep, additional bedroom, or garage, subject to various conditions. The African concerned would have to bear all the costs; the additions must comply with an approved plan and with any building bye-laws; and the construction work must be carried out either by the local authority after costs had been fully paid in advance, or by a competent person to the satisfaction of the local authority. The enlarged house would remain

2 Star, 28 January; Rand Daily Mail, 28 July.
3 Rand Daily Mail, 3 and 4 February.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1,972
an asset of the local authority, which must agree to maintain the additions as well as the original structure, and would not be permitted to charge increased rent. The tenant must give an undertaking that he would not claim compensation for improvements if he should vacate the house. But Dr. Koornhof added, "I am prepared to make exceptions here in favour of a person who moves to his homeland with his family, and in estate cases."

Financing of housing for Africans in municipal areas
The Minister of Community Development stated in the Assembly on 18 April that, in the 1972-3 financial year, the National Housing Fund would (via the Bantu Housing Board) make R5 950 000 available in loans for African housing schemes in urban areas. Some of the sums which it was envisaged would be spent were:
R
Witwatersrand ... 2 619 453 Vaal Triangle ... 446 069 Pretoria ...... 36 597
Durban ...... 69635
Port Elizabeth ... 268 905 Cape Town ...... 127 728
On 6 March the Minister said that lower amounts were made available in 1972-3 and 1971-2 than in 1970-1, because in the earlier years local authorities had not used the full sums that had been voted.
A municipal representative at the Council meeting of the Institute of Race Relations said that one of the reasons for this was that loans were refused if the tenders for housing schemes, were higher than the austere limit imposed by the National Housing Board.
Contributions by local authorities to services provided by the Government
In urban African townships, licences to sell liquor have been granted almost exclusively to the local authorities. In terms of the Liquor Amendment Acts of 1961 and 1962, 20 per cent of the profits must be spent on social, social welfare, or recreational services for Africans in the town concerned. The remaining 80 per cent must be paid to the Government Department of Bantu Administration and Development for use in the general interests of Africans.
Questioned in the Assembly on 14 March, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that in recent years his department had received the following amounts from this source:
R
1966-7 ...... 1 360 140 1967-8 ...... 1 005 262 1968-9 ...... 1 098 436 1969-70
......... 1 400 108 1970-1 ...... 2286590

AFRICAN HOUSING SCHEMES
Bantu Administration and Development said that in recent years his department had received the following amounts from this source:
R
144
In terms of the Bantu Beer Act of 1962 as amended, Bantu beer that is sold in urban areas must be purchased from the local authority. Profits must be spent by the local authorities on services officially considered to be in the interests of Africans, whether in the urban areas concerned or elsewhere.

The Minister said that in recent years his department had received the following donations from local authorities from surpluses in their Bantu beer accounts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1966-7</td>
<td>630484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967-8</td>
<td>907587</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-9</td>
<td>1569872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-1</td>
<td>117578</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No money had been received from the general municipal Bantu Revenue Accounts, the Minister continued. None of the money received had been spent on housing in the homelands. The following sums, from sales of liquor, had been spent on the subsidization of bus services to and from urban areas:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1966-7</td>
<td>102000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967-8</td>
<td>90374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-9</td>
<td>344012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-1</td>
<td>904500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In more recent years, however, some local authorities have, at the Department's request, made donations from their Bantu beer accounts specifically for the development of towns in the homelands. It was reported in March that the Boksburg Town Council had given R250 000 towards the development of LebowaKgomo. A member of the management committee said that as Boksburg's migrant labour was drawn mainly from Lebowa, it was the council's moral duty to help provide accommodation for the families of these men.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1,972

was the council's moral duty to help provide accommodation for the families of these men.

According to information received by the Institute of Race Relations, Lichtenburg, Potchefstroom, and twelve other towns in the Western Transvaal are contributing to the development of the homeland township of Itsoseng, where the families of most of their workers will live. For similar reasons, Nelspruit is helping to develop Nyamsaan, Vryheid to develop Mondhlo, Ladysmith to develop Ezakhene, and Pretoria to develop Mabopane. Several of the Reef towns, for example Johannesburg, Germiston, Benoni, Springs, and Roodepoort, have made donations for homeland development, in some cases earmarked for projects to assist families of migrant workers in their areas.

Notes on African housing in Johannesburg

It was reported in April that the Johannesburg municipality had completed 2 625 dwellings in Pimville to replace the former slums, and that a loan of R212 487 had been approved for the provision of a further 330 houses, which would accommodate the rest of the slum-dwellers and some of those on the waiting list. A few further schemes are planned for Soweto; but these are very far from meeting the demand. The chairman of the city's management committee, Mr. J. F. Oberholzer, M.P.C., estimated in June that there were 13 000 families
awaiting housing, and that an additional 2,500 dwellings were needed annually to cater for the natural increase in the population.

As mentioned in previous years, the Government plans to demolish all the family housing at Alexandra Township (administered by the Transvaal Board for the Development of Peri-Urban Areas), and instead to build seven hostels for men and five for women, each to house at least 2,500 people. Male heads of families who have lived in the township since 1957 and are in legal employment are eligible for family housing, provided at Tembisa to the south or at Meadowlands or Diepkloof, adjoining Soweto. As they are moved, their houses at Alexandra Township are demolished. But other married couples are officially regarded as being single men and women, who will be required to live in the hostels. Their children will have to stay with relatives, probably in homelands.

Two hostels, for men and women respectively, have been completed and were opened on 1 August. Each has about 2,600 beds. For the women, there are 40 single rooms, 18 double ones, while all the rest have four beds. In the men's hostel, 60 per cent of the rooms cater for four men, 20 per cent for six in each, and the remaining 20 per cent for eight each. There are almost no privacy, and incompatible people are likely to have to share accommodation.

The rooms have beds with mattresses and lockers; but residents have to provide any other furniture, and curtains, mirrors, etc. (there are fittings for hanging these). No heating is at present available, although this may be provided before the winter of 1973, and there are no plugs in the rooms. In the women's hostel there is one washbasin per 9 residents, one toilet per 14; one small bath per 20, and one shower per 35. (The men's hostel does not have baths.) About four residents share one small gas ring on which to cook their food. At the end of each passage is a steel "roller shutter", controlled by a switch in the supervisor's office. There is a charge-office and cell in the men's block.

The rents are almost double those in the older municipal hostels in Soweto. Women in four-bedded rooms pay R5,70 a month, and men, R6. A man in a six-bedded room pays R5,70, and one in an eight-bedded room, R5,40.

A (White) Citizens' Hostels Action Committee was formed in April to protest about conditions in the hostels. Until then the only place envisaged for receiving visitors had been a beerhall, seating only 300. It was subsequently announced that a large beer garden would be provided as well. Some bedrooms in the women's hostel would be converted into eleven sitting rooms, two library rooms and a reading room, two house committee rooms, a church consulting room, a doctors' consulting room, and offices for a social worker and for inspectresses. A range of recreational facilities is planned.

The original arrangement was that Johannesburg workers would occupy 20 per cent of the beds, Sandton 40 per cent, Randburg 33 per cent, and men and women from peri-urban areas the remainder. But it became clear that Randburg and Sandton would by no means meet these quotas so far as the women's hostel, in
particular, was concerned. The Johannesburg Municipality urged that it be permitted to fill its quota in this hostel with volunteers only: the Department of Bantu Administration and Development would not agree to this arrangement, however. Then the City Council offered, again without avail, to pay for unoccupied beds in the women's hostel if the "volunteers only" arrangement were accepted (only about 150 beds there were then occupied).

Finally, in August, the Government department ruled that its 1966 "locations in the sky" policy was to be applied in Johannesburg north of the Houghton Ridge as from 1 October. (According to this 1966 formula, the only Africans who may stay overnight in blocks of flats in White areas are one boiler attendant, one watchman, one servant per five flats, and, in compassionate cases, one extra servant per ten flats.) The municipality estimated that this would involve the removal of some 2484 African women and 200 men who were living in 156 blocks of flats in excess of the Government's formula. The people concerned, selected by flat owners and superintendents, would be offered accommodation at the Alexandra hostels, the municipality decided, but not forced to go there if they could make other arrangements.

Seriously concerned about conditions in the hostels and the likely social problems of homosexuality, prostitution, and illegitimacy among men and women living in an enforced "single" state, the Citizens' Hostels Action Committee collected a reported 40000 signatures in support of a petition to the Government urging that:
(a) the policy of building hostels where men and women were compelled to live in single quarters be discontinued;
(b) the existing hostels at Alexandra Township be filled on a voluntary basis only;
(c) the funds allocated for further such hostels at Alexandra be used, instead, for providing urgently-needed additional family housing in Johannesburg.

On 15 March, the Minister of Transport described improvements that had been made and were proposed for the train service between Soweto and Johannesburg (used by more than a quarter of a million people daily), but at peak hours the trains are still seriously overcrowded. Despite objections by the Railways, the National Transport Commission decided in March to allow Putco to double its fleet of 30 buses on this route.

Pretoria

The building of further family accommodation for Africans in Pretoria has been frozen for some years. To make way for others, people of Tswana origin have been moved out of the municipal townships to new towns in their homeland nearby. Some have gone to Ga-Rankuwa, which also houses employees in the Rosslyn border industrial area. Others are being resettled in Mabopane, some 40 km from the city by road. The rate of building there has, however, dropped
drastically since devaluation and the curbs on inflation (from about twelve houses to one a day). Some 12,000 houses are needed.

Hostels are to be built at Mabopane. It was recently announced that large hostels are to be erected, too, in the municipal townships of Mamelodi and Atteridgeville, for "single" workers of non-Tswana origin.

The Minister of Transport said in the Assembly that the 11 Hansard col. 3298, 3464-5.
12 Star, 21 March.
13 Rand Daily Mail, 6 September.
14 Ibid, 10 October.
15 Hansard col. 384.

AFRICAN HOUSING SCHEMES

carrying capacity of the railway line to Ga-Rankuwa is being considerably extended. Mr. D. J. Marais (United Party) pointed out, however, that transport arrangements for some 50,000 people commuting between Mabopane and Pretoria were highly inadequate. There was no train service. The Africans were travelling in 300 buses which made about 700 trips daily along a narrow road, not built to carry this type of traffic. The Minister replied that rail facilities were planned, but construction work had been postponed because of a lack of capital funds.

Cape Peninsula

Replying to a question in the Assembly, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that, at the end of 1971, the numbers of Africans accommodated in the Cape Peninsula were:

Divisional Council

Municipal townships township of Langa Guguletu Nyanga
Men 16 years and over ... 25225 13680 9383
Women 16 years and over ... 2325 11516 1570
Children ..............3708 23252 6625

Of the men, number accommodated in bachelor quarters ........... 23486 3208 7903

The Cape Western Regional Secretary of the Institute of Race Relations states that, of the contract workers in the municipal area, about 3,000 are accommodated in barracks somewhat similar to compounds on the Rand, approximately 1,300 in blocks of flats at two per room, 16,000 in four-roomed houses with four workers per room, and the remainder, some 4,000, in dormitories erected by private firms on municipal land. These dormitories vary greatly in size, some accommodating six men and some as many as sixty or more. The men living there are employees of the firms concerned, who lose their accommodation at the expiry of their contracts of employment.

In the Divisional Council area, besides those in Nyanga there are 1,295 men in private compounds and about 5,000 in licenced premises - i.e. compounds on farms and in other areas.
Neither local authority was able to indicate the shortage of housing, because it was impossible to know the number of Africans illegally in the Peninsula or to forecast the effects of influx control. The only building scheme contemplated was for 560 further dwellings at Guguletu.

16 Hansard 7 cols. 3329-31.
17 Col. 3298.
18 25 May, Hansard 16 col. 1071.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage area
According to the Port Elizabeth municipality, towards the end of 1971 there was a shortage of about 10,600 family dwellings, including existing schemes to be replanned. Large numbers were living in shacks. But about 5,500 semi-detached dwellings and hostel beds for some 13,000 men were planned for Zwide in the Veeplaats area.
The Government intends that all the Africans in the Uitenhage township should be moved to a new one, a little further out of town.

East London
The Institute’s Regional Secretary in the Border area reports that about 7,500 families still have to be moved from the old municipal township of Duncan Village to the homeland town of Mdantsane: the building at this town was slowed down, as a result of the cut-back on State capital expenditure, from about 40 to some 19 a week.
There are officially some 13,000 families at Mdantsane (unofficially, probably considerably more). A large proportion of the new houses is earmarked for families endorsed out of the Western Cape, and for teachers, police, and public servants posted from elsewhere. About 600 local young men who have married or wish to do so are without homes of their own. There is accommodation for 168 single men only. Serious overcrowding exists.
Transport services between Mdantsane and East London are highly unsatisfactory: the Minister of Transport described them on 15 March 19 as being in a "precarious state." The railway line runs along one perimeter of Mdantsane only. Most of those who work in the city commute by means of a fleet of buses operated by the Border Passenger Transport Company, but existing road links are not capable of coping with this traffic. It has been suggested2 that the rail services should be considerably augmented, the buses operating as feeder services at both ends of the route. However, the Minister stated that he could not put additional trains on that line, nor were the Railways in a position to build a loop line through Mdantsane.

Grahamstown
There is acute congestion in the municipal African townships of Grahamstown, with thousands of people living in unauthorized shacks in and around the city. During 1971 the City Council was given authority to build 100 more family dwellings at Makanaskop; but this will do little to relieve the congestion.

9 Assembly Hansard 7 col. 3409. 20 e.g. Daily Dispatch report, 18 March.
AFRICAN HOUSING SCHEMES
As mentioned in last year's Survey, the Government's plan is that Africans from the freehold Fingo Village (allocated to Coloured people in a group areas proclamation) should be moved about 33 km to the east, to a place called Committee's Drift. Africans from the municipal townships may be resettled there, too. The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration was questioned about this in the Assembly on 18 April. It was clear, from his replies that this resettlement will not be accomplished for some years.

Durban
It was estimated in 1969 that there were some 150000 squatters and shanty dwellers in the Port Natal area: the number has certainly grown since then. Towards the end of 1971 the Durban City Council calculated that the requirements for the Durban metropolitan area (which includes 23 local authority areas) were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Houses</th>
<th>Men's hostel beds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Required immediately</td>
<td>5900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Required by 1980</td>
<td>7900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Required by 1990</td>
<td>10500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Council is continuing to develop the new township of Ntuzuma, adjoining Kwa Mashu but just within the borders of a homeland. On 2 May, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development announced that an emergency camp for homeless Africans was to be established in the Pinetown area: once this had been done, squatting would be prohibited on land in the vicinity. Hostels to accommodate between 10000 and 12000 "single" Africans were to be built at Clermont, nearby, together, possibly, with some 8 000 houses. Further dwellings would be provided at Kwa Ngendezi (Dassenhoek), in this same area, and at Salem.

Disturbances took place in the Mpumalanga Township, adjoining Hammarsdale, during January, when the Africanowned Sizabantu Bus Company raised the fares between there and Pinetown, where many of the Township residents work. Buses were stoned, and the service was boycotted for a few days.

21 Hansard 11 cols. 842-3. 22 Assembly, Hansard 13 cols. 941-3; also Hansard 14 cols. 6865, 6917.

URBAN ADMINISTRATION
BANTU AFFAIRS ADMINISTRATION BOARDS
A description was given on pages 132 et seq of last year's Survey of the Bantu Affairs Administration Act, No. 45 of 1971. It was mentioned that a special committee of the Bantu Affairs Commission, under the chairmanship of Mr. P. Z. J. van Vuuren, M.P., had been appointed to investigate and submit recommendations in connection with the establishment of Bantu Affairs Administration Boards in certain areas. This committee toured the Republic, hearing representations from local authorities and others affected.

In Government Notice R1718 of 29 September and a Ministerial Press Release issued on 11 September the establishment of the first four Administration Boards,
and their membership, was announced. These Boards were constituted, respectively, for the Vaal Triangle, the Western Transvaal, the Central Free State, and the Northern Free State. Each had an appointed chairman, and members consisting of a Bantu Affairs Commissioner, one representative each of the State, of commerce and industry, and of agriculture, together with a representative of each local authority in the area; these local authorities numbered 6 in the Vaal Triangle, 19 in the Central Free State, and 26 in each of the other two areas. The Boards were to take over the responsibility for Bantu administration in the local authority areas and in the district areas outside the towns.

Regulations governing Bantu Affairs Administration Areas and Boards were gazetted as Government Notice R1794 of 6 October. They contained detailed provisions relating to the conduct of meetings, finances, the handling of tenders, care of stores, and auditing of accounts.

CONTRIBUTIONS IN RESPECT OF BANTU LABOUR ACT,
No. 29 OF 1972

Previous provisions so far as employers were concerned
Employers of Africans in prescribed (mainly urban) areas were in the past required to, pay various fees.
(a) In terms of the Bantu Services Levy Act of 1952, employers of adult male Africans (other than domestic servants) who did

(b) Under Section 24 of the Bantu Labour Act and labour bureaux regulations all employers of African men and women (including domestic servants) paid an initial labour bureau fee of 25 cents. They also paid 20 cents a month registration fee.

The maximum total payable would work out at R1,07 a month, plus 25 cents for each new employee engaged.

New Bill
A Draft Bantu Labour (Contributions) Bill was published in January. The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development then held discussions with representatives of organized commerce and industry, local authorities, and others. Thereafter, and following debate in the Assembly, the title of the Bill was altered, and certain changes were made, as indicated below.

Provisions of the Act relating to employers
In the original draft, the Bill provided that the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development might define any area outside the Bantu homelands, and declare that from a specified date the fees described would fall away. Instead, employers would have to pay a monthly contribution not exceeding R2,50 in respect of each African employee. Notices issued by the Minister might vary for different areas, categories of employers, amounts of the contributions payable, and dates as from which contributions must be paid.

The Deputy Minister made it clear that the full R2,50 would not be charged at once. However, he agreed1 to amend the Bill to provide that if a contribution
required at any time equalled or exceeded the amount of R1,50, it would not be increased by more than 20 per cent unless at least one year's notice of the proposed increase was given in the Gazette. This amendment was made in terms of Section 27 of the General Law Amendment Act, No. 102 of 1972. The Deputy Minister said2 that, in respect of domestic servants, employers would not be required to pay much more than they already did (i.e. an amount equivalent to the existing services levy fee would not be added). The same would apply to bona fide farmers—other, possibly, than company farmers or those conducting extensive farming operations. It would not necessarily apply to industrial or commercial concerns employing African women. He proposed asking local authorities or Bantu Administration I Assembly, 9 February, Hansard 2 col. 648. 2 Cols. 650-1.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
Boards what their financial requirements were, and the amounts that they considered should be charged in levies in their areas. Organized industry and commerce would be consulted.
Africans who are self-employed
Previously, Africans who had permission to work on their own account in urban areas paid a registration fee of 20 cents a month to the municipality concerned. (Exemptions might be granted to professional persons and certain others.) In terms of the new Act, self-employed Africans outside the homelands may be required to pay contributions up to a maximum of R1 a month. Again, the Minister's decisions may vary in respect of different areas, categories of employment, and amounts payable.
Utilization of contributions
If an African who pays a contribution, or on behalf of whom it is paid, works in the area of a Bantu Affairs Administration Board, the contribution is to be payable to this Board. Similarly, if he or she works in the area of an urban local authority, the contribution is payable to this local authority. It must be paid into the Bantu Revenue Account.
Besides being used for services rendered by urban local authorities in their urban Bantu townships, or for the benefit or the welfare of residents of these townships, money from urban Bantu Revenue Accounts may, in terms of the Act, be used for any service which may be certified by the Minister as being in the interests of Bantu, irrespective of whether or not it relates to a matter in the area of the urban local authority concerned.
The United Party and others objected to the power that the Minister would be given, after consultation with those affected, to direct one local authority to pay money collected in the levy to another local authority. The Deputy Minister said' that the object had been to assist the older small towns that found it difficult to collect adequate sums to provide necessary amenities in their African townships. However, in view of the opposition, he would amend the clause to provide that the Minister could order funds to be thus transferred only in respect of services
rendered by one local authority on behalf of Africans employed in the area of another local authority.

Another objection, by the Parliamentary Opposition and others, including the Institute of Race Relations, was that the Minister would be empowered to divert contributions paid by urban employers to promote the development of the homelands. The Deputy Minister replied that the funds collected were intended for use in the "White" areas. But, over the past couple of years, increasing numbers of local authorities had themselves decided to make donations from surpluses in their Bantu beer profits accounts to help develop the homelands where the families of many of their workers lived. Several million rand had been made available in this way during the past year. The Bill would legalize this position.

One of the main objects of the proposed amendment, the Deputy Minister continued, was that a surplus of more than R26-million had accumulated in the Services Levy Fund between R5-million and R6-million in respect of Johannesburg alone. The reason was that, in terms of existing legislation, this money could be used only for the provision of basic services, such as main roads and water and electricity mains. The money, and the interest on it, could not even be used for the maintenance of these services. But in many Bantu residential areas there was no longer need for such basic services. In terms of the new Act the existing Services Levy Fund would be closed and more flexible use could be made of the money collected, but still primarily in the interest of the sound administration of Bantu affairs in the White areas. The money already collected, however, would still be spent only in the area where it had been raised, unless the Bantu Services Levy Act was amended or abolished.

The new Act provided that contributions paid by or on behalf of Africans outside prescribed areas were to be payable to the local Bantu Affairs Commissioner. They would then be transferred to the Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development, and might be used by him for any service which the Minister certified was in the interests of Africans. The Deputy Minister commented that these amounts would be very small and would disappear with the establishment of Bantu Administration Boards.

General provisions of the Act

The Minister was given wide powers to make regulations under the Act. Inspectors may be appointed in urban areas to ensure that the terms of the Act and of regulations are carried out. Penalties for contraventions are a maximum of R200 or six months or both. In addition, employers who have failed to pay sums due may be required to pay these amounts plus an additional amount not exceeding ten per cent thereof.

Amount likely to be collected, and main use thereof
In reply to questions, the Deputy Minister said' it was difficult
6 Cols. 641, 987-93.
7 Hansard 2 col. 484.
8 Cols. 652, 995.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
to estimate what the total sum collected would be. If the levy were raised
sufficiently to compensate for the approximately R6-million that some local
authorities were at present contributing from their general revenue accounts, the
total might be in the region of R23-million a year.
He stated' that his Department and he could not conceive a situation ever being
reached where services in respect of Bantu employees would become superfluous.
Such services included good water supplies, sanitation services, electricity, roads,
bus services, clinics, health services, recreational facilities, creches, community
centres, libraries, and the maintenance of these services. Other necessary
expenditure included the costs of office accommodation, the running of labour
bureaux and aid centres, the subsidization of rentals in deserving cases, and the
needs of employees resident in the homelands but working in the industrial
centres of South Africa.
Attitudes to the Bill
On behalf of the United Party,'° Mr. T. Gray Hughes said that his party naturally
agreed that the human needs of urban Africans should be met. It agreed, too, to
the consolidation of the three fees previously payable. But it would vote against
the Second Reading of the Bill because it objected to the arbitrary powers being
given to the Minister to determine the rates of the levy. This amounted to taxation,
which was a matter that Parliament should control.
Mrs. Helen Suzman (Progressive Party) opposed the Bill, too," her main reasons
being that it would be inflationary, and that levies should be spent in the areas
where they were collected. If proper services were to be provided in African
townships, there should be no surpluses to be diverted to the homelands or
anywhere else.
Similar points were made by the Institute of Race Relations in its memorandum
on the Bill (RR. 5/1972).
BANTU TRANSPORT SERVICES AMENDMENT ACT,
No. 11 OF 1972
The principal Act, of 1957, transferred from the (then) Native Affairs Department
to the Department of Transport a portion of the services levy which might be used
for subsidizing road -transport services (up to five cents per employee per six
days that an employee has actually worked), and provided that the compulsory
contribution from employers who do not provide free accommodation might be
increased to a maximum of ten cents a week.
The money is collected by local authorities and paid, via the Treasury, into a
central Bantu Transport Services Account. It is
URBAN ADMINISTRATION
used for subsidizing road transport services to, from, or within the towns where
the funds have been levied.
The Amendment Act of 1972 (which came into operation on 1 May) provided that
employers within the larger urban areas who do not provide approved, free
accommodation will, in future, have to pay contributions in respect of women as
well as male African employees. (Contributions are not payable in respect of
domestic servants.)
As before, the usual minimum rate is five cents per six days that the employee has
actually worked, but the Minister of Transport, after consultation with the
National Transport Commission, may fix a lower or higher rate. The previous
maximum of ten cents was raised to twenty cents per worker.
According to the Report of the Department of Transport for 1970-1,12 during that
year the levy was in force in 23 towns, the rates varying from 21 cents to 10 cents.
An amount of R2 515 813 was paid out in subsidies to eight local authorities and
six private bus companies, including the Public Utility Transport Corporation
(Putco), which operated services in various Reef towns, Pretoria, Meyerton,
Durban, and Pinetown.
The Deputy Minister of Transport, who introduced the Bill, said3 that since the
principal Act was passed in 1957, the levy paid by employers had yielded R22-
million. But in several areas the amounts collected had been insufficient to meet
the subsidy requirements for bus services, and the State had met the balance,
amounting over the years concerned to R3 814 376. Examples of the areas
involved were Boksburg-Vosloorus, East London-Mdantsane, and Vanderbijlpark
and Vereeniging. Costs would continue to rise. Many working women used the
bus services, yet their employers had contributed nothing on their behalf. Besides
contributing to the subsidies on bus services, the State had paid R96-million since
1957 on subsidizing train services for Black commuters to and from the towns.
Mr. S. J. Marais Steyn (United Party) maintained14 that as it was State policy that
Black people should live in segregated areas some distance from
places of
employment, the State ought to pay the subsidies in full. The levy amounted to a
sectional tax, and was unfair to employers who did pay living wages. However,
these were matters affecting the principal Act, which was not under debate. The
United Party would, therefore, oppose the Bill on the ground that it extended the
levy to African women.
Mrs. Helen Suzman expressed her opposition, too.5 The measure was
inflationary, she said: employers would pass on increased costs to consumers.
Until such time as the State set
Is Assembly, 23 and 24 February, Hansard 4 cols. 1767-9, Hansard 5 cols. 2028-
39, 14 Cols. 1772-6, 1839-42.
15 Cols. 2018-23.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
statutory minimum wages for Africans at an adequate level, the costs of subsidizing bus fares should be met from the Consolidated Revenue Fund.

TRANSPORT SERVICES FOR COLOURED PERSONS AND INDIANS ACT, No. 27 OF 1972.

This Act applies in "declared" areas, i.e. areas decided upon by the Minister of Transport in consultation with the National Transport Commission. Its provisions may be applied in respect of either adult Coloured employees (of the age of 18 years or over), or Indian employees, or both, with the exception of domestic servants employed by private householders.

Employers within declared areas must pay contributions determined according to the number of calendar weeks during which the employee worked during the preceding month, and calculated at such rates as the Minister, after consultation with the Commission, may decide in respect of the area and class of employment concerned. The rate may not exceed 20 cents per week. If an employee works for three days or more during a week, he will be deemed to have worked for the full week.

The contributions may not be deducted from wages. They must be paid to the Secretary for Transport, who will establish a Coloured Transport Account and an Indian Transport Account. These accounts will be administered by the National Transport Commission subject to the Minister's approval, and used to subsidize such transport services (other than rail services) as may be approved. Conditions may be imposed. Money collected in any area must be used for transport services serving that area.

Mr. M. V. Raw (United Party)1" and Mrs. Helen Suzman17 opposed the Bill for the same reasons that they had opposed the one dealing with the subsidization of bus services for Africans.

In terms of Government Notice R1379 of 11 August, this Act was brought into effect in the magisterial districts of the Cape, Bellville, Wynberg, Simonstown, and Stellenbosch, from 14 August, in respect of Coloured persons employed there in work other than bona fide farming operations. The rate was fixed at 20 cents per employee per week.

RAILWAY PASSENGER SERVICES TO AND FROM AFRICAN, COLOURED AND INDIAN TOWNSHIPS

According to the official Estimates of Expenditure for 1972-3, the Department of Transport will, that year, show a loss of R 16 300 000 on operating railway passenger services to and from African, Coloured, and Indian townships, incurred through the subsidization of fares.

URBAN ADMINISTRATION

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN COLOURED, INDIAN, AND AFRICAN TOWNSHIPS

Coloured townships
In reply to a question in the Assembly on 22 February, the Minister of Community Development said that there were then 23 Coloured management committees and 61 consultative committees. (These committees are described on page 173 of the 1965 Survey.) The only management committees with elected as well as nominated members were in Bellville, Graaff-Reinet, Johannesburg, Kimberley, Mossel Bay, Paarl, Port Elizabeth, and Worcester. A similar development is to take place in East London.

The Group Areas Amendment Act, No. 83 of 1972, provided, inter alia, that the Ministers of Coloured Affairs and of Indian Affairs, respectively, instead of the Minister of Community Development, would be responsible for the establishing and functioning of local government bodies in Coloured and Indian group areas.

For the first time in very many years, Coloured men in the Cape Province had no vote in the municipal elections held there in 1972. It is of interest, however, that Coloured ratepayers' and other associations played a considerable indirect role in the municipal elections in certain parts of Cape Town. Many of the White voters are stated to have been influenced by the expressed preferences of such Coloured bodies. Some of the (White) City Councillors, particularly the newer ones, have stated publicly that they intend consulting Coloured citizens through these associations.

There are three Coloured management committees in Cape Town, but it is said that they do not enjoy much popular support. The committees complain that their powers are, in effect, only advisory.

Power to nominate members of consultative and management committees is to be transferred from the Government to the executive of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council.

Indian townships

Asked about Indian local government bodies, the Minister of Community Development indicated that there was one Indian town board (Verulam), sixteen local affairs committees in Natal of which ten had elected as well as nominated members and one (Isipingo) was fully elected, nine consultative committees in the Transvaal, and one consultative committee in the Cape.

Since the Minister gave this information, the status of the Isipingo committee has been raised to that of a town board,22 and the nominated Lenasia consultative committee is to become a fully-elected management committee.3 Another management committee has been established in Port Elizabeth.24

African townships

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said in the Assembly on 1 February that Urban Bantu Councils had been constituted for the following areas: Transvaal: Alberton, Benoni, Boksburg, Carletonville, Ermelo,
The functions of Urban Bantu Councils as compared with those of representatives of Legislative Assemblies in urban areas were described on page 151 of last year's Survey.

The Chief Minister of the Transkei said during the 1972 Session of the territory's Legislative Assembly that his Government had representatives in Germiston, Bloemfontein, Durban, and Cape Town, and had appointed assistant urban representatives for the Free State, Natal, and Cape.

According to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, the Ciskei and BophuthaTswana each have one representative for urban areas with an assistant. The Lebowa, Gazankulu, and Venda Governments each have one representative for all urban areas in the Republic. According to a Departmental directive, these representatives are to set up Urban Representative Boards.

Chief Lawrence Mini of Edendale township on the outskirts of Pietermaritzburg has established a Local Council, outside the Government machinery, with committees to deal with the various matters affecting the people's lives.

THE PASS LAWS

PROSECUTIONS

According to the latest report of the Commissioner of the South African Police, for July 1970 to June 1971, 615,075 people were sent for trial for offences under what are commonly known as the "pass laws". These constituted 24.3 per cent of all cases sent for trial, an average of 1,685 prosecutions per day. These figures represent a slight improvement: in the previous year 1,764 people were prosecuted daily.

In addition, 178,085 people were prosecuted for trespassing: the great majority of these are likely to have been Africans arrested in "White" residential areas outside curfew hours.

105,576 people were prosecuted for infringements of the Bantu tax laws.

WIVES

In February, the then Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Dr. P. J. Koornhof, announced that an African who qualified for permanent urban residence under Section 10 of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act would be allowed to bring his wife from the rural areas to live with him-provided housing was obtainable.3 This apparent concession was greeted with reserve because of the critical shortage of housing." In June, the Johannesburg Non-
European Affairs Department reported that it had made only fifty applications to the Government for such wives to be allowed to move to the city, but that no replies had been received. At the time of going to press, replies were still being awaited. The Black Sash reported that there were 13,600 families on the waiting list for housing in Soweto, and that the shortage was growing. Dr. Koornhof's announcement did not seem to have made "one iota" of difference. The Black Sash's office in Cape Town also reported that Dr. Koornhof's concession was "meagre", the housing shortage having kept the numbers of wives moving in to live with their husbands "near zero".

The Transkei Legislative Assembly resolved in April that the Transkei authorities should negotiate with the Government in Pretoria "with a view to allowing the wives and dependants to visit".

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
at all times and without inhibition their husbands and relatives" employed in the municipal areas in the Republic.'

BIRTH CERTIFICATES
In October 1971, the Department of Bantu Education decreed that African children must produce birth certificates before they could be admitted to schools. The instruction was implemented from January 1972. Birth certificates are also needed for children's names to be included on house permits. It was reported that many a woman who was illegally in the urban areas found that the birth of a child faced her with an "agonising decision". If she failed to register the birth her illegal presence would probably remain undetected but when the child turned 16 he would be endorsed out of the area. If, on the other hand, she registered the birth, she would jeopardize her own position in the area and could expect a police raid. A further problem is that children over 16 applying for birth certificates are told to produce reference books, but when they apply for these they are told to produce birth certificates.

"SECTION 10" THREATS
In May, and again in September, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M. C. Botha, threatened to withdraw Section 10 privileges if "certain people" persisted in telling Africans that Section 10 gave them permanent rights to urban residence.3 The Johannesburg City Council replied to Mr. Botha that there was probably no more
"coveted and sought-after right anywhere in the world, including the vote, than the right to qualify to be in an urban area, especially Johannesburg." Withdrawing this right would create "turmoil".16

AID CENTRES

The establishment of aid centres and the relevant legislation were discussed in last year's Survey.17 This legislation was amended in 1972 by the Second Bantu Laws Amendment Act,8 which provided that Africans would be "referred" and not "admitted" to aid centres. Centres would no longer be run in conjunction with labour bureaux. The powers of the Bantu Affairs Commissioner or the officer managing an aid centre were retained, enabling them to make representations that no criminal proceedings be instituted against Africans referred to the centre, and to make orders for the placing in employment of, the issuing of the requisite documents or for the granting of the requisite permission to, or for the repatriation to their "home or last place of residence or any other place", of such Africans and their dependants.

In the second reading debate on this Bill, the then Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Dr. P. J. Koornhof, emphasized that the object of the aid centres was to diminish the number of technical offenders in jail. The influx control (i.e. pass) laws would remain unchanged. The purpose of the centres was to help people secure suspended sentences and the withdrawal of cases. They sought to reduce as drastically as possible the number of Africans appearing in court and the number going to prison for technical offences. Under no circumstances could the acquittal of influx control offenders be permitted or pleaded, for then the centres would become channels through which people could flock from the homelands to the White areas.9

At the beginning of 1972, nine aid centres were in operation and seven in the process of being built.10 In the first nine months of the year, 100 272 Africans were referred to the aid centres. Of these, 13 346 were warned by the courts and
released, and 14 857 cases were withdrawn. The remainder were tried in the Bantu Commissioners' Courts as in the past. The Johannesburg Aid Centre, which opened on 3 January, dealt only with African men from the Republic until the end of June. From 1 July all Africans, male and female, whether South African or not, arrested for technical offences were brought to the centre. Having been registered, such Africans are referred to the centre's officials for investigation. Some cases, which entail tracing and confirming previous residence and employment, may take a considerable time and involve detailed enquiry. While such investigations are proceeding, temporary documents are provided. The aid centre works with the assistance of radios to maintain immediate contact with township authorities, and with the Department of Bantu Administration's computerized record of reference books issued.

When the investigation has been completed, the official makes his recommendation to the court operating at the aid centre. This court, although part of the Bantu Affairs Commissioners' courts situated nearby, can be regarded as a court of first instance which serves primarily to procure the immediate release of all those Africans arrested for technical offences who, upon investigation, can provide or be provided with the requisite documents, being in fact entitled to such documents.

From 3 January to 30 June, 21 392 cases were dealt with by the Johannesburg Aid Centre, and some 38 000 by the end of October. The outcome of the 21 392 cases investigated during the first six months of 1972 was as follows:

Not guilty and discharged ............... 168
Struck off roll ...................... 21
Cautioned and discharged .......... 6268
Withdrawn ....................... 6795
Referred to Court ................. 8 140

(In the first three months, approximately 10 per cent of those referred to court were found not guilty and discharged.)

In addition there were 728 self-reportees who went to the aid centre for assistance between January and June.

If Africans are ordered to be repatriated, arrangements for their reception and accommodation elsewhere are made before they leave Johannesburg. If, as occurs in certain cases, derelict Africans, for instance, abandoned juveniles or homeless squatters evicted from temporary accommodation, are brought to the centre, they are accommodated at the transit camp at Meadowlands while the necessary investigations for their placement are made." Patrick Lawrence, discussing the Johannesburg Aid Centre, wrote that, "One of the potentially most hopeful aspects
of the prison scene is the officially sponsored aid centre system for the thousands of African men and women caught up each year in the vast web of influx laws".4 The Black Sash reported that the temporary permits were of "inestimable value".2 However, nothing had happened to change its view that "the aid centres can only make the legislation work more smoothly. They cannot make one iota of difference to the fact that fundamental human rights are denied by the pass laws".26 The Athlone Advice Office in Cape Town, run jointly by the Black Sash and the S.A. Institute of Race Relations, commented in respect of the Cape Town aid centre, which had been in existence for two years: "The establishment of an official aid centre might be expected to have rendered an independent Advice Office redundant, but this office feels needed as much as ever.27

THE ROLE OF EMPLOYERS

THE PASS LAWS
liberate malice of employers". In many cases, employers made no effort to register their employees in accordance with pass law requirements. Worse than this omission, however, were the troubles caused by deliberate actions on the part of employers, who threaten to "spoil" pass books, or refuse to allow employees to leave jobs, knowing that if the "F" card is not sent in, registration in new employment will be refused. There were also employers who "used the pass laws in order to exploit a worker". If a man hoping to qualify for permanent urban residence in terms of Section 10 (1)(b) of the Act after ten years' continuous employment with one employer leaves the employer in under ten years, he is endorsed out and forced to work on yearly contracts for the rest of his life. Men in this position have no bargaining power, and the Black Sash reported that some employers took advantage of the situation. "The whole structure of pass laws and influx control makes it impossible for normal economic factors to regulate employerworker relations.28

"NO RIGHTS TO BE ANYWHERE"
The Black Sash reported that some of the "saddest cases" with which it had to deal were people "displaced in their own country. For various reasons they have lost their rights to remain in the prescribed areas where they were born and have established no right to be anywhere else". Many people, having accepted that they would not be permitted to remain in any prescribed area, found that obtaining resettlement in a Reserve in accordance with Government policy could be extremely difficult. This applied particularly to, people with no "homeland ties". "They spend many months going from one office to another in one area after another living in permanent danger of arrest and able to earn nothing". Such people cannot obtain employment without having somewhere to register as
workseekers. Similarly, unless they have a lawful place of residence, they cannot obtain pension or welfare payments, birth certificates for children, or unemployment insurance payments.29

**NUSAS BOOKLET**
The National Union of South African Students published a booklet entitled You and Your Pass at the beginning of the year. Designed to, explain to Africans their rights in terms of influx control laws, 120 000 copies of the booklet were printed, in Xhosa and English, for distribution in major centres in South Africa.


166

**THE AFRICAN HOMELANDS**

**-NOTE ON NOMENCLATURE**

In this chapter, the word "homelands" is employed instead of "Reserves", as it has become common usage. Use of the term does not, however, imply that the writer considers the areas concerned to be the homes of Africans who have been living for many years, sometimes for generations, in the towns or on the farms of Whites. It is a current political term, and not one indicating the factual distribution of the population.

**THE EXTENT OF THE HOMELANDS**

Asked in the Assembly,1 during February, for information about the area of the homelands and the various categories of land that constitute them, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that his Department, in collaboration with the various deeds offices, was checking the extent of land held by the S.A. Bantu Trust and Africans in and outside the scheduled and released areas. Until this work had been completed, possibly by the end of the year, no exact statistics could be furnished. The Government might decide to amend the categories of land used in the past.

The past categories have been described in previous issues of this Survey. Briefly, they are as described below.

1. Scheduled areas are, basically, land in African occupation in 1913 which was "scheduled" in terms of the Natives Land Act of that year. There have been certain boundary changes, and all scheduled land in the Transkei was handed over to the government of that territory in 1966. Published statistics include in these areas land acquired by Africans prior to 1936 which was situated in areas likely to remain part of the future homelands. The most recent figure for the scheduled areas, as at the end of 1969, was 5 419 243 hectares in the Republic excluding the Transkei.

2. In the issue of Bantu for January, the area of land under the control of the Transkeian Government was given as 3 672 212 hectares. This was originally mostly scheduled land, but included farms that had been acquired by the S.A. Bantu Trust, together with certain land in towns and their commonages that had been demarcated for African ownership.

3. The Bantu Trust and Land Act of 1936 provided that a "quota"
of 7 250 000 morgen (6209 857 hectares) of land should I Hansard 3 and 5, cols. 234 and 383.

AFRICAN HOMELANDS
gradually be added to the scheduled areas. (The released areas are land actually demarcated in 1936 for African occupation, constituting the major portion of the quota.)
According to information given by the Prime Minister on 19 April, 2 890 111 hectares of quota land then remained to be acquired (i.e. 5 319 746 hectares must have been acquired since 1936 by the S.A. Bantu Trust or by Africans). N.B. A different figure was given by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development in the Assembly on 25 May. He said that just over 1 100 000 hectares of quota land still had to be purchased. The exact extent was, however, being checked with deeds registries.

4. Black spots are patches of land acquired by Africans prior to 1936 outside the scheduled or released areas, which are surrounded by White-owned farms. These are gradually being eliminated by the Government, as are "poorly situated" scheduled areas or portions thereof. Alternative land of equivalent agricultural or pastoral value must be offered to tribes who are moved, or to individual landowners who had 17 hectares or more.
The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and the Minister have indicated that, at the end of 1971, the areas still to be cleared were 63 255 hectares of black spot land plus 195 530 hectares of poorly situated scheduled areas.
(Since then, as indicated later, the position has changed with the publication of official plans for the partial consolidation of various homelands.)
In view of what has been said, it is at the time of writing impossible to state accurately what the area of the homelands is. Approximate figures would appear to be:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hectares</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scheduled areas (Republic excluding Transkei)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5419 243 Land controlled by the Transkeian Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 672 212 Quota land acquired by the Trust or by Africans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 319 746 Black spot land to be exchanged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63 255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>195 530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144 7456</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures are considerably lower than statistics given in the issue of Bantu for January (which, in turn, are less than official figures given during 1971 by the Department of Statistics). The information given in Bantu was:

2 Assembly Hansard 11, cols. 5277-8.
3 Hansard 16 col. 8115.
4 Assembly Hansard 7 of 1971, col. 3246, and 2 of 1972, col. 118.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
Homeland Blocks of land
Transkei ... ... ... ... 2
Ciskei .... ... ... ... ... ... 19
KwaZulu 29
Lebowa (N. Sotho) ............ 3
Venda ....... ... ... ... ... ... 3
Gazankulu (formerly Machangana) ... 4
BophuthaTswana (formerly Tswana) 19
Basotho Qwaqwa (formerly Basotho ba Borwa) ................. 1
Swazi .......... ... ... ... ... ... ... 2
Total area
Hectares Square miles*
3672212 14178
918547 3547
3144421 12141
2214086 8549
604355 2333
667 292 2 576
3754018 14494
45 742 211 807
15232480 58813

(Land held by the S.A. Bantu Trust which did not fall under one or other of the homeland governments was probably excluded from these statistics.)

POPULATION
Calculating from figures given in the issue of Bantu quoted above, the density of population per square mile in 1970 in the various homelands was as stated in the table below. The de jure population included all those who were officially considered to be citizens of the homeland concerned, including those settled in the towns and on farms of Whites, as well as temporarily absent migrant labourers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homeland</th>
<th>De facto population</th>
<th>De jure population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BophuthaTswana</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basotho Qwaqwa</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>7085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swazi</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>562</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the first column of this table shows, the AmaZulu areas were the most densely populated, and the Tswana areas least so. Many of the latter areas are, however, in arid parts of South Africa.

It is not known how many of the additional people who were considered to constitute the de jure population were temporarily absent migrants, and how many were living on a more permanent basis in towns or on the farms of Whites.
The average density of the de facto population in the homelands in 1970 was 119 per square mile. In the rest of the Republic
3 Calculated by the writer.

AFRICAN HOMELANDS
the average density of the White, Coloured, Asian, and African people was 35 per square mile.6 Much of this land, in the west, is arid: but it should be borne in mind that all the large cities and towns are in this area.
The homelands are not entirely ethnically homogeneous areas. A calculation by the writer from 1970 census figures shows that 6 343 938 of the Africans enumerated in these areas were living in homelands allocated to their own groups, while 653 241 were living in homelands allocated to other groups. If the Government should decide to make the areas homogenous, large numbers of Tswana, Pedi, North Ndebele, and Transkeian Xhosa people, in particular, would have to be moved. There is as yet no homeland for the South Ndebele group. (The Pedi and North Ndebele groups constitute the "Northern Sotho" peoples, who share the Lebowa homeland.)
OFFICIAL PLANS FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF HOMELANDS The Transkei
The situation so far as the Transkei is concerned is described on page 34.
The Ciskei
On 19 April the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development tabled in the Assembly plans drawn up by the Parliamentary Select Committee on Bantu Affairs for a partial consolidation of the Ciskei, involving the addition of 185 385 hectares of land (about 126 000 hectares of quota land and 58 000 hectares of compensatory land for the removal of some 14 black spots and an outlying portion of a scheduled area east of King William's Town). Further quota land would be added, later. In terms of the tabled plan, instead of consisting of 19 blocks of land, the Ciskei would be made up of four large and one small blocks.
The general pattern involved the removal of a number of small black spots to the east of the White corridor linking East London to the north, the widening of a corridor between King William's Town and East London, and the removal of a small Reserve near Queenstown.
The largest expansion of the African homelands would be in the Peddie area, where about 97 643 hectares would be added, to consolidate two blocks of mainly scheduled land. The Africans would gain a coastal strip about 32 km long, which at present includes a few small White coastal resorts. The resort of Hamburg and the town of Peddie, however, would remain White.
O Calculated by the writer. " Rand Daily Mail, 20 April.
169

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
Further additions to the homelands would be the Fort Hare area, land to the south of Glen Grey, to the east of a block in the Queenstown and Cathcart districts, to the north of King William's Town, in the Stutterheim district, and to the west of East London, in the Chalumna area.
The Minister said that this process might take anything from ten to fifteen years to carry out, if not longer. It was the first instalment of the consolidation of the Ciskei homeland. Explaining why the process would take so long, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development said in the Assembly on 25 May that numbers of White farms would have to be purchased, and, before this could be done, the improvements made by each farmer would have to be assessed. Besides being paid for these, the farmers would receive additional sums as compensation. Payment would have to be spread over a number of financial years. Each area purchased would have to be planned, and towns laid out for the Africans. It would not be economic to give each African a piece of agricultural land on which he could merely live. It would be necessary to select people who were likely to be successful farmers. Each of these would receive a properly planned farming unit: the sizes of these units would vary from place to place. The report of the Select Committee was debated in the Assembly during May. On behalf of the United Party, Mr. T. Gray Hughes said 9 that in deciding on whether or not to, accept the proposals, regard must be had to the effect on the South African economy as a whole. With a rapidly-growing population, was it in the interests of the economy - to put so much additional agricultural land in the hands of people who would use it unproductively? The future well-being of the Bantu people lay in industrial development coupled with efficient food production. It was possible, and indeed desirable, that the Bantu should be encouraged to accept more valuable land than that suggested, with industrial potential, for example tracts of land bordering on cities, which could support large numbers. In these areas, as well as on agricultural land, individual land ownership should develop. With these factors to be borne in mind, the United Party did not consider itself bound by the 1936 Act. Conditions had changed. Mrs. Helen Suzman (Progressive Party) did not agree. The cardinal issue at stake, she considered, 10 was the fulfilment of a solemn promise made in 1936. For this reason she would support the Government's motion. It would, however, be foolish to, imagine that by keeping this promise, the question of African rural poverty would be solved. She supported the claims of African leaders for

AFRICAN HOMELANDS

more land, besides that promised, if their areas were to be made viable. She agreed with the United Party that some of this additional land should be in urban areas near the industrial growth points. Industrialization and urbanization had solved the poor White problem, and could solve the poor Black problem too, she said. The Select Committee's broad plan was adopted by 95 votes to 41, Mrs. Suzman voting with the Government. In pursuance of this plan, new released areas in the Ciskei were demarcated in Proclamation R257 of 13 October.
KwaZulu
Draft plans for the consolidation of KwaZulu were released by the Department during June. The chairman of the Bantu Affairs Commission said that these constituted a basis for discussion and were by no means final. They would be discussed at public hearings held by the Commission in September. Subsequently, firmer plans would be submitted to Parliament.

According to a number of Press reports, the draft scheme involved the exchange of about 668,000 hectares of mainly White-owned land (including some areas owned by Indians, Coloured people, and the State) for 554,000 of African-owned land. The result would be to exceed the Government's quota obligations in Natal under the 1936 Act. The Natal Agricultural Union estimated that the proposed partial consolidation would cost at least R250-million, and would involve moving some 343,000 Africans,
8,400 Indians, 2,500 Coloured persons, and 6,157 Whites.

Were the plan adopted, the Zulu areas would be reduced from about 29 scattered blocks of land and some 41 black spots to five major blocks and one smaller one. Africans would be removed from widely dispersed pieces of land in the west of Natal, and along the coast, and also between the proposed consolidated blocks, leaving wide White corridors along most of the coast and inland from Lake St. Lucia, Richards Bay and Durban. The railway line inland from Richards Bay would, however, pass through African territory.

African lands would have direct access to the coast only in the extreme north, in a small block to the south of Richards Bay, and to the north of Umkomaas. All the ports would be in White hands: Africans would lose the Sordwana Bay area, and Chief Buthelezi's claim to Richards Bay would be disregarded.

The African areas would be:
1. a large block in the extreme north, bounded on three sides by Swaziland, Mozambique, and the sea. This would consist of two existing reserves (with their southern portions excised),
2. a block to the south of this, around Ulundi and Hlabisa, with existing outlying portions excised and land added in various places to fill gaps;
3. a small existing reserve to the south of Richards Bay, to form the African area serving the port;
4. a very large block inland and to the south of this, extending nearly as far as Newcastle, Dundee, and Ladysmith in the west, and approaching Pietermaritzburg and Durban in the south. This is already mainly African land; but White-owned land near to Dundee, near Babanango, and near Eshowe would be added;

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
and a large part of the Makatini Flats, between them (mainly State-owned at present). The area to be added would include about half of the potentially irrigable land below the Jozini Dam;
2. a block to the south of this, around Ulundi and Hlabisa, with existing outlying portions excised and land added in various places to fill gaps;
3. a small existing reserve to the south of Richards Bay, to form the African area serving the port;
4. a very large block inland and to the south of this, extending nearly as far as Newcastle, Dundee, and Ladysmith in the west, and approaching Pietermaritzburg and Durban in the south. This is already mainly African land; but White-owned land near to Dundee, near Babanango, and near Eshowe would be added;
5. a block stretching from the south of the corridor inland from Durban to the East Griqualand and Transkeian borders, with some existing portions, mainly on the seaward side, excised, and land added to consolidate the area;

6. a block from the south of Howick to the East Griqualand border, consolidated in a similar manner.

Some small towns such as Pomeroy, Helpmekaar, Nqutu, Harding, and Impendhle might be zoned for Africans, in terms of the draft plan. Whites would retain Eshowe, gain land to the north of the town, but lose its narrow corridor to the sea. African towns, including Umlazi, would fall under the KwaZulu Government. The Umfolozi game reserve and a corridor separating it from Hluhluwe would be incorporated into KwaZulu for any purpose the African government desired. African areas on the northern border of the Hluhluwe game reserve would become White to make way for possible extensions to this reserve. The future of the Ndumu game reserve in the extreme north was not expressly stated. Africans would lose some valuable canelands and other agricultural areas. It appears uncertain as yet whether the Makatini Flats, to be allocated to them, will be productive, even if irrigated.

At the Bantu Affairs Commission’s hearings, much opposition to the plan was expressed by Whites, especially farmers and the residents of Eshowe. Through a White attorney, the Indian Canegrowers’ Association opposed the scheme, for some of their members would lose valuable ground. There were conflicting reports as to whether or not Africans were entitled to submit written representations; but, as reported in a previous chapter, Chief Buthelezi and his Cabinet refrained from commenting, the Chief stating, "We find it unacceptable that we should not have been involved at all as Black people in the preparation of the draft." (Discussions were, however, held with the Minister subsequently.)

AFRICAN HOMELANDS

The KwaZulu authorities have apparently been fully consulted about the siting and lay-out of their proposed capital, which is to be at Ulundi, on the planned rail and freeway routes from Richards Bay to Vryheid. It is reported that building will be commenced in 1973.

Lebowa, Venda, Gazankulu, and South Ndebele Homelands

At the end of September, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development released draft plans, drawn up by a committee appointed by the Department, for the consolidation of the Lebowa Venda, and Gazankulu homelands, and for the creation of a homeland for the South Ndebele group. The Bantu Affairs Commission, he said, would hold public meetings in the areas concerned during November to enable interested parties to make representations, after which the Department would reconsider the plans and submit a revised draft to Parliament. The scheme, as decided upon by Parliament, would be final: no further changes were contemplated in the future.

In terms of the draft plan, 310 000 hectares; of White- and State-owned land would be distributed between the four groups mentioned. The number of separate
pieces of ground, including black spots, occupied by the groups would, through
the consolidation achieved, be reduced from a total of 27 to 9, some adjoining one
another. No White towns would be affected except, possibly, Roossenekal if one
of the alternative plans were adopted.

The Lebowa group would, according to the plan, lose 13 small reserves, black
spots, or outlying areas, but would gain considerable tracts of White-owned land,
rounding off the borders of the four large areas that would remain, i.e. one to the
west and north of Pietersburg (in which the educational centre of Seshego is
situated), one to the east of Soekmekaar and Duiwelskloof, a very large area to the
south and east of Pietersburg, and a smaller one south of Klaserie, in the Eastern
Transvaal. The new capital, to be called Lebowa-Kgoma, is being built in the
third and largest of these areas, at Chuniespoort, some 30 km to the south of
Pietersburg on the Middelburg road. The University College of the North is in the
same section of the homeland, directly east of Pietersburg.

The Venda homeland would be enlarged and reduced from three pieces of land to
one by incorporating new territory, including a protruding tongue of land at
present under the Gazankulu government. Vendaland would then stretch from the
Rhodesian border east of Messina to the border of the second of the Lebowa areas
mentioned above. Its capital is Makwarela, just outside Sibasa.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

The Gazankulu homeland would be reduced from five to three pieces of land, one
to the south of Vendaland (the capital, Giyani, is situated here), another between
Tzaneen and Gravelotte, and the third to the east of the Lebowa area in the
Eastern Transvaal. One of the areas that it is suggested should be added is a
stretch of rich farming land along the Letaba River, north-west of Phalaborwa.

For the first time, a homeland would be created for the South Ndebele people.
Two alternative areas are under consideration, to the east and west, respectively,
of Groblersdal, each on land at present allocated to Lebowa.

Other homelands

The Minister indicated that plans for the Tswana and Swazi groups (and possibly
BasothoQwaqwa) would be announced later. In his statement to the Assembly,1" the
Prime Minister said that 590 954 hectares of quota land were outstanding in
the Transvaal. If 310 000 hectares is to be allocated to the four groups mentioned
above, that presumably leaves 280 954 hectares to, be divided between the
Tswana and Swazi groups. The Tswana would also be entitled to a share of the
outstanding land in the Cape. Their capital is being built at Heystekrand, on a
railway line about 55 km north of Rustenburg.

The BasothoQwaqwa homeland is at Witzieshoek, 50 km south of Harrismith in
the Free State. As indicated in the table on page 168, it is much overcrowded, and
completely out of proportion to the de jure population. There is reported to be
much soil erosion and great poverty there. A high proportion of the residents are
landless. A town called Puthadithjaba is being developed to house the families of
migrants who commute daily to Harrismith or Bethlehem, or for longer periods to industrial centres further afield.

The table quoted shows that the Swazi areas, too, are very inadequate in size. A tentative plan for their consolidation was announced on 16 November. The Swazi would be moved from an area to the east of White River and Nelspruit, from another area between the southern border of Swaziland and the Pongola River, and from about ten small "black spots" (the total area involved was not reported). They would retain the larger homeland between Swaziland and the Mozambique border, and to this would be added about 95 000 hectares of land at present owned by the State or by White farmers, running along the northern and western borders of Swaziland.

13 19 April, Hansard 11 col. 5278. 14 Rand Daily Mail, 20 November 1971

AFRICAN HOMELANDS
REMOVAL SCHEMES
The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said in the Assembly on 10 May that in a little less than the past two years, 37 000 Africans had been moved from "black spot" mission stations and settled in the homelands. The Minister stated on 22 February that an estimated 300 000 Africans in Natal still had to be resettled and rehoused: as indicated earlier, this number will mount if advertised plans for the consolidation of KwaZulu are adopted.

About 500 African families are being moved from the farm Ruitgelfontein near Waschbank in Natal, which has been declared a black spot. Africans are stated to have lived there since the beginning of the century. They are going to Ekuvukeni, a barren hillside in the Limehill area, 29 km away, and cannot take their livestock with them. Landowners are reported to have been paid compensation some years ago, but tenants receive no compensation for dwellings built since 1967, when the people were apparently notified of the official plans.

Some 100 families were moved in July and 125 in September, when the scheme was halted for the time being. The Department lent the people tents or tin houses for three months, during which period they were supposed to build new dwellings for themselves, but building materials are scarce locally. Men employed near their previous homes have long distances to commute."

Another removal scheme in progress in Natal is of more than 400 families from Hobsland and Vulandondo to the new township of Ezakheni (Pieters), about 24 km south of Ladysmith. Those at Hobsland are people who were moved there in 1963, and were promised permanency. Many built good homes. The stands at Ezakheni are much smaller. The Department has built small fourroomed houses there with water laid on, schools, a shop and a clinic, and there is a bus service to Ladysmith. Employment opportunities are increasing in the border industrial area near the township.

Others who are still being moved in Natal are families who previously were labour tenants but are unwilling to become fulltime farm workers. About 200 such families from a farm in the Weenen area were resettled in a rural part of the Msinga District in December 1971. The Department provided lorries and lent tents to the people, but it is reported that the older residents of the area,
themselves living in poverty, did not welcome the newcomers and gave them no land for ploughing.19
15 Hansard 14 col. 6916.
16 Hansard 4 col. 325.
17 Rand Daily Mail, 31 July and 9 and 19 August. 18 Rand Daily Mail, 15 April and 19 and 20 September; Natal Mercury, 25 May. 19 Rand Daily Mail, 1 December 1971; Reality, September.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
In the Transvaal, 161 families were moved in January from a mission farm at Botsabelo, near Middelburg, to Motatema in Sekhukhuneland, 80 km away. They were, apparently, warned of the scheme some years previously, but protested in vain. Their main objections were that they would be unable to take their livestock, and that the workers would have to become migrants.”

According to a Press report,1 during June and July about 2 000 "squatters" were evicted from their huts on the banks of the Crocodile River on the outskirts of Komatipoort and moved 35 km to a dusty place called Naas, where there is no natural water supply: water has to be transported there. The Department provided each family with two one-roomed corrugated iron huts, at a monthly rental of R2,80. These huts are stiflingly hot in the Lowveld summer. Instead of being able to walk to work and to the shops, the people have to pay R3,30 a month each in bus fares.

BANTU LAWS AMENDMENT ACT, No. 23 OF 1972
Inter alia, this Act extended the provisions of a similarly entitled Act of 1970 relating to the transfer of property from the Government and provincial administrations to African governments. The provisions will relate to immovable as well as movable property.

The Bantu Homelands Constitution Act of 1971 was amended to provide that, with the concurrence of the Minister, African legislative assemblies may establish public holidays in substitution for those in White areas.

"PROTOCOL GUIDE"
It was revealed in July1 that two years previously the Department of Bantu Administration and Development had issued a "protocol guide" to homeland administrations. It stated that African leaders should not leave the homelands for political liaison without written authority. This included visits to citizens living outside their homelands. When leaders received invitations to address members of private institutions outside their areas, the advisability of accepting should be discussed with the Commissioner-General. Communications with private White institutions must take place with the Department's help, as should liaison with other homelands.

Three months before any firm arrangements for visits were made, a tour itinerary should be sent to the Department. In cases of urgency, leaders could approach their Commissioners-General.

A "senior Departmental official" is reported2 to, have said that

1 ibid, 8 and 11 January.
2 ibid, 14 August.
AFRICAN HOMELANDS
this guide was not binding. "If we really vetted homeland leaders' speeches, then, surely, it would have been impossible for certain leaders to make the sort of statements they have made in recent months." The reason why the guide had been issued was that "these people are important men. When they plan to go on tour outside their territories, measures must be taken to ensure their safety, and arrangements for accommodation must be made". The Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner for KwaZulu stated. "No difficulty has been caused by this procedure. People have criticised the need to approach the Department, but they have sometimes found they needed its assistance".

It was reported,4 a little later, that Chief Gatsha Buthelezi had accepted, in principle, an invitation to open an exhibition of Zulu art and crafts in Cape Town, but had pointed out that he would have to await a formal invitation from the directors of the Gallery. Before this arrived he received a "peremptory query" from a White official in Nongoma asking whether he had accepted the invitation and, if he had, why he had not followed the protocol guide. Asked to comment, the Chief said that he could understand that queries might be made about his conduct after any infringement of the "so-called guide", but not before. He had decided not to go to Cape Town. Chief Buthelezi changed his mind later, however, on receiving a letter from the Department stating that arrangements for his trip had been completed.

The Chief is reported to have said in November that the Department had rejected suggested amendments to the "guide" that had been submitted by the KwaZulu executive council. Councillors intending to make visits would, thus, follow the dictates of their own consciences.

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE TRANSKEI
In terms of the Bantu Laws Amendment Act (No. 23 of 1972) the control of prisons, motor carrier transportation, road traffic, and the licensing of drivers and of vehicles within the territory under its control was transferred to the Transkeian Government.

When the Bill was introduced in the Assembly in March, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development and the Minister said5 that the Transkeian authorities had no objection to the continuation of the S.A. Railways motor transport service. This helped to subsidize the rail service to Umtata, which was run at a loss. Other existing transportation certificates would cease to be valid after a transitional period unless approved by the Transkeian Government. There would be no appeal to the National Transport Commission against decisions of this Government.

A Rand Daily Mail, 6 July.
A Ibid, 15 September and 17 November; Star, 15 and 16 September.
5 Hansard 6 cols. 2624. 2926-7.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
Mr. T. Gray Hughes expressed the United Party's attitude. It was opposed to the granting of ultimate sovereign independence to the homelands. But as the proposals contained in the Bill did not fall into the category of changes leading to independence, the Party would not oppose this Bill. Its policy was to establish communal councils, giving Bantu authorities and other racial groups powers to control their own affairs, up to and beyond provincial council standards. It stood for the economic development of the African areas to the fullest extent. The Bill did not conflict with this policy.

The United Party did, however, oppose a resolution put to the House by the Deputy Minister on 20 March, and passed by the National Party majority. It transferred to the Transkeian Government the control of health and hospital services, housing schemes for citizens, legal aid, tourism, auction dues, cemeteries, and the establishment and control of all forms of entertainment, cultural services, and public resorts.

On the subject of health services, the Deputy Minister said that the Transkeian Government would retain the services of personnel of the Department of Health and the provincial administration who were employed in its territory. The Republican Government was urging missionary societies to continue to run the 20 mission hospitals there, and would discuss with municipalities the future control of health services they provided. There were large numbers of African nurses in the Transkei, up to the level of matrons, while more doctors, health inspectors, and others were being trained. There were Whites in Umtata who had accepted treatment by Black doctors and nurses; but the Republican Government had given the assurance that it would, where possible, establish separate services with White doctors and nurses.

The Transkeian Chief Minister said in the Legislative Assembly that his government would take over health services as from 1 April 1973, and would create a new portfolio of Health. "We are very conscious", he stated, "of the dedicated role played by missionaries, both White and Black doctors, the personnel at the hospitals, and everybody associated with health". He gave these people the assurance that the Transkei would continue to need their services.

The General Law Amendment Act, No. 102 of 1972 (Section 22), made it clear that the control and administration of the Police Force in territory controlled by the Transkeian Government could be transferred to that government.

At the opening of the Legislative Assembly's Session, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said that sixteen prisons and five police stations had been taken over by the Transkeian Government as from 1 April. He added that 30 Transkeian citizens held judicial appointments in magistrates' courts. At a ceremony to mark the transfer of
control it was announced that the police stations concerned had a staff of 52 men. The post commander at each would be promoted to the rank of senior sergeant.9 During the Session, the Transkeian Minister of the Interior tabled a motion, which was adopted, asking the Republican Government to amend the Transkei Constitution Act to enable citizens living in urban areas of the Republic to have direct representation in the Legislative Assembly. It was proposed that, to make this possible, the number of elected members should be increased from 45 to 50: this would allow for one representative each from towns in the Transvaal, Free State, Natal, Western Cape, and Eastern Cape.10

ADMINISTRATION OF THE TRANSKEI
During the Legislative Assembly's Session the Chief Minister said that, since partial self-government was granted in 1963, the White staff seconded to the Transkei had been reduced from 455 (18.6 per cent of the then establishment), to 314 (8.1 per cent of the present larger establishment).

In the course of another speech,12 the Chief Minister stated that within two months the Transkei Townships Board would have taken over from the previous local authorities the control of all 19 villages in the territory that had been zoned for African ownership and occupation. This Board was controlled by the Republican Department of Bantu Administration and Development. In order to ensure continuity, the practice was, where feasible, to appoint members of the previous Village Management Board to constitute a local committee for the area. But where the White population had diminished considerably, Transkeian citizens were appointed: this had been done in Tsomo on 1 April. In areas where there were White local committees, advisory committees consisting of Transkeian citizens were appointed to give the latter the opportunity of acquainting themselves with local government affairs, and to keep the local committees informed of the problems and needs of the people. African officials were being trained in municipal administration at the Board's head office in Umtata: they constituted 45 per cent of the staff, and others would join them. Three of the local committees already had African secretaries.

In terms of Government Notice 1162 of 30 June, the area of the Port St. Johns district which is reserved for Whites was named Hermes.

9 Rand Daily Mail, 30 March.
1 ibid, 29 May.
11 Debates, page 136.
12 ibid, pages 169-70.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE CISKEI
It was mentioned in last year's Survey that the Xhosa of the Glen Grey district were to indicate, by a referendum, whether they wished to remain part of the Ciskei, or to join the Transkei. By a large majority they chose the former alternative.
The Ciskei Constitution Proclamation, No. 187/1972, was gazetted on 28 July. The Ciskei was declared a self-governing territory within the Republic, comprising the African parts of the districts of Mdantsane, Zwelitsha, Hewu,
Victoria East, Herschel, Keiskammaheok, Peddie, Middledrift, Glen Grey, and the area of the Zibula Tribal Authority in the Stutterheim district.

The Ciskeian Legislative Assembly would have 50 members: the Paramount Chief (of the AmaRarabe) or his representative, the 29 chiefs of tribes in respect of which tribal authorities had been established, and 20 elected members. At least one member must be elected from each of the nine districts. The distribution of the other seats would be decided by the Cabinet, in proportion to the number of registered voters in each district. The voters would be all citizens of the Ciskei of the age of 18 or over, whether resident there or not, who were not subject to stated disqualifications. Each would have as many votes as there were members to be elected from his electoral division, but must not record more than one vote in respect of any one candidate.

The seat of the Assembly would be in the Zwelitsha district, and the normal life of each Assembly would be five years.

From amongst their number, members of the Assembly would, by secret ballot, elect a Cabinet to consist of a Chief Minister and five other Ministers, and a Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Assembly. The Assembly was empowered to petition the State President for the removal of the Cabinet or any member thereof.

The Paramount Chief and other chiefs would continue to enjoy their existing personal status. They would take precedence over the Chief Minister and Cabinet Ministers at ceremonial occasions and in tribal affairs other than occasions: or matters connected with the business of the Legislative Assembly.

Xhosa would be an additional official language in the area.

The first election is to be held early in 1973. Until then, the existing Assembly will continue to function.

Proclamation No. 194/1972 set out regulations for the registration of voters and conduct of elections. The Ciskeian Public Service Act was passed as No. 2/1972.

When opening the 1972 Session of the present Legislative Assembly,3 the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that during the past two years the Ciskeian establishment

AFRICAN HOMELANDS

had increased by 28 per cent to a total of 1,027 posts. The number of seconded White officials had decreased by 4.5 per cent, to 194.

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN KWAZULU

During December 1971, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development officially installed Chief Zwelithini Goodwill Ka Cyprian Bhekuzulu as Paramount Chief (King) of the AmaZulu.

After discussion with the members of the Territorial Authority's Executive Council, a Government legal team drew up a draft constitution for a Legislative Assembly. This was discussed with the Executive and was later debated by the Territorial Authority. Objections were raised to a clause in the draft which would have required members of the Legislative Assembly to swear that they would
honour and respect the South African Government and the Paramount Chief. They
substituted the State President and the Paramount Chief.
There was considerable discussion as to the constitutional position of the
Paramount Chief, who (together with his personal representative) was a member
of the existing Authority. The draft new constitution retained this arrangement.
But it was decided by the Authority that the Paramount Chief should hold himself
aloof from party politics and should, thus, not be a member, although his personal
representative would be included.
A further change made to the draft provided that the Chief Executive Councillor
should have a considerable voice in the election of other Executive Councillors.
The constitution, as finally approved by the Authority and the Republican
Government, was gazetted as Proclamation R69 of 30 March. It created a
Legislative Assembly (as from 1 April), consisting, for the time being, of
members of the existing Territorial Authority.
A new Assembly would come into being as from a date to be determined by the
Minister of Bantu Administration and Development after a request for its
establishment was made by the Executive Council. Its members would be:
(a) the personal representative of the Paramount Chief;
(b) three chiefs (or chairmen of community authorities) appointed
from amongst its members by every regional authority (there were 22 regional
authorities at the date of the proclamation
which would, thus, appoint 66 representatives);
(c) the chief of each tribal authority or the chairman of each
community authority which had been deemed to be a regional
authority (three such bodies then existed);
(d) 55 members elected by the voters of KwaZulu.
The Paramount Chief would personify the unity of the Zulu nation. He and other
chiefs would retain their traditional powers and functions and, in regard to
ceremonial and tribal matters,

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
would take precedence over Executive Councillors except in respect of matters or
occasions directly concerned with the business of the Legislative Assembly. The
Paramount Chief would be furnished with a copy of the agenda of each meeting
of the Executive Council, and might request Councillors to meet him to discuss
items. His personal representative was precluded from serving on the Executive
Council, as were representatives of other chiefs who might attend meetings of the
Assembly on their chief's behalf.
Electoral divisions for the election of the 55 members would be the areas of
regional authorities. The number to be elected from each would be in proportion
to the estimated total number of citizens resident there; but there would have to,
be at least one member in respect of each such area.
The voters would be all the citizens of KwaZulu over the age of 18 years,
normally domiciled in any electoral division, or whose districts of origin or those
of their antecedents were in such areas. Each voter would cast as many votes as
there were members to be elected in the electoral division concerned, but might not cast more than one vote in respect of any one candidate. Those standing for election must be citizens of at least 21 years of age, who had not been convicted of any offence involving imprisonment without the option of a fine, or of any corrupt or illegal practice under the laws governing elections. The life of the Legislative Assembly would normally be for five years, with at least one ordinary session held annually, and special sessions called if necessary. The Commissioner-General for the AmaZulu might attend meetings and address the Assembly. There would be freedom of speech and debate at sittings, which would be open to the public. Each member would take an oath swearing that he would honour and respect the State President and the Paramount Chief; and that he would be loyal and faithful to the Legislative Assembly and its administration, respect all laws applicable in the Assembly's area of jurisdiction, and perform his duties in a loyal and worthy manner and to the best of his ability. The Executive Council would consist of a Chief Executive Councillor, who must be a chief, and five other members of the Assembly, of whom at least two must be chiefs, all elected by secret ballot. The Chief Executive Councillor would be elected first. He would then submit a list of ten candidates nominated by him for election to the other seats, of whom half must be chiefs. Their names would be read out by the Assembly's secretary, no debate being allowed, and voting would follow. The Commissioner-General would have the right to attend meetings of the Executive Council and to advise members on matters to be discussed. The Chief Executive Councillor might be removed from office by resolution of the Legislative Assembly. Other Councillors might be removed by resolution of the Assembly on the recommendation of the Chief Executive Councillor. Each Executive Councillor would head a department. (Proclamation R73, also of 30 March, 1972, listed these departments as Authority Affairs and Finance, Education and Culture, Community Affairs, Works, Agriculture, and Justice.) Immediately after the election of the Executive Council, a chairman and a deputy chairman of the Assembly would be elected. Proclamation R71, 72, 74, 75, 76 and 77, of the same date, set out the rules of procedure for the Legislative Assembly; the conduct of election of members; regulations for regional, tribal, and community authorities; salaries and allowances of members of the Legislative Assembly and of regional authorities; and financial regulations. Proclamation R69 transferred the powers, functions, assets, and liabilities of all regional authorities in KwaZulu to the Legislative Assembly. Government Notice 1024 of 16 June set out citizenship regulations. At the request of the Assembly, the S.A. Government set aside September 24 as King Chaka Day.

AFRICAN HOMELANDS

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN BOPHUTHATSWANA
In terms of Proclamation R130 of 26 May, BophuthaTswana became a self-governing territory within the Republic with effect from 1 June. Its constitution differs from those described earlier. One of the reasons is that there is no Paramount Chief, and another, that the regional and tribal authorities vary in size. The Legislative Assembly would consist of 48 members designated by regional and tribal authorities, and 24 elected members. Nine of the regional authorities would each designate four members, and the tenth, two, members. Two of the tribal authorities not falling under regional authorities would each designate four members, and the third, two members. All of those designated must be chiefs or headmen unless there were inadequate numbers of these dignitaries for the purpose, in which case the balance must be members of the authorities concerned. Two members would be elected in respect of each of the twelve districts of BophuthaTswana. Citizens who, were born outside the homeland could choose their own electoral divisions. Voting qualifications and procedure, and qualifications for members of the Assembly, were similar to, those described for the AmaZulu. Montshiwa, near Mafeking, would be the seat of government. The normal life of the Assembly would be five years. Subject to the terms of the Proclamation (e.g. the divulgence of confidential matters by Ministers), there would be freedom of speech.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

and debate at proceedings of the Assembly, which would be open to the public. Members of the Assembly would take an oath swearing to respect and uphold the constitution of BophuthaTswana and all other laws applicable in the territory, and solemnly promising to perform their duties to the best of their ability. The Cabinet would consist of a Chief Minister, who must be a chief, and five other Ministers (a maximum of three chiefs may be included). The Chief Minister would be elected by the Assembly. He would appoint the members of his Cabinet. The Assembly was empowered to petition the State President for the removal from office of the Chief Minister. The latter could make a petition for the removal from office of any other Cabinet member. The Assembly would elect a chairman and deputy chairman.

Provisions relating to the status of chiefs were similar to those for the Ciskei and KwaZulu. The official languages were to be Tswana, English and Afrikaans. Proclamation R163 of 7 July stated that regional and tribal authorities must designate their representatives to the Assembly before 14 July. A general election for the remaining members would be held on 4 October. The two parties that contested the elections, and their policies, are described on page 39. As mentioned, Chief Lucas Mangope's BophuthaTswana National Party won a clear-cut victory.

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN LEBOWA

A new constitution for Lebowa was adopted at a meeting of the Legislative Assembly in July. In terms of Proclamations 224, 225, and 226 of 29 September, this homeland became a selfgoverning territory within the Republic as from 2 October, with Seshego as the seat of government.
The proclamation provided that the new Assembly, to be constituted in 1973, would consist of 100 members, representing the fifteen districts or areas of the territory. Of these, 59 would be chiefs, designated by the chiefs in the district or area concerned, one would be a representative of the Chieftainess of the Balobedu Tribe (i.e. the "Rain Queen"), and 40 would be elected. The number of designated and elected members to be drawn from each district or area were set out in a schedule to the relevant proclamation.

The Cabinet, four members of which must be chiefs, would consist of a Chief Minister and five other members, all elected by the Legislative Assembly. The other officials to be elected were termed the Speaker and Deputy Speaker. North Sotho would be an additional official language in the area.

In other respects, including the oath to be taken by members of the Assembly, the Constitution was similar to that for BophuthaTswana.

AFRICAN HOMELANDS

THE FINANCING OF DEVELOPMENT WORK IN THE HOMELANDS

S.A. Bantu Trust

Much of the development work in the homelands has, in the past, been financed from the S.A. Bantu Trust Account; but in recent years homeland governments have progressively been taking over certain of the Trust's functions. The Trust receives annual appropriations from Parliament and derives additional revenue from prospecting and mining fees, income from development projects, interest on money invested, and appropriations from its assets reserve.

In the 1972-3 financial year, the following sums were credited to the Trust from the votes of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development:

Revenue Account: R
Standing appropriation .................. 4075 000
Grants-in-aid for:
Services by Bantu Authorities in the homelands 234 000
Services by the Trust in the Eastern &privi 1 400 000
Health services and hospitalization of Africans in the homelands .......... 34 108 000
39817000
Loan Account:
Grants-in-aid for:
Purchase of land .................. 5 500 000
Development of African areas by the Trust 29 607000
Development of African areas by Bantu Authorities .................. 1 000 000
Compensation to Whites in the Transkei ... 2500000
38607000
Combined total .................. 78424 000

The latest fairly comprehensive expenditure figures available at the time of writing are in respect of the financial year 1970-11, when the total (excluding
expenditure in the Transkei) was R95 694 791. Homeland governments are now responsible for some of the services on which expenditure was then incurred. The Trust provides capital sums for additional buildings for universities in the homelands.

2 Published in the Government Gazette, 28 January.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
Expenditure by the Departments of Bantu Administration and Development and of Bantu Education

The total estimated expenditure by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development in 1972-3 from Revenue Account is R165 038 000. This includes expenditure in the Eastern Caprivi, and a contribution of R5 946 000 towards Bantu Administration in South West Africa. It also includes the payments, already mentioned, to the S.A. Bantu Trust Fund.

The general vote for salaries includes those of personnel seconded to the services of homeland governments.

The Republican Government pays to each homeland government an annual grant equal to its expenditure on services transferred to the control of these governments in the year preceding the date of transfer. It also pays such additional sums as may be voted by Parliament. Further, it incurs expenditure on such items as access roads, salaries of seconded personnel, and services which have not been transferred. Analysing the Department's Revenue Vote for 1972-3, it appears that the total payments to be made to and on behalf of homeland governments are:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Totals</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R R R</td>
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<td>12243 000</td>
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The expenses of the Basotho Qwaqwa Legislative Assembly, on the Swazi and S. Ndebele peoples, and on homelands such as in the KwaZulu area, not at that stage included in the areas of Legislative Assemblies, were included in the general Departmental budget.

The homeland governments add to their allocations from the central government sums collected in local taxes, general and tribal levies, quitrent, other rents, fines, stock rates, townships revenue, interests on investments, etc.

A fuller account of the new system of financing educational services is given in a subsequent chapter; but it should be noted here that, as from 1 April, the
allocations to homeland governments from general revenue include money for educational
4 Some of these amounts were subsequently increased.

AFRICAN HOMELANDS 187
services to be provided by these governments. This money is derived partly from
the proceeds of African taxation.
The Department of Bantu Education, however, remains responsible for other
educational services. According to its Estimates of Expenditure for 1972-31, it
plans to spend R5 152 000 on financial assistance to universities in the
homelands, and R317 000 on other educational services there. It is impossible,
from available information, to state how much of the Department's remaining
expenditure (e.g. on salaries and overheads) will be incurred on behalf of the
homelands. It included the Basotho Qwaqwa area in its main budget; it has
seconded senior educational personnel to the services of the homelands, and it
remains responsible, for the entire Republic, for general education policy,
including syllabuses, educational methods, and the conduct of examinations.
Other Government Departments
Other Government Departments, too, incur expenditure in the homelands. The
latest available information was contained in a report for 1970-1 by the Controller
and Auditor-General6, but this excluded KwaZulu and also expenditure by the
S.A. Railways and Harbours and the Postal Administrations. Other items were:

<table>
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<td>Agricultural Technical Services</td>
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<td>Audit</td>
<td>142 153</td>
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<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
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Budgets of the Legislative Assemblies
The Budgets of the Legislative Assemblies for 1972-3 were as set out below. (No
mention is made here of surpluses or deficits. Comprehensive information about
the revenue to be derived from the territories' own resources is not available.)

Transkei7

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<thead>
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7 Act 1/1972, Government Gazette of 30 May.

188 A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
Ciskei8 KwaZulu9 Lebowa0 R R R
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<td><strong>Basotho Qwaqwa”</strong></td>
<td><strong>R</strong></td>
<td><strong>R</strong></td>
<td><strong>R</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Authority Affairs and Finance</td>
<td>47300</td>
<td>2 63 500</td>
<td>263 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justice and Community Affairs</td>
<td>263 500</td>
<td>Agriculture and Works</td>
<td>263 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education and Culture</td>
<td>1 975 000</td>
<td>500000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 975 000</td>
<td>500000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Possible assistance from other sources

According to various Press reports, while on visits to the United States and Britain, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi discussed possible sources of foreign investment in the homelands. He intended having further discussions during a visit to Zurich at the end of the year. The Deputy Minister of Bantu Development stated that the Department was considering a formula whereby any offers could be co-ordinated and channelized. (In a Press interview on 20 November, however, the Prime Minister appeared to indicate that a further stage of political development might be

15 Pretoria News, 28 January; Natal Mercury, 1 February; Rand Daily Mail, 23 September.

AFRICAN HOMELANDS

A prerequisite before homeland governments would be allowed to raise capital independently of South Africa.)
A group of four advisers to the United States State Department is reported to have urged the American Government to allow aid and investment in the South African homelands.

A further report was to the effect that the South African Government was considering a suggestion that an overseas loan be raised to enable it partially to consolidate the homelands, as planned, by buying land from persons affected.

It was announced in September that, following discussions with African leaders in South Africa and neighbouring territories, and with overseas bankers, Dr. Anton Rupert had been largely instrumental in the registration of a new bank, named Edesa, which would assist business enterprises in developing African countries, including the homelands. This bank, with headquarters in Zurich, was expected to have an operating capital of some R20-million.

AGRICULTURE IN THE HOMELANDS

Planning of farming lands

During the 1972 Session of the Transkeian Legislative Assembly the Chief Minister said that, in the course of the year, a further 200,000 hectares of farming land would be planned in the territory (i.e. divided into arable lands, grazing camps, and residential areas): 64 per cent of the total farming land would then be planned.

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development gave figures indicating the percentages of the total area that had been planned in the other homelands as at the end of 1971, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homeland</th>
<th>Percentage planned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td>78,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu</td>
<td>46,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>77,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>99,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td>62,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BophuthaTswana</td>
<td>46,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basotho Qwaqwa</td>
<td>100,0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Agricultural extension officers

In reply to questions in the Assembly, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that 849 African agricultural extension officers were employed in the homelands: this number would have to be increased. There were 380 students enrolled at agricultural schools in these areas. Many others were taking agriculture as a subject in the general school syllabus.

Traditional crops

N.B. Before the change to the metric system, yields of crops
were expressed in 200-lb bags per morgen. The average bag of crops such as maize, sorghum, etc. now, apparently, contains about 90kg. To avoid confusion in the paragraphs that follow, the writer has adopted the system used in the 1970 report of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development (hereafter referred to as the Departmental Report), expressing yields in kg per hectare, rather than in bags. Where necessary, figures given in other reports have been recalculated. One 200-lb bag per morgen is approximately equal to 105.9 kg per hectare.

According to a study conducted by Mr. H. S. Hattingh during 1962-3 in the Bethlehem-Reitz area, the best one-third of the White farmers produced 2 882 kg of maize per hectare, while the poorest one-third produced 1 153 kg. A study by Professors J. A. Lombard and P. J. van der Merwe of Pretoria University gave the average yield per White farmer on the Transvaal highveld as 2268 kg per hectare. As African peasant farmers begin eating their maize in the "soft dough" stage it is difficult to determine the percentage of the crop that is harvested as ripe grain; but it is nevertheless clear that average yields are very low, and have improved little if at all since the Tomlinson Commission investigated the position in about 1953. (Among the important reasons for this are, as frequently pointed out, overcrowding and the system of land tenure.)

The Transkeian Minister of Agriculture and Forestry gave the average yield of maize in that territory as 378 kg per hectare. According to the Departmental Report, average yields in other homelands in 1970 varied from 106 kg per hectare in Swazi territory (and even lower in Vendaland) to 262 kg in KwaZulu and 312 kg in BophuthaTswana. (The yields would, of course, vary with soil and climatic conditions and the extent of land planted.)

Other staple crops mentioned in this report were kaffir corn, millet, cowpeas, dry beans, groundnuts, and, in some areas, wheat. Again, the yields were very low.

Co-operative schemes

In his report on the Accounts of the Transkeian Government in 1970-1, the Controller and Auditor-General stated that during that year R226 843 was granted in interest-free loans to six co-operatives in the territory for buying seed and fertilizers. The Transkeian Minister of Agriculture and Forestry reported to the Legislative Assembly that the co-operatives were not proving successful: members were not repaying loans that had been granted. A large amount of money was outstanding.
too, from the ploughing scheme that provided credit during the drought in 1969 and 1970. The Departmental report indicates that in 1970 there were 80 co-operative dairy schemes in other homelands, the average number of participants in each scheme being 22.

Commercial crops
In reply to questions in the Assembly on 11 February, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that the extent of land, in hectares, planted with commercial crops in the homelands was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crop</th>
<th>Republic</th>
<th>Transkei</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Resilient fibres</td>
<td>14,869</td>
<td>1,808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar cane</td>
<td>13,603</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coconuts</td>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cashew nuts</td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea</td>
<td></td>
<td>652</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many of these are Government schemes, employing paid labour. There are 118 decortication plants in the homelands to process fibres. In his policy speech, the Transkeian Minister of Agriculture and Forestry said that during the 1971-2 season 535,000 kg of green tea leaves, or 107,059 kg of made tea, had been harvested. The revenue was R55,000, and the value of tea on hand at 31 March 1972 was R23,024. The tea was processed at the Lambasi factory, then blended with imported teas by packing firms. According to the Controller and Auditor-General, by 31 March 1971, R1,165,794 had been spent on the erection of the Lambasi tea factory. The Transkeian Minister said that the first crop of coffee was due during the current year.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

Irrigation schemes
In replying to the series of questions quoted earlier, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development stated that there were 18,626 hectares under irrigation in homelands of the Republic, and about 2,000 hectares in the Transkei. No new information has been published about the schemes in the Republic. According to the Controller and Auditor-General and the Transkeian Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, as at 31 March 1971, 770 lessees had been settled at the Qamata scheme in the Transkei. Many of the allotments are not being used as they should be, however, and the Transkeian Government may itself undertake production in order to show some return on the expenditure incurred. During 1970-1, R1,245,572 was spent on the construction of the Ncora Flats scheme: the total cost, spread over ten years, is estimated at some R15,000,000. Work on another scheme at Tsojana is being continued.

Forestry
In his replies to questions, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development gave the following statistics:

Homelands in:

Extent of land in hectares: Republic Transkei
Covered with indigenous forest ..... 135 878 69 586

On which commercial plantations have been established ..............32807 55737
On which non-commercial woodlots 2 have been established ......... 21 270 4229

Operated by:
Mills and plants Department Development Bantu Authorities
Corporations or individuals
Sawmills ........ 4 about 78
Creosoting plants ... 16 3 1

Much of the timber is sent to sawmills outside the homelands.

It is stated in the 1970-1 Report of the Department of Forestry that this department was administering 37 489 hectares of indigenous forest and 33 449 hectares of plantations on behalf of the S.A. Bantu Trust (outside the Transkei). The plantations included 28 035 hectares of conifers and 4 116 hectares of eucalyptus. The total revenue for the year was R279 727.

When opening the Session of the Transkei Legislative Assembly on 12 April, the Republic's Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said that forestry was the main source of the territory's income. The Transkeian Minister of Agriculture and Forestry stated, however, that development work on afforestation had shown a downward trend. More land was needed for this purpose.

Possible new developments
The Deputy Minister of Bantu Development is reported to have said in March that the Government had decided in principle to invite White-owned and operated companies to undertake major crop production in the homelands, for example of sugar cane, sisal, cotton, or tea. The companies would act as agents for the Government, training Africans in the work.

When opening a session of the Ciskeian Legislative Assembly in April, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development stated that there was urgent need for a Corporation that would grant credit to African farmers and would establish and control co-operatives.

No steps to implement these proposals have been reported.

MINING IN THE HOMELANDS
Speaking in the Assembly on 29 February, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that the following mining leases had been granted in the various homelands:
BophuthaTswana: platinum and base minerals;
Lebowa: platinum, kaolin, manganese, vanadium, chrome;  
Gazankulu: base minerals;  
KwaZulu: kyanite and magnetite;  
Transkei: granite.

The Bantu Mining Corporation, the Minister added, was providing financial and technical assistance to a sand-extraction project near Pinetown in Natal; to exploration for diamonds near Mafeking; and to prospecting operations for semi-precious stones in KwaZulu. The Corporation itself had established a stonecrushing plant in the Gazankulu area near Giyani.

During 1971, the Minister said, the fees and royalties that accrued to the S.A. Bantu Trust from prospecting and mining leases amounted to R144 071. He was unable to say what revenue accrued to African tribes.

As mentioned in earlier issues of this Survey, the Tswana homelands are richest in mineral deposits. In the area of the BaPhokeng tribe near Rustenburg are the Impala and Union platinum mines, while the Rustenburg and Western platinum mines are situated partly on tribal land and partly in the adjoining White area. Nearby are chrome mines. Elsewhere in Tswana areas vanadium, asbestos, iron ore, and limestone are being exploited. In terms of a private arrangement, the owners of platinum mines pay fees for surface rights and a percentage of the taxed profits to the tribe concerned.

It was mentioned in an earlier chapter that Chief Lucas Mangope, Chief Councillor of BophuthaTswana, has urged that all mining taxes paid by companies operating in his area should accrue to his homeland instead of to the central government. According to the Financial Mail of 25 August, however, a spokesman for the Department of Bantu Administration and Development said that this would not be done. BophuthaTswana was not yet an independent state, and was heavily subsidized by the central government. The government is likely to gain increased revenue from taxes paid by the platinum mines, for, according to Press reports, motor companies are probably going to require large quantities of platinum for exhaust-gas purifiers.

The asbestos mine at Penge in Sekhukhuneland, like the platinum mines, relies mainly on migrant workers from the Transkei and Malawi. It is reported, however, that the owners of the Penge mine (which is in a White area surrounded by North Sotho territory) are planning to build married quarters and to encourage local tribesmen to enter employment and to settle at the mine.

When speaking on 29 February, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that approximately 26 914 Africans and 500 Whites were then employed in mining concerns in the homelands.

The partial relaxation of the colour bar on mines in the homelands was described on page 125 of last year's Survey. The Minister of Mines said in the Assembly on
15 May 4 that he contemplated no further discussions of the agreement reached with the (White) Mineworkers' Union, except in regard to its practical implementation. Only companies had applied for certain exemptions from W1 colour bar. Limited exemptions had been granted to the Atok platinum mine in Sekhukhuneland, where twelve Africans were doing work previously reserved for Whites. 7Aii--application from the Griqualand Exploration Company was under consideration. The third application had been withdrawn.

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY IN THE AFRICAN RESERVES

General

In its annual report for the year ended 31 March 1971, the Bantu Investment Corporation (B.I.C.) stated that between 2 Rand Daily Mail, 11 July and 22 September.

3 Ibid, 21 June.

4 Hansard 15 cols. 7195-6. 7199.

AFRICAN HOMELANDS

1959/60 and 1970/71 it had granted 1130 loans to African traders and businessmen: 942 were original loans while 188 were additional loans. The assistance afforded involved an amount of R7 531 2151. Of the original loans granted, 804 had been in respect of commercial enterprises, 119 for service industries, and 19 for industries. By the end of March 1971, the B.I.C. had erected 313 business buildings at a cost of R2 026 5302 and a further 10 costing some R96*540 were in the course of erection. Since 1962, when the housing loan scheme was initiated, loans amounting to approximately half-a-million rand had been granted to Africans. In an interview with the Sunday Tribune on 9 July, Dr. J. Adendorff, managing director of B.I.C., said that 84 per cent of the applications for loans had been turned down.

The share capital of the B.I.C. at 31 March 1971 amounted to R22 050 000, while fixed assets had increased by R4 366 674 to R12 740 619 between 1969/70 and 1970/71. Deposits received from Africans at B.I.C. savings accounts increased by R6 159 120 to R10 411 911 during the same period. Chief Lucas Mangope, Chief Minister of BophuthaTswana, has criticised the activities of the B.I.C. and suggested that Tswana people should be included on the board of directors to avoid misunderstandings. Chief Mangope said that the figures of loans given to Tswana people had not been encouraging. He continued: "I have nothing against the White South African Government lending money to other nations. Recently it lent money to Malawi at 4 per cent interest whereas Tswanas cannot get the same interest rate from the Bantu Investment Corporation, a Government agency. We are not jealous, but we feel the 71 per cent interest rate is too high. I suggest the South African Government should subsidise the Bantu Investment Corporation so that it can lower its interest rates to Tswanas. I have spoken to them and that has been of no avail. I would like the Bantu Investment Corporation to continue to be of service to my people, but it must be useful to us."
According to the Rand Daily Mail of 20 November, a group of Venda businessmen have floated a company to assist Africans in their homeland to establish a variety of business undertakings without the assistance of the Bantu Investment Corporation, thus avoiding the payment to the Corporation of high interest rates.

In its report for the year ended 31 March 1971, the Xhosa Development Corporation (X.D.C.), which is the development agency for the Transkei and Ciskei, stated that the issued share

1 This shows an increase over the 1969/70 data of 171 loans and R591 063. These figures include figures for South West Africa (Namibia) but since 1968, when the Xhosa Development Corporation took responsibility for the Transkei and Ciskei, exclude figures for these areas.

2 An increase over 1969/70 data for 31 buildings and R447 030.

3 Rand Daily Mail, 22 March.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

capital of the X.D.C. had increased by R7 250 000 to R20 000 000 between the period 1969/70 and 1970/71. The necessary funds continue to be supplied by the South African Bantu Trust. The capital invested in projects initiated by the X.D.C. had increased from R6 091 169 the previous year to R1 213 069 in the fiscal year 1970/71'. By March 1971, financial aid in the form of business and housing loans had been approved in 508 instances involving an amount of R3 287 354. Employment figures directly attributable to the X.D.C.'s activities were 5 251 Africans (including 1 318 businessmen and their employees) and 371 nonAfricans'.

In a study of African entrepreneurship, which included interviews with 62 entrepreneurs in 99 enterprises in the Transkei, Ciskei, and Tswana areas, sponsored by the South African Institute of Race Relations in 1970 and published by the Institute of Social and Economic Research at Rhodes University in 1972 as Some Socio-Economic Aspects of African Entrepreneurship, Mrs. Gillian Hart found that an important factor common to 82,1 per cent of African entrepreneurs was a prolonged period of residence and work in "White" urban areas. Of her sample, 79,4 per cent had also had more than 8 years' education. She concludes that the X.D.C.'s loans have facilitated the viable growth of a rather small proportion of enterprises and that its programme for the creation of "synthetic entrepreneurship" is based on an inherent contradiction in that people with the requisite entrepreneurial talents are subjected to rigid White controls which run counter to the evolution of entrepreneurial abilities.

A motion was introduced at the congress of the (White) Transkeian Territories Civic Association proposing a commission of enquiry into the functions of the X.D.C., its relationship with the private sector, and the extent to which these activities ran counter to those of private enterprise7.

Inter-Church Aid has been asked to act as the secretariat for the Southern Africa Technology Development Group (Pty.), which plans to promote "intermediate
technology" in the homelands, supplying the people with technological resources within their means and suited to their needs.

Commercial concerns in the African reserves

Information on existing wholesale and retail concerns controlled by the B.I.C. was given on page 222 of the 1971 issue of this Survey. During the year ended 31 March 1971, 3 retail

\&This figure includes investment in agricultural projects, industrial sites, loans to Africans, service industries, and the cost of providing housing for African and White technical and managerial staff.

5 These figures show an increase over the year of 117 loans and R1 032 524.

6 These figures show an increase over the year of 1 835 Africans and 15 non-Africans.

7 Rand Daily Mail, 19 May.

AFRICAN HOMELANDS

concerns and 1 business in BophuthaTswana, previously managed by the B.I.C., were taken over by Africans, as was a cafe in the North Eastern Transvaal. During the same period 19 undertakings previously owned by Whites and 2 by Indians were taken over by Africans with financial aid from the B.I.C.'

In its report for the year ended 31 March 1971 the X.D.C. stated that its wholesale operation had acquired 4 additional branches. In the retail trade 262 trading stations, all managed by Africans, were under the direct control of the Corporation. During the fiscal year 1970/71, 69 trading stations were handed over to Africans for their own account compared with 31 during the previous year.

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 18 February, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development said that 460 retail trading stations previously owned by Whites in the Transkei and Ciskei had been taken over by State organizations, while 15 had been taken over by African people or companies. In other African areas of the Republic, State organizations had acquired 16 such businesses while African people or companies had acquired 137. Of those businesses acquired by State organizations 5 were being managed by Whites (4 as training schools), 4 by Coloured people, and 238 by Africans. More than 21000 Africans were employed in the retail trade in African areas of the Republic, including the Transkei.

On 29 February in the Assembly, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that 18 hotels or motels had been acquired from Whites in the Transkei while one had been built by the X.D.C. and one by an African person or company. In other African areas of the Republic hotels had been acquired or built for Africans at Witrivier, GaRankuwa, Umlazi, King William's Town, Keiskammahoek, Mdantsane, and Zwelitsha.

In answer to a question in the Transkei Legislative Assembly on 2 May the Transkeian Minister of the Interior said that 152 African managers of X.D.C. shops and received loans from the X.D.C.” In the Legislative Assembly on 16 May, the Transkeian Minister of the Interior said that over the past 8 years some 2 162 businesses had been licensed by his Department. These figures did
not include licencees such as hotel and bottle store owners in the rural areas of the Transkei or the many and varied Transkeian entrepreneurs within local municipal or village management areas which fell outside the jurisdiction of his department.

9 Hansard 3 cols. 258-9.
10 Hansard 5 cols. 380-1.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
On 9 June3 the Transkei Legislative Assembly carried a motion that the Transkei Government should consider the advisability of approaching the Republican Government to amend the law governing the Xhosa Development Corporation with a view to reducing the interest charged on loans.

Industry in the African Reserves

General
The question of the provision of foreign capital and technical assistance to homeland leaders was mentioned briefly on page 223 of the 1971 issue of this Survey and page 188 of the present issue. In the Assembly on 9 May14 the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development said: "the question of capital from outside... is clear. That money may be brought in. As yet they have not made any formal representations in respect of any money which they may obtain. I have issued no statement in this regard, but simply told a reporter in the lobby here that they could bring the money in. He then asked me whether the Acts allowed for that being done and I replied that if they did not, we would introduce legislation in this regard. In any case, they can bring the money in and there are no problems."

In answer to a question by Mrs. Helen Suzman (Progressive Party) as to whether such money could be brought in without any strings attached the Minister replied: "Yes. All we want is that it should take place in a planned fashion." (But see page 188 for the Prime Minister's apparent qualification of this statement.)

In answer to a question in the Assembly on 29 February5 on expenditure by the State, the Transkeian Government, the Industrial Development Corporation, the B.I.C., the X.D.C., and other agencies on industrial growth points in the homelands the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development gave certain figures of identifiable expenditure where such particulars were available. It appears that in the Transkei the X.D.C. has spent, at Butterworth, R 412 234 on the industrial township, R13 125 on water schemes, R250 315 on electricity supplies, RI 840 822 on housing for key White personnel, and R273 430 on the erection of factories to be leased to entrepreneurs. At Umtata the X.D.C. has spent R77 552 on the industrial township, R2 389 on water schemes, Ri 1644 on electricity supplies, and Ri 384 776 on housing for key White personnel. Nothing had yet been spent there on the erection of factories for leasing to entrepreneurs. In BophuthaTswana the Industrial Development Corporation (I.D.C.) has spent R282 076 on housing for key White personnel. At Babalegi R2 049 004 has been spent on the industrial town13 Ibid, pages 444-8.
14 Hansard 14 cols. 6845-7.
AFRICAN HOMELANDS

ship. Other expenditure could not be clearly identified, but R2 629 241 has been spent on the erection of factories to be leased to entrepreneurs.

At Sithebe in KwaZulu R617058 has been spent by the I.D.C. on the industrial township and R272 203 on the erection of factories for leasing. Other expenditure was not identifiable.

At Witzieshoek in Basotho QwaQwa R96751 has been spent on an industrial township, R14725 on housing for key White personnel, and R31 154 on the erection of factories for leasing.

Further expenditure by the I.D.C. has been at Seshego in Lebowa, where R1 289 664 has been spent on the erection of factories for leasing.

Transkei and Ciskei

In its report for the year ended December 1971 the Industrial Decentralization Board reported that the development of Umtata as a growth point would commence in the near future. However, the X.D.C. in its report for the fiscal year 1970/1 stated that negotiations for the Umtata industrial area of approximately 400 hectares had been completed. The Decentralisation Board maintained that Butterworth was being developed on a limited scale, for 20 hectares of industrial land had been taken up and approximately 70 hectares was still available, but the X.D.C. stated that the 60 usable hectares still available for development at Butterworth were being rapidly committed to projects under investigation.

In the Assembly on 22 February6, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that the total financial commitment of White entrepreneurs with whom contractual agreements had been concluded in regard to the establishment of industries on the agency basis amounted to R1 498 000 at Butterworth and R155 000 at Umtata. It was later announced that the X.D.C. had received applications for at least 20 new factories worth more than R12 000 000, while 20 other projects had been approved or were being considered.7

In April in the Legislative Assembly”, the Transkeian Chief Minister said: "By contrast with most of the other homelands which, apart from the various growth points established within their borders, have big industrial complexes at their doorstep, the Transkei is rather isolated from the main industrial centres of South Africa. The need for new jobs in the Transkei is thus more urgent than elsewhere. To meet this challenge it has been calculated by the Bureau for Economic Research re Bantu Development that the Transkei should, in its two growth points,

15 Hansard 5 cols. 384-6.

16 Hansard 4 col. 329.
17 Argus, 16 October; Star, 16 October.
18 Debates of the Transkei Legislative Assembly, 1972, page 99.
199

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
Umtata and Butterworth, receive 52 per cent of all new industries ear-marked for the homelands." The Chief Minister later announced the appointment of a Transkei Planning Committee9.

In its report for the year ended 31 March 1971 the X.D.C. reported that it owned bulk fuel depots, stone crushers, and metal works at Umtata and Butterworth, and phormium tenax decorticators at Butterworth and Lusikisiki. At Umtata the X.D.C. owned an hotel while at Butterworth it owned a maize roller mill, a brewery which had more than doubled its profit for the second successive year, a cement brick works, a printing works, a cartage contractor's business, an advertising agency, and an electrical contractor's business. Near King William's Town it owned a granite quarry and a construction unit. The X.D.C. had also taken over over 3 hotels and 10 other industrial undertakings at various centres as well as two bakeries.

The 18 garages which it had taken over showed a profit as a group but problems were being experienced at smaller country garages. In many cases at small garages African mechanics had been appointed as managers from the workshop floor. The profitable Mount Frere bakery had been handed over to an African who was running it most successfully. Profits of Hilmond Weavers at Umtata had almost trebled and plans were being made to double the size of the factory and the number of employees. Construction work had begun on a new factory for the Vulindlela Furniture Factory. The X.D.C. was also involved in the manufacture of cement bricks and burnt bricks and sheet metal works. Progress on the bag factory of Transkei Textiles and Plastics was delayed by strikes and floods in Ireland and damage to plant in transit.

In his opening speech to the fifth session of the second Transkei Legislative Assembly the then Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education said that tea production in the Transkei was a fait accompli. The results left little to be desired and the factory was working at almost full capacity with the result that extensions would have to be made shortly2". It has been announced that the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk is planning to establish factories at Dimbaza, the African resettlement area near King William's Town1.

**BophuthaTswana**

In its report for the year ended 31 December 1971 the Decentralisation Board stated that all basic facilities, including railway siding facilities, were available at Babalegi, some 45 kilometres north of Pretoria. Industrial sites covering 135 hectares had been laid out. Twenty-four factory flats had been completed and occupied and a further 12 were under construction. Thirty-three industrialists had moved into the area by the end of 1971 and their industries, when in full production, would employ 160 Whites and 3 200...
Africans. Nearly all sites at Babelegi had been allocated and it was expected that eventually 100 factories would be located in the area providing employment for between 8 000 and 10 000 Africans. Industrial projects approved to the end of 1971 entailed an estimated total capital investment of R25 200 000 by B.I.C. and private concerns.

In the Assembly on 22 February22, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that the total financial commitment of White entrepreneurs with whom contractual agreements had been concluded in regard to the establishment of industries on the agency basis at Babalegi was R 14 223 000. In its report for the year ended 31 March 1971 the B.I.C. has estimated that the labour force in the vicinity of Babalegi is approximately 40000 Africans. The African Gate Holdings group is to invest R1 000 000 in a new manufacturing complex there. The chairman of the company has said that if all goes well at this growth point their entire manufacturing operation would be transferred to Babalegi23.

According to the Decentralisation Board's report for the year ended 31 December 1971, Montshiwa (near Mafeking) in BophuthaTswana is to be developed as a growth point.

KwaZulu

Sithebe has been designated a growth point for KwaZulu. In its report to the end of 1971 the Decentralisation Board has stated that an industrial area of 150 hectares is being developed which could later be increased to 438 hectares. All basic services with the exception of railway sidings are available. Housing for White workers was being provided at Mandini but few applications were being received from industrialists. The report of the B.I.C. for fiscal year 1970/71 mentioned that a factory building for the first industrialist to settle there had been completed and 8 factory units were being erected. It was expected that some 10 000 families would eventually be residing in the African township of Sundumbili nearby. In the Assembly on 22 February", the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that the total financial commitment of White entrepreneurs with whom contractual agreements had been concluded on the establishment of industries on an agency basis at Sithebe was R170 000.

22 Hansard 4 col. 329. (This figure is the estimated investment by the industrialists in respect of stocks, machinery and equipment.)
24 Hansard 4 col. 329. (This figure is estimated investment by industrialists in respect of stocks, machinery and equipment.)

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

Other African homelands

In the Assembly on 22 February25, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that the estimated total financial commitment of White entrepreneurs with whom contractual agreements had been concluded on an agency basis in respect of stocks, machinery, and equipment in various African
areas were: R573 000 at Letaba in Gazankulu; R2 115 000 at Seshego in Lebowa; and R86 000 at Witzieshoek in Basotho Qwaqwa.

In August, Bantu reported that industrial development was already under way in Gazankulu at the township of Nkowankowa. A furniture factory had been established there by B.I.C. six years previously, a bus body plant was being built, and a factory to supply pre-assembled houses was planned.

Industrial conciliation in the African homelands

Proclamation No. R94 of 21 April applied the provisions of Proclamations No. R84 of 1970 and R124 of 1971 to the specifically "African" areas of the Transkei, as from 20 March 1970, in such a way as to exempt from the Industrial Conciliation and Wage Acts industries established by corporations or development corporates set up in terms of the Promotion of the Economic Development of Bantu Homelands Act of 1968. (This measure means that White, Asian, and Coloured people employed by the X.D.C., for instance, will still be covered by wage agreements and determinations under relevant Acts; Africans will not. It is probably reasonable to assume that this measure is a prelude to the enactment of wage regulating measures by the Transkeian Government itself.) Proclamation No. R102 of 28 April provided similar measures in the other African homelands.

In the Senate on 19 May, the Minister of Labour said: "In view of the special circumstances in the homelands the Government has revoked the application of our labour laws there, so that the homelands can make their own labour regulations in order to adapt to their own circumstances and requirements. In reply to questions put to me by members of the Opposition in this connection, I want to tell them that the wages which will be paid in the homelands will be determined by the homeland authorities. They will not be determined by us." At the annual conference of the Trade Union Council of South Africa in August union leaders expressed concern at the low wages being paid in homeland and border areas. Miss Anna Scheepers, president of the Garment Workers' Union of South Africa, said that because employers in the homelands were no longer bound by wage regulating machinery they could pay African workers what they liked. She continued: "We want the Government to allow us to continue, as in the past, to cover those areas with industrial council agreements," failing which "we should try to get something from the homeland leaders and see what their attitude is going to be."
RESETTLEMENT SCHEMES IN THE HOMELANDS

Types of residential areas and townships

As indicated earlier, after a tribal area has been planned, the residents are persuaded gradually to move their dwellings to demarcated residential areas. These areas accommodate not only families with arable plots and grazing rights, but also landless families from the tribal area concerned whose menfolk may be away working as migrants, and old people.

But they cannot accommodate Africans who are endorsed out of urban areas, or landless people removed from "black spots", or those sent away from the farms of Whites. This last category includes old people, and former labour tenants who have not become full-time farm workers together with their families, as well as the families of sons of farm labourers. Closer settlement areas have been set aside in the homelands for such people. In the past, rudimentary services only were available in the early stages. Tents were lent by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development for about three months, during which time the people were expected to build huts for themselves. They could not bring livestock with them. In most cases, little work has been available locally: able-bodied men and many younger women have been compelled to become migrant workers, returning home weekly, monthly, or even less frequently. The villages are, thus, inhabited mainly by elderly and disabled people, and mothers with young children. In recent years, the Department has been providing housing and improving the services that are available; but very great poverty persists.

Thirdly, modern townships are being developed close to employment centres, comparable with the best of the older established municipal townships. Some of these are mentioned in the preceding pages, and in the chapter on housing. The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development is reported as having stated that R7 746 702 was spent in the 1970-1 financial year on housing in the homelands. Questioned in the Assembly on 24 February, he said that during the period

28 Rand Daily Mail, 22 August.
1 Rand Daily Mail, 15 March.
2 Hansard 4 cols. 334-5.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

1 April 1968 to 30 June 1971, a total of about 209 000 Africans had been moved and resettled.

The financial responsibility for developing townships, and their control, is being handed over to the homeland governments. Bantu Affairs Commissioners may administer the townships, as agents for the governments.

Resettlement townships

In this particular chapter, attention is focussed on the resettlement townships that are remote from centres of employment. Three of them are in the Eastern Cape: Sada near Whittlesea, Dimbasa near King William's Town, and Hinge near Queenstown.

The then Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration visited these areas towards the end of 1971, and is reported to have said that no further such townships would
be established. He announced plans to improve conditions, to some extent, at the existing ones.

A report on Sada by Mr. F. O. Joseph, the Regional Secretary in East London of the Institute of Race Relations, was published in the September issue of Race Relations News. The original shacks, he said, had been replaced by small houses, mainly with four rooms. There were pit latrines and a tap every 46 metres. Rentals for the dwellings were R2.75 or R2.95 a month, depending on whether or not there was a cement floor. The official population was 13,000, but an estimated 2,000 to 3,000 homeless people lived there illegally. Some 1,600 families received rations (described later). The Government had provided a clinic, schools to the secondary level, three tennis courts, and three rugby fields (no communal hall as yet). There was only one shop, but others were planned. As at the other townships, no street lighting existed.

According to Mr. Joseph and to the Minister, at the beginning of 1972 there was employment for 46 men and 225 women in growing vegetables, at a brickyard, at a dressmaking concern established by the Moravian Mission, and at a handicap centre administered by the Ciskeian Legislative Assembly. Those who were then unemployed totalled 572 men and about 1,000 women. The Xhosa Development Corporation had erected a building for a small carpet factory; while under consideration were wool washing and meat processing undertakings.

At Sada and the other townships, the Department gives free blankets in winter to those in dire need, and provides free seed to those wishing to grow maize or vegetables on their small plots. Where possible, it employs residents on development work.


AFRICAN HOMELANDS

Destitute people have their rents remitted. The Red Cross provides soup for preschool children. Inter-Church Aid, set up by the S.A. Council of Churches, has established a company called Devcraft (Development Craft) to develop existing handicraft centres, create new ones, and market the products. It channels gifts from the public of food, clothing, blankets, and other items.

Mr. F. O. Joseph visited Dimbasa during January, reporting that there were 1,200 cottages there, which were being improved. Rents varied from R2.45 to R3.78 a month, but were remitted in about 85 per cent of cases. The official population was 7,400, but the actual figure was nearer 10,000. A small clinic, a shop, and several schools were operating. The Zenzele African women's organization ran a sewing school: the National Council of Women and others were helping by providing materials. There was, too, a small bead-craft group. According to the Minister, this group employed about 30 women. At the beginning of 1972 there were 429 men and 198 women needing work.

It was recently announced that the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk is planning to start small textile and metal concerns at Dimbasa, in buildings provided by the Xhosa Development Corporation.
There is not much recent published information about Illinge. The Minister said that, at the beginning of 1972, 308 men and 108 women were unemployed there. When opening a session of the Ciskeian Legislative Assembly in April the Minister reported that a primary and a secondary school had been built, and a clinic was nearing completion.

Other resettlement townships where much poverty exists include the Limehill complex to the south of Dundee, and Phuthaditjhaba at Witzieshoek.

Wages paid by the Department As mentioned, where feasible the Department provides work in or near the townships for men who cannot be placed in normal employment. In the Assembly on 19 May6 the Minister said that the wage scales, per annum, were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st and 2nd years</th>
<th>R42</th>
<th>R33</th>
<th>R75</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd year</td>
<td>R84</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th year</td>
<td>R94.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rations for indigent persons

Indigent persons, who cannot work, may qualify for free

'A Rand Daily Mail, 2 September and 16 October.

6 Hansard 15 cols. 1055-6.

205

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

rations. Questioned in the gave the scales, per month:

Assembly on 9 May7, the Minister

Item

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mealie meal</th>
<th>Mealies</th>
<th>Beans</th>
<th>Fat or margarine</th>
<th>Milk powder</th>
<th>Salt</th>
<th>Adults and children over 12 years Kg</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9,07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>6,80</td>
<td>1,814</td>
<td>0,9074</td>
<td>0,2268</td>
<td>2,50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3,628</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>2,268</td>
<td>2,50</td>
<td>0,9072</td>
<td>0,2268</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Children under 12 years Kg

6,80
1,814
0,9074
2,50
The numbers at the Eastern Cape resettlement villages who were receiving these rations in January were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Adults</th>
<th>Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ilinge</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sada</td>
<td>860</td>
<td>1796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimbasa</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>1900</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the S.A. Institute for Medical diet is almost totally lacking in Vitamins A and usually low in calories. Research', this C, and danger-

Maintenance grants
In terms of Government Notice R1791 of 8 October 1971, maintenance grants became payable to "unproductive" Africans who had the custody of a child or children under the age of 17 years, and who had been required to live in a homeland. In reply to various questions in the Assembly9, the Minister and the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development said that a means test was applied. According to Government Notice R683 of 1971, as amended, the maximum monthly grants payable to those with incomes below the amounts determined in this test were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Bracket</th>
<th>Adults</th>
<th>1st and 2nd child</th>
<th>From 3rd child</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adults</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st and 2nd</td>
<td>R2.50</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>R2.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>R1.75</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The maximum amounts payable per family were R10 a month, plus additional grants varying between R3 and R6.25 a month depending on circumstances.

It came to the notice of the Rev. David Russell, an Anglican priest working at Dimbasa, during March that people who re7 Hansard 14 cols. 1019-20.

8 Rand Daily Mail, 8 June.

9 Hansard 3 cols. 239-40, Hansard 6 col. 525, Hansard 16 cols. 1062-3.

206

AFRICAN HOMELANDS
ceived these grants no longer qualified for rations. They actually lost, for the grant for an adult was R2.50 a month, whereas the rations would cost R2.58. He pointed out that the Africans who received grants or rations had literally no money for fuel, clothing, or household equipment.

(As described in a subsequent chapter, the amounts payable in old age, blind, and disability pensions, for which those living in resettlement villages may qualify, are slightly higher: at the beginning of 1972 they were a maximum of R69 a year provided that the free income did not exceed R21. Mr. Russell estimated that the average income of pensioners was R5 a month.)
Protests by Mr. Russell and others
For a year, between April 1971 and the following April, Mr. Russell wrote a number of letters to the Department in an endeavour to obtain maintenance grants for needy people at Dimbas. Finally, on 2 March, he was informed that the Ciskeian Government had been empowered to deal with applications. But then he learned that if the applications were approved the people would lose their rations. He was granted an interview with the Deputy Minister, but did not succeed in having this ruling relaxed.

Mr. Russell then announced that for the six months ending on 15 October he would live on the average African old age pension of R5 a month, each month sending an open letter to the Minister describing his experiences. These letters were publicised in the Press.

During June Mr. Russell, and, at his suggestion, a number of other Whites, lived on the rations supplied to indigent Africans. They, too, wrote to the Minister telling of the effects. Mrs. Jean Sinclair, president of the Black Sash, said" that she had become lethargic, tired, cold, irritable, and depressed, and had found it very difficult to concentrate. Mr. Russell, too, described his lethargy and constant coldness.

BUS SERVICES IN THE HOMELANDS
The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said in the Assembly on 14 March that some of the Government's share (80 per cent) of the profits that local authorities make on the sale of hard liquor and bottled beer to Africans was spent on subsidizing bus services between homeland townships and White urban areas. The amounts thus spent during the past five years had been:

10 Rand Daily Mail, 20 May.
I libid, 28 July.
12 Hansard 7 cols. 555-6.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

The Bantu Investment Corporation owns two bus services, in the Ladysmith and Lebowa areas, and, together with Africans, owns shares in various other bus services.

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12 Hansard 7 cols. 555-6.
The Minister's figures in respect of Africans are omitted because the system of taxation in their case was very complicated. As described on page 156 of the 1969 Survey, it was somewhat simplified as from 1 March 1970.

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development gave some information about amounts collected from Africans in the 1970-1 financial year:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fixed (general) tax</th>
<th>Graded general tax based on income</th>
<th>Hospital levies</th>
<th>Transkeian general levy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R 8117313</td>
<td>R 6812442</td>
<td>R 58 848 277 202</td>
<td>R 8117313</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

He was unable to say how much had been paid in regional and tribal levies. His figure for the amount paid in general tax differed from one for the same year given in reports of the Controller and Auditor-General, which provided the following statistics:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General tax (paid to the Bantu Education Account)</th>
<th>Local tax and quitrent paid to the S.A. Bantu Trust</th>
<th>Local taxes and quitrent collected by Regional Authorities</th>
<th>Tribal levies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R 12690301</td>
<td>R 387407</td>
<td>R 73513</td>
<td>R 649851</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Controller and Auditor-General has published a series of reports on the accounts of the homeland Legislative Assemblies. According to these, the following amounts were paid in 1970-1 in addition to certain of the sums listed in the tables above:

|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|

### A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local tax</th>
<th>General levy</th>
<th>Tribal levies</th>
<th>Regional levies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>315201</td>
<td>277 202</td>
<td>23899 6757</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td>39827</td>
<td>27503</td>
<td>19848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>2259</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>260128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BophuthaTswana</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>671 789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BasothoQwaqwa</td>
<td>2 250</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3 312</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
No information was given about the KwaZulu, Lebowa, and Swazi areas. It is not possible, from available data, to calculate the total paid by Africans in direct taxation, nor in indirect forms such as sales, customs, and excise duties. Anticipated revenue from the general tax in 1972-3 is described in the chapter on Bantu Education.

The Gazankulu Special Taxation Act of 19721 imposed a special tax of R2.50 a year on all male general tax-payers, as from 1 March 1972.

MARRIAGES OF AFRICAN WOMEN IN NATAL AND THE TRANSVAAL

The Bantu Laws Amendment Act, No. 23 of 1972, inserted a new Section 22 ter in the Bantu Administration Act of 1927, dealing with consent to the marriage of an adult African woman in Natal and the Transvaal.

Background

The Marriage Act of 1961 is of general application except that Section 39 (4) and (5) provides that then existing laws governing the marriages of Africans remain in force unless the State President declares by proclamation that they shall cease to apply.

There were no such laws in the Cape or Free State dealing with consent to the marriage of an adult African woman, hence in these provinces in marriages of Africans by Christian or civil rites the consent of a woman's guardian is necessary only when she is under 21 years of age. There were special laws in Natal and the Transvaal, however.

Natal

Law 46 of 1887 provided that the consent of a woman's guardian was required, whatever her age might be. Difficulties could arise: the guardian's whereabouts might not be known. (If her father is dead or incapacitated, the guardian is the head of the kraal concerned. Urban women may have lost all touch with the kraals from which their forbears originated.) Where the guardian's consent could not be obtained or was unreasonably withheld, the consent of the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner had to be obtained. The latter was required to conduct an enquiry.

Intending spouses were required to obtain a licence from the Bantu Affairs Commissioner or a magistrate. They had to furnish this official with biographical details, hear his explanation of the nature and duties of marriage, and sign a declaration of particulars.

There was no provision for Africans to contract a civil marriage in Natal. Only religious marriages, performed by a Minister licensed for this purpose, were permitted. This meant that, in this province, Africans who were not Christians or who did not belong to a recognized Church, the ministers of which were marriage
officers, were compelled to have their marriage carried out in a church to which
they did not belong.

Transvaal

Marriages of Africans in the Transvaal were regulated by Law 3 of 1897 and
Proclamation 6 of 1900. Couples could choose between a religious and a civil
ceremony. Before the marriage could be solemnized each had to, submit to a
Bantu Affairs Commissioner a certificate from his or her parent, guardian, chief,
or a minister of religion, stating that there was no legal impediment to the
marriage. In addition, a bridegroom had to satisfy the official that he had
complied with the pass and taxation laws. The official, in turn, was required to
explain the moral and legal significance of marriage. If satisfied, he issued an
enabling certificate which had to be handed to the marriage officer before the
ceremony took place.

The guardian of a bride in the Transvaal could not prevent her from marrying
because he was dissatisfied with the lobola arrangements. If she was over 21 years
of age she might marry without his consent.

Provisions of Section 2 of the Bantu Laws Amendment Act of 1972

Section 2 of the 1972 Act provides that, in Natal and the Transvaal, a marriage
officer shall not solemnize a marriage to which an African woman who is of age
is a party, unless the written consent of her father or legal guardian is produced.
If, after a proper enquiry, the Minister or any person authorized thereto by him is
satisfied that the woman has no father or guardian, or that her father or guardian
unreasonably withholds his, consent, or that for any other good reason she is
unable to obtain such consent, the necessary consent, in writing, may be given by
the Minister or other authorized person.

Alternatively, the woman may apply to, a judge of the Supreme Court for consent
to marry a specified person. The judge may

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

grant the application if he is of the opinion that refusal of such consent will be
contrary to the woman's interests.

Comment by the Institute of Race Relations

The Institute of Race Relations sent comments on the Bill to leading members of
all political parties. It welcomed the fact that Africans in Natal would be offered
the choice, hitherto withheld, between contracting religious or civil marriages.
But it pointed out that the laws in the Transvaal were, in effect, being tightened.
The cumbersome systems in Natal, and, to a lesser extent, in the Transvaal, would
continue to place obstacles in the way of common law marriages. In consequence,
many couples would still simply live together without marrying. Moreover,
although the State President had power to do so (Section 22 bis of the Bantu
Administration Act, inserted in 1962), he had made no regulations for the
registration of customary unions (although this had been done by the Transkeian
Government). It was consequently often difficult to decide whether a union was a
marriage or not. These factors contributed towards the prevalence of irregular
unions and the high incidence of illegitimacy.
The Institute urged that Section 2 of the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill be deleted, and that, instead, the State President be asked to declare by proclamation that the relevant pre-Union laws in the Transvaal and Natal should cease to apply. The Marriage Act of 1961 would then be in force in all provinces, and a woman wishing to enter into a common law marriage would be required to obtain her father's or guardian's consent only if she were under 21 years of age.

Parliamentary debate
The Deputy Minister of Bantu Development, who introduced the Bill in the Assembly," said that the provisions of the pre-Union laws in Natal and the Transvaal relating to the necessity for a father or guardian's consent to the marriage of an African woman, irrespective of her age, were being retained at the request of Bantu Authorities. They were being incorporated in the Bantu Administration Act in order that the pre-Union laws might be repealed. Urban Africans had not been consulted, but could have made representations through their homeland governments, he said.

Mr. T. Gray Hughes (United Party) opposed the clause. The aim should be to make lawful marriage easier, he maintained, and not further to undermine the unstable structure of African family life. Urban Bantu councils and boards should have been consulted. If tribal authorities in the homelands wanted to preserve traditional custom, that was their own affair; but antiquated systems should not be forced upon those who did not wish to observe them. The common law of the country should be of general application.

Mrs. Suzman (Progressive Party) opposed the clause most strenuously. She talked of the absurdity of applying the out-dated law to educated, sophisticated, urbanized African women.

As indicated earlier, the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill dealt with other matters besides the clause relating to marriages. For this reason, the United Party opposed the clause, but not the Bill. But Mrs. Suzman recorded her objection to the Bill as a whole because of this clause.

COLOURED DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION
In an address to the Stellenbosch Afrikaanse Sakekamer on 9 June the Deputy Minister of Coloured Affairs said that between its establishment in September 1962 and 31 March 1972, the Coloured Development Corporation had assisted in the establishment of 192 commercial or light industrial concerns in the Republic, at a cost of R4 520 432, and 5 in South West Africa, at a cost of R75 380. Included in these totals were 103 retail businesses, 25 liquor concerns, 13 small manufacturers, 12 hotels, 8 building contractors, and 8 transport concerns.
It was stated in the Corporation's Annual Report for the year ended 30 September 1971 that one of the hotels was being used as a training centre for Coloured personnel, up to management level.

In reply to a series of questions in the Assembly on 27 April, the Minister gave full details of transactions during 1971. In that year, he said, the Corporation made 52 loans, totalling R1 216 060, to Coloured businessmen, mainly owners of retail shops. Five more hotels and five new liquor outlets had been established or taken over by the Corporation or, with its assistance, Coloured men. Three new cinemas were being built. Under construction or already in operation were four new business centres, a set of factory flats, and various smaller concerns. The Corporation's report explains that many of these concerns are operated by wholly-owned subsidiaries, but the shares are gradually to be disposed of to Coloured people, and the premises are often leased to Coloured men. By 30 September 1971, it stated, 41 loans, totalling R353 885, had been fully redeemed.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1,972

The Spes Bona Savings and Finance Bank, Ltd., established by the Corporation in Athlone, Cape Town, had assets worth R2 509 295 by 31 September 1971, consisting of funds contributed by Coloured people. This bank had made loans worth R1 469 906 to enable members of the Coloured community to acquire houses, businesses, or industrial land.

The Minister stated that in its 1970-1 financial year the Corporation had shown a profit of R34 728 on its interest in the rock lobster export market.

RURAL COLOURED AREAS

Replying to questions on 26 April, the Minister said that in the State's 1970-1 financial year, R389 930 was voted from revenue funds and R10 27 9 from loan funds for betterment and development schemes in rural Coloured areas. All of the loans, together with one-tenth of the grants from revenue funds, were recoverable from the Coloured management boards. Besides these amounts, the boards spent R48 827 from their own funds on development work.

In the 1971-2 financial year, the Minister continued, the Coloured Development Corporation received R348 813, and Coloured management boards R17 928, in respect of prospecting and mining royalties and taxes in Coloured rural areas. Thus far, mining rights for base minerals had been granted to five Whites: prospecting rights were held by sixteen Whites and eleven Coloured persons. The Corporation itself held the prospecting and mining rights for precious stones. In its report, this Corporation stated that it contracted with companies nominated by the Minister of Mines to undertake operations on its behalf. Four companies were at the stage where they could commence mining operations. Three were still prospecting: all the shares in one of these were held by Coloured diggers.

INTER-PROVINCIAL TRAVEL PERMITS FOR INDIANS

In spite of repeated representations by the S.A. Indian Council, Indians still require permits to travel from one province to another, or through the Transkei or
northern part of Natal. The Minister of Indian Affairs said in the Assembly in
March 1971 that, during 1971, his Department issued 43 permits authorizing Indians
to change their places of residence from one province to another, and 23,343
authorizing temporary inter-provincial travel. It is not known how many more of
the latter type of permits were issued by the Department of the Interior,
magistrates, and police stations.
Later, however, during October, the Minister indicated that there might be some
relaxations of these regulations in 1973.
10 Hansard 12 cols. 914, 911-3. 11 10 March, Hansard 6 col. 518.

EMPLOYMENT
THE ECONOMIC SITUATION
In its annual economic report for the year ended June 1972 the South African
Reserve Bank stated that the gross domestic product at current market prices
increased by 12 per cent, compared with 8 per cent in 1970/71. (However, the real
gross domestic product increased at about the same relatively low rate of 4 per
cent.) This higher rate of increase was attributable to a favourable agricultural
year, the high gold price ruling on the private market, the recovery of metal and
mineral prices on international markets, higher export prices obtained for
important agricultural products, and the effects of the general re-alignment of
currencies during the past twelve months. The mining sector's contribution to the
gross domestic product which had declined by nearly 8 per cent in 1970/71
increased by more than 14 per cent in 1971/72. The lower rate of increase in
salaries and wages also made a significant contribution to the reduction of
inflationary pressures. The total current and actual expenditure of the public
authorities, i.e. the central, provincial, and local authorities, which had continued
to increase sharply during the second half of 1971, showed a changed trend and
actual reductions were recorded during the first two quarters of 1972.
The South African rand was devalued by 12.28 per cent compared with a 7.89 per
cent devaluation of the U.S. dollar in December 1971, but the authorities decided
in June 1972 to maintain the existing exchange rate relationship between the rand
and sterling after the British authorities' decision to, allow the pound to float.
On 24 October, the Minister of Finance announced a further formal devaluation of
the rand by 4.2 per cent from R28.50 a fine ounce of gold to R29.75. In effect this
decision severed the rand's link with the downward "floating" pound sterling and
affected a some 4 per cent revaluation of the rand. The total devaluation of the
rand since December 1971 was 16.48 per cent.'
After December 1971 the balance of payments deficit showed marked
improvement but still amounted to the relatively high figure of R499 000 000 at
the end of June 1972. The Reserve Bank attributed the improvement, in the main,
to: (1) the exceptionally sharp rise in the price of gold on the private market, (2)
the significant improvement in the world market for some of South Africa's major
exports, such as diamonds, wool, sugar, and
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

platinum, and (3) excellent agricultural crops. However, a net inflow of capital of R578 000 000, although smaller than the record inflow of the previous year, also contributed materially to the rise in the gold and foreign reserves. This was the seventh consecutive year that South Africa recorded a net inflow of capital.

The upturn in the economy enabled the authorities to relax in July 1972 the somewhat stringent import controls which had been imposed in November 1971. In August the Reserve Bank also reduced the Bank Rate by 1 per cent and the rates on government stock by 1 per cent.

A further relaxation of import controls followed the devaluation of the rand in October, as did the removal of the ceiling on bank lending. In November the gold and foreign reserves of the Reserve Bank approached the level of R1 000 000 000.

During the year under review both fixed investment and government consumption expenditure increased at a lower rate than the previous year whereas private consumption expenditure rose at a slightly higher rate. However, if the price increases were to be taken into account, private consumption expenditure would also have increased at a lower rate.

There was a slight easing of labour conditions during the year with an increase in the unemployment of Whites, Coloured people, and Asians, of whom 12 771 were unemployed in June 1972. This represents about 1 per cent of the total number of Whites, Coloured people, and Asians employed in the second quarter of 1972.

In March, Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer, chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, in an address to students at the University of Stellenbosch, questioned the role of the State in the South African economy. Mr. Oppenheimer maintained that "in practice, the public corporations are moving rapidly into the general business field without any regard to the special purposes for which they are supposed to have been formed". He went on to say "there seems to me good reason for an inquiry into the functions of these public corporations, their relationships with the private sector, and the extent to which their activities run counter to the official policy of encouraging private enterprise".

A more detailed question on the role of "State capitalism" was posed by the Financial Mail of 2 June. This pointed out that between 1960 and 1970 the public sector share of total fixed investment had risen from 41 per cent to 46 per cent, and that during the same period public sector gross fixed investment grew at an average annual rate of 13.3 per cent, against 11 per cent in the private sector. The Financial Mail's analyst maintained that in addition to State ownership of railways, harbours, airways, electricity, telecommunications and armaments manufacture, coupled with the commercial
activities of the Department of Forestry and the activities of the Department of Water Affairs' construction section, the State already controlled the major part of the South African steel producing and fabricating industry, while the Industrial Development Corporation owned 61 per cent and 57 per cent, respectively, of two investment trusts: National Selections and Industrial Selections.

The findings of the Commission of Enquiry into Exports (Reynders Commission), mentioned on page 173 of last year's Survey, have not yet been released by the authorities although it would appear that some of the interim recommendations, particularly those in regard to export financing, have already been implemented.6

In a report published in September, the South African Foreign Trade Association (Safto) maintained that the formation of a national export policy was imperative.' This report maintained that even if the price of gold were $120 an ounce South Africa could face a trade gap of R2 000 000 000 on current account in 1980. The report stated that there was strong evidence to support the view that the Republic's trade gap over the last 10 years had been basically structural and not cyclical. The recent measures concerning import control, devaluation and floating of the rand were, therefore, not long-term solutions to the Republic's international economic problems.

In an address to a symposium on South Africa and the Southern Hemisphere arranged by the Centre for International Politics at Potchefstroom University on 25 August, Mr. Jan Haak, a former Minister of Economic Affairs, questioned the value for the Republic of membership of the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) and asked whether the time had not arrived to establish an Organisation for Economic Co-operation in the Southern Hemisphere.' In answer to charges by Congressman Charles C. Diggs, Jnr., that South Africa was persistently violating GATT rules by maintaining and extending important quotas, the Assistant Secretary Mr. David Abshire, replying on behalf of the United States Secretary of State, Mr. William Rogers, condemned the South African Government's "inefficient use of labour resources" and the "ineffectiveness" of its monetary and fiscal policies to contain inflation in the second half of 1971. Mr. Abshire revealed that in July 1972 the United States Embassy in Pretoria had been instructed to lodge a "protest" with the South African Government on the grounds that "local content" rebates for locally-manufactured cars were in violation of GATT. The United States had also "objected strongly" to South Africa's re-invocation in November of article 12 of GATT and believed that the firm position which had been adopted was
probably a significant factor in the extensive relaxation of import controls which occurred in July, 1972.

Dr. A. D. Pretorius of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, in a survey of South Africa's membership of Gatt, concluded that GATT rules did not take sufficient account of the special development needs and burdens of the Republic. While GATT membership was "probably essential" the time might have come for South Africa to pursue a more aggressive policy of protection for its industries."x The Minister of Economic Affairs, in announcing the, Government's decision to remain a member of Gatt, gave a firm undertaking to manufacturers that, regardless of South Africa's GATT obligations, the Government would continue to give protection where justified.1

In the first half of 1972 the Economics Commission of the Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society issued its report on the South African economy which was entitled Power, Privilege and Poverty and which highlighted the urgent need for a fundamental redistribution of power in South Africa.

FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY

General

The question of the role of foreign investment, briefly mentioned on pages 173-4 of last year's Survey, received further attention during 1972.

On 17 April the Minister of Finance told the House of Assembly that foreign investment in South Africa would be "as welcome as ever".2 He mentioned the considerable inflow of foreign capital the previous year and went on to say: "By far the greater part of those investments has been in respect of private permanent capital. This government has always welcomed the investment of foreign moneys in this country, not only because we need those investments for quicker growth, but because of the knowledge which usually accompanies these funds, and because of the contacts which such foreign investments bring to South Africa."

Dr. Diederichs, elaborated upon this theme on 29 June2 when he said that during the 5 years ended in 1970 investment from outside South Africa increased by over 70 per cent. In 1970, the sterling area supplied 58 per cent, the dollar area 15 per cent, Western Europe 24 per cent and other sources 3 per cent of such investment. Foreign capital had played an important part

10 Star, 4 October.
L Rand Daily Mail, 5 October.
Hansard 11 col. 5058-9.
2 Department of Information News Release 139/72(P).
218

FOREIGN INVESTMENT

in the earlier development of South Africa, but the Republic, today, generated a large proportion of her capital requirements internally. Nevertheless, foreign investment was still welcome, particularly where it was long-term investment, and especially when it was accompanied by technical expertise and "know-how". He added that nationalisation or confiscation of foreign property, or repudiation of foreign debt was completely alien to (the South African Government's) philosophy. (It should be noted, however, that the financial controls needed to restrict the outflow of capital from the Republic are available in terms of Section
9 of the Currency and Exchanges Act of 1933, and more particularly, in terms of the regulations issued under Government Notice No. 1111 of 1 December 1961.) In an article entitled The Rich get Richer,3 John Kane-Berman estimated that nett capital inflow from abroad contributed an annual average of 11 per cent to gross domestic investment over the period 1965-70 and was particularly high in 1968 (20 per cent) and 1970 (15 per cent). He pointed out that between 1956 and 1967 the Republic's foreign liabilities increased at an average annual rate of 3.4 per cent, but from the end of 1967 to the end of 1970 the rate increased to 14.2 per cent. Private sector investment constituted 86 per cent of total foreign investment (both direct and indirect) at the end of 1970. Direct investment, i.e. investment in South African enterprises where foreign investors have a degree of control that can have a material influence on company policy, amounted to 73.6 per cent of total foreign investment.

In May, the World Council of Churches' Commission of the Programme to Combat Racism urged that all investments in South Africa be withdrawn. It endorsed a publications programme which would produce information booklets on Portugal, South Africa, and the European Economic Community; the role of corporate investment in Southern Africa; military support for colonial and racist regimes in Southern Africa; and the growing links between Southern Africa and countries such as Japan, Argentina, Brazil, and Israel.4 In August, the 120-man Central Committee of the World Council of Churches (W.C.C.) voted by an overwhelming majority of 110 to withdraw its investments from companies with direct investments in and trade ties with 6 countries in Southern Africa including South Africa and South West Africa (Namibia). The Central Committee urged its 250 Protestant and Orthodox member churches, representing 350 million Christians "to use all their influence, including stockholder action and disinvestment to press corporations to withdraw investments from and cease trading with (South Africa, South West Africa (Namibia), Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea Bissau)."5 The President

3 Reality, July 1972.
4 Oikoumene (W.C.C. Communication) 6/8-72 5 May.
5 Rand Daily Mail, 23 August.

219

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
of the Methodist Church of South Africa, Dr. Alex Boraine, regretted this decision. He felt that it would have been more positive if the W.C.C. had embarked upon a campaign to persuade investors in South Africa to give a fair deal and a bigger share in their profits to their workers." Bishop Alpheus Zulu, a vicepresident of the W.C.C., who had attended the W.C.C. meeting in Utrecht (Holland) said on his return to South Africa that he had opposed the W.C.C.'s decision to withdraw its investments from South Africa because he believed an improvement in the economic situation of Black people could only be brought about by increasing investment.' The South African Council of Churches identified itself with Bishop Zulu's action and affirmed its position against the support of violence either as a means to change or to maintain what it regards as
an unjust social order in South Africa. (Dimension Vol. III No. 8.) On 22
September the Rand Daily Mail reported that the Christian Institute of Southern
Africa had issued a statement signed by its director, the Rev. C. F. Beyers Naude
and the editor of Pro-Veritate, Mr. Roelf Meyer, which said that isolated
withdrawals of investments in South Africa would not have worthwhile effects on
the situation, but would only harden the attitude of those in power and not really
mean anything for the oppressed. Blacks needed development and growth of the
economy for their own advancement. Overseas investments should, therefore, be
couraged in principle . . . but not without the basic principle that the situation
must change . . . so that every Black man gets a fair deal.
The council of the Black Sash in the Western Cape has opposed the withdrawal of
foreign capital and any limitations on further investment in South Africa! During
a visit to the United States, Mr. David Curry, deputy leader of the Labour Party is
reported to have endorsed the principle of "disengagement" since his party was
"not satisfied with the wage structure or benefits available to (Black) people". Mr.
Curry maintained that American and other foreign companies had had two years
to take meaningful steps to correct the situation but they had not responded. A lot
more would have to be done, and quickly, before his party even considered
changing its position.' On 15 November the Rand Daily Mail reported that Mr.
Sonny Leon, president of the Labour Party, said, at the end of a five-week tour
that he had found strong support in the U.S. for his party's call for America's
disengagement from S.A. Also in the United States, the Very Reverend Canon
Gonville ffrench-Beytagh, former Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, maintained
that no foreign company with interests
Star, 24 August.
Star, 11 September.
8 Black Sash, March 1972.
9 Rand Daily Mail, 27 April.
220

FOREIGN INVESTMENT
in South Africa was doing a tenth of what it should to improve working
conditions for its African employees.1"
At the end of 1971 Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said: "Those who are contemplating
withdrawing from South Africa would do better by remaining involved and
improving the conditions of employment of Black people here. It is a fallacy to
think disengagement will help the situation - as so many young people think....
The agitation for disengagement had been started by Black people in the United
States. They and the young people supporting that view in this country are under a
misconception."'
Mr. M. T. Moerane, president of ASSECA and editor of The World, maintains
that it is desirable for American investors to be agents for positive change and for
other countries such as Britain to follow suit.2 Bishop Leonard Auala of the
Ovambokavango Evangelical Lutheran Church has argued against the withdrawal
of U.S. investment in South Africa. He has urged U.S. business operating in South
Africa to adopt a policy of equal treatment for all employees.'3
The National Union of South African Students' Welfare and Social Action Department (Nuswel) resolved in July: "To call upon foreign firms to operate in terms of the rights of workers applying in their own countries, namely the right to work and the right to organise and thus to recognise Black worker committees and trade unions for the purpose of collective bargaining with a view to improving the working and living conditions of Black workers., or to withdraw."

In May, Mr. Andrew Kailembo of Tanzania, the assistant head of the Africa division of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) stated in Gaberones that ICFTU had sent cables to affiliated unions all over the world asking them, inter alia, to harass European and American firms with investments in South Africa. He added that ICFTU was pressuring for strong measures to be taken by the United Nations, individual governments, and international labour organizations "to denounce companies investing in South Africa - in other words, companies that invest in apartheid". At the 10th world congress of ICFTU in London in July, where 700 participants represented 91 countries, Mr. Abdulrahim Abby Farah of Somalia, chairman of the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid, urged trade unions to take vigorous steps against South Africa in industrial and economic fields."

In October the Minister of the Interior said that he intended to bar from the Republic foreign visitors investigating the operations of foreign companies. The United States government was said to be seeking clarification of the Minister's statement and it was later reported that there would be no blanket ban and that all visa applications would be considered on merit as they had been in the past.7

In the United Kingdom Mr. Jeremy Thorpe (Liberal) and Mr. Leslie Huckfield (Labour) have launched a campaign to force British firms in South Africa to remove "apartheid injustices" among their Black employees."8

More than 100 British members of parliament, clergymen, writers, actors, and artists have signed a declaration urging that Britain adopt a new policy of disengagement from South Africa."9 In March, Mr. Peter Hain, chairman of the Young Liberals, said he would continue "more strongly than ever" his campaign against companies with substantial interests in South Africa.2

In April, five young stockholders who alleged that Barclays Bank was bowing to racialism in South Africa were ejected from the bank's annual meeting in London.2 The Church of Scotland decided to retain its investment in companies operating in South Africa but -to use its position as a responsible shareholder to raise with the companies the question of their social responsibilities.22

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1. Ibid, 22 May.
2. Ibid, 12 July.
3. Ibid, 10 April.
4. Rand Daily Mail, 10 April.
5. Rand Daily Mail, 17 May.
6. Ibid, 12 July.
7. Ibid, 22 May.
8. Ibid, 10 April.
9. Ibid, 8 September.
12. Ibid, 12 July.
13. Rand Daily Mail, 10 April.
15. Rand Daily Mail, 17 May.
Consolidated's annual meeting in London, the chairman, Mr. S. Spiro, rejected demands for withdrawal of Charter's investments in South Africa and South West Africa (Namibia), but conceded that African wages were low. Mr. Spiro ruled illegal a motion that shareholders forego their dividend and devote it to African workers.-3

On 9 September the Star reported that the British Trades Union Congress had carried a motion instructing its general council to withdraw investments in companies with South African subsidiaries. According to a report in the Rand Daily Mail of 20 September the Commissioners of the Church of England have decided to sell their R3 000 000 investment in Rio Tinto-Zinc.

The Rand Daily Mail reported on 24 November that the Labourcontrolled Camden Council was withdrawing its R140 000 000 account with Barclays Bank because of its connections with South Africa, and, on 30 November, that the Labour-controlled Wandsworth Council had decided to renew its R240 000 000 account with Barclays, despite strong opposition to the bank's interests in South Africa.

17 Rand Daily Mail, 7, 11 and 13 October and 4 November; Sunday Express, 15 October. 18 Ibid, 1 June and 28 August; Sunday Times, 20 August. 19 Star, 27 June.

20 Rand Daily Mail, 27 March; Sunday Tribune, 27 August. 21 Rand Daily Mail, 13 April.

22 Ibid, 1 June.

23 Ibid, 13 July.

FOREIGN INVESTMENT

At the end of 1971 Shell and British Petroleum announced that a contributory pension fund for their Black workers was being instituted and that suitable adjustments in the wages of these workers would be made to enable them to contribute 5 per cent of their wages to the fund without a reduction in take-home pay. All past service would be recognised in determining benefits and the cost of funding this would be borne exclusively by the employer."4 Gilbeys, the British-backed wine and spirit concern later announced the introduction of pension and life assurance benefits equal to those of White employees for 370 Black workers in their employ.5

In London, a Study Project on External Investment in South Africa and Namibia (South West Africa) has been established to undertake research into, and prepare for an international conference upon the scale, nature and role of external investment there.

United States

The policy of the Nixon Administration towards South Africa was enunciated in the American President's annual message to the United States Congress. The President said:

"Americans alone, however, cannot solve the racial problems of South Africa .... For our part, we look toward Black and White in Africa to play the primary role in working towards progress consistent with
human dignity. We support their efforts by:
-Encouraging communication between the races in Africa, and between African peoples and our own.
-Making known directly to the parties involved our views on their actions. My Administration will not condone recourse to violence, either as a means of enforcing submission of a majority to a minority, or as a formula for effecting needed social change. . . . The situation today offers no grounds for complacency about the imminence of racial justice in Southern Africa. It is, therefore, important that we continue to do everything we can to encourage respect for human dignity. . . . Private companies, many of them American, are considering new ways to open opportunities for African workers."

In June, Mr. David Newsom, the U.S. Secretary of State for African Affairs, stated that U.S. policy towards Africa sought to encourage "a meaningful relationship with a continent increasingly important in terms of trade, investment, and its role on the international stage".6 There was no valid basis for speculating that the U.S. would take extraordinary measures to protect American investment in South Africa in the event of civil or other disturbances when, among other factors, more substantial investment in the rest of the continent would need to be weighed in the balance. The United States did not encourage investment in South Africa nor did it extend guarantees covering such investment.7 The 24 Financial Mail. 10 December 1971.
25 Star, 18 April.
26 Rand Daily Mail, 29 June.
27 However, the U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, Mr. C. Robert Moore, had indicated earlier that while export-import bank facilities for trade with South Africa were limited they did in fact exist. Rand Daily Mail, 23 May.
223

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
official position was neither to encourage nor discourage investment in South Africa, but American firms who were already located in South Africa were encouraged to lead the way in upgrading the status of (Black) workers and in contributing to social and educational improvements.
On the other hand, the Africa plank of the Democratic Party's presidential platform declared that the central feature of contemporary African politics was the struggle against "racism and colonialism in Southern Africa" and it called, inter alia, for the removal of U.S. tax credits for companies or their subsidiaries operating in South Africa; the termination of South Africa's American sugar quota; Government pressure on U.S. companies to ensure justice for their Black South African employees; and full support for United Nations control over Namibia (South West Africa). This programme was endorsed by Senator George McGovern, the Democratic Party's contender for the Presidency in 1972, and was hailed by Congressman Charles Diggs, Jnr., as "the first positive platform in the direction of just and sensible U.S.-African relations".28
The visit to South Africa last year of Congressman Charles Diggs, Jnr., who is chairman of the Africa Sub-committee of the Congressional House Committee on Foreign Affairs, was mentioned on page 174 of last year's Survey. Later in the United States, Mr. Diggs issued his recommendations for U.S. policy among which were:

1. U.S. representation in South Africa should be downgraded to chargé level.
2. U.S. should contribute to the U.N. Trust Fund.
3. An office of the U.S. Information Service should be opened in Soweto and other Black cities.
4. Black American personnel should be assigned to the U.S. legation in S.A. while local Blacks should be employed in all categories.
5. NASA tracking facilities in S.A. should be terminated.
6. Encouragement of U.S. business in S.A. should be ended.
7. Expansion of U.S. business in S.A. should be opposed.
8. Export-Import bank facilities should be terminated.
9. Business should be advised that in the event of difficulties with liberation movements no protection would be extended by the U.S. Government.
10. The U.S. Government should cause U.S. business in S.A. to establish fair employment practices and to refuse to adhere to racial policies.
11. Where fair employment practices are not instituted, eligibility for U.S. Government contracts be prohibited.
12. That goods produced by forced labour be prevented from entering the U.S.
13. That the S.A. sugar quota be withdrawn.
14. That tax deductions be not allowed in respect of those firms operating in Namibia (South West Africa).

In January the South African Government refused to grant Mr. Diggs a visa for a return visit to South Africa and a visit to South West Africa (Namibia). The U.S. Government lodged a formal protest. During a visit to Gaberones (Botswana) Mr. Diggs stated that his campaign for equal rights in South Africa was just beginning, pledged his support for "freedom fighters", and maintained that
oppressed people should not be denied the right "to seek their liberation by any means available".1 At the end of March Mr. Diggs introduced legislation, co-sponsored by 23 other members of the House of Representatives, to compel U.S. businesses in South Africa to adopt standards of "fair employment".2 On 28 September the Star reported that the Africa Subcommittee of Congress had published a 471 page report which concluded that a Vietnam-type "holocaust" loomed in South Africa.

In 1971 the United Nations Association of the United States convened a National Policy Panel to consider American policy on South Africa. A report entitled South Africa: Proposals for Americans was issued in December, 1971. Several members of the panel recorded their reservations in respect of certain findings or proposals while 2 disagreed with a substantial number of the findings. Among the proposals were:

1. U.S. policy should not encourage the present system of racial segregation and discrimination in S.A.
2. The U.S. Government should make it clear that no defence or assistance would be given in the suppression of an internal revolt in S.A.
3. The U.S. Government should actively discourage further investment in S.A.
5. The U.S. Government should establish guidelines for monitoring the employment practices of companies in S.A.
6. Products which assist the S.A. military and police should be withheld from the S.A. market.
7. Guarantees and insurance and credit facilities from the Export-Import Bank should be discontinued.
8. The S.A. sugar quota should be revoked.
9. U.S. companies should stop contributing to the South Africa Foundation.

In February a 15 member group, representing 6 U.S. Protestant Churches, which had visited South Africa towards the end of 1971, issued its findings in a document entitled U.S. Investment in Southern Africa - A Focus For Church Concern and Action. This report was a severe indictment of the South African social system and was also highly critical of the labour practices of U.S. business in the Republic. Most of the group believed that U.S. corporations should withdraw from South Africa, but some believed that if vigorous policies were adopted they might, over a period of years, improve the lot of (Black) workers although this would not bring about the necessary basic changes in the society. Later, in New York, the Episcopal Bishop,
the Right Reverend John E. Hines, on behalf of the Church Project on U.S. Investment in Southern Africa, formed by five Protestant Churches, announced that the Church as shareholders had filed resolutions with several companies calling for them to disclose to their shareholders and the public the nature of their operations in South Africa and Angola.3 The Southern Africa Corporate Strategy Group has also chosen certain firms for investigation.4 In 1971 the African American Institute (AAI) launched a series of meetings of institutional investors, i.e. foundations and universities, at which a wide spectrum of views on the issues involved were aired. The AAI has issued documentation on the question in the form of Background Readings on United States Corporations in Southern Africa.

The 13 member Congressional "Black Caucus" maintains its interest in the question of U.S. involvement in Southern Africa. A congressional bill was introduced in February calling for a halt to all further investment in the White-rulled countries of Africa, the confiscation of the assets of companies established there, and the payment of "reparations" to Black people in Southern Africa. Its introduction enabled Congressman Ronald Dellums to read some 45 pages of material compiled by anti-apartheid groups into the Congressional Record.5 Other groups concerned with American involvement in Southern Africa include:

1. American Committee on Africa, (A.C.O.A.) which issues a wide variety of material and whose director, Mr. George Houser, has testified to both Mr. Diggs' Committee and the U.N. Special Committee on Apartheid.
2. Washington Task Force on Southern Africa, which was recently created by some churches and A.C.O.A. to influence congressmen and senators.
3. Southern Africa Committee which issues a news digest called Southern Africa.
4. Lawyers' Committee which is examining both South African and United States legislation with a view to further action.
5. African Heritage Studies Association a group of Black American academics and scholars.36

FOREIGN INVESTMENT

7. The Corporate Information Center of the National Council of Churches has issued reports entitled General Electric-Apartheid and Business in South Africa and IT & T - Apartheid and Business in South Africa, both of which are critical of these companies' activities in the Republic.
8. Africa Research Group is located at Cambridge (Mass.) and has issued a highly critical study entitled Race to Power: the Struggle
for Southern Africa.
9. Madison Area Committee on Southern Africa located in Wisconsin
has issued a publication Is Southern Africa Wisconsin's Business?
10. Council on Economic Priorities has also issued a report on American motor
companies in South Africa.
11. Center for International Race Relations at the University of
Denver issues a periodical called Africa Today which carries
articles on Southern African issues.
In March Mr. Roy Wilkins, head of the National Association for the
Advancement of Coloured People, visited South Africa. He maintained that
nothing he had seen had given him any cause for celebration, except the stirring
realisation by many living in the Republic of the need for change, but he would
report that Black South Africans were divided on whether American investments
should be withdrawn from South Africa. His own view was that such companies
should make greater efforts to upgrade Black workers and give them equal pay
with Whites. If they found it impossible to do this they should withdraw.37
Senator Edward Kennedy has also taken a direct hand in the campaign to
persuade American firms to pursue non-racial policies in South Africa." The
African-American Labor Center is also opposed to the policies of apartheid and is
urging American companies with investments in South Africa to press for the
elimination of all forms of racial discrimination and -to practise policies of
equality towards all workers irrespective of colour.9 Mr. Donald McHenry, a
Black State Department officer who is on a year's leave to conduct an in-depth
study of U.S. companies in South Africa as an international affairs fellow for the
Council on Foreign Relations, paid a second visit to the Republic in the second
half of 1972. Mr. McHenry said that labour laws in South Africa were more
flexible than many people realised but inflexible administration of flexible laws
could still cause difficulties. Mr. McHenry expects to complete his project by the
end of 1972.40
At the end of March about 200 delegates from many of the interested groups
mentioned in this section, together with representatives from churches, labour
unions, Black political groups, and universities gathered in Washington for a
conference on the "United States and southern Africa" to plan a concerted strateg)
against "apartheid".41
37 Rand Daily Mail, 29 March; Star, 29 March and 3 April.
8 Star, 21 January.
88 Rand Daily Mail, 24 April.
4o Star, 4 August.
,&I Rand Daily Mail, 24 and 27 March: Star, 30 March.
227

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
Four members of the State Department's African Advisory Council, Dr. Chester
Marcus, Dr. Wesley McCain, Dr. Edwin Munger, and Dr. Harriet Murphy, visited
South Africa in March and later submitted a confidential report to the Assistant
Secretary of State for African Affairs which, it is alleged, urged that U.S. aid and investment should be channelled into the homelands.2

The Star reported on 1 December that the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee had set aside R150 000 to investigate how large corporations influenced American foreign policy.

An article in the July issue of Fortune magazine opposed the withdrawal of U.S. investment but maintained that few American subsidiaries seemed to realise that "the climate (was) ripe for change" and neither did they want it. The analyst considered that probably not more than 25 subsidiaries of American companies could be considered as reacting responsibly to the growing pressures for change. Of those companies which made their wage scales available (some 16) only about 6 could be regarded as pursuing progressive pay policies for Black workers.

In South Africa, the Polaroid Corporation announced that it would grant a further R37 000 for the education of Black South Africans.3 Pepsi-Cola later announced that it would join ASSET (American-South African Study and Educational Trust) on the same basis as Polaroid by contributing R37 000 a year from 1 July.44 International Business Machines donated R6 500 to the Star's TEACH fund which was created to build schools in Johannesburg's African township, Soweto, and R14 750 to various bursary funds for Black scholars.45 Executives of the company are also reported to have had "high-level discussions" with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi."

In April, the chairman of General Motors Corporation, Mr. Richard Gerstenberg, visited South Africa to make a spot check that G.M. was "hastening the day of racial equality".7 Mr. Gerstenberg later announced that G.M. had no intention of pulling out of South Africa but would like to see equal opportunity for all race groups in the Republic.8 In May shareholders of the company in Detroit soundly defeated a motion that the company fully disclose its role in South Africa." In South Africa the company gave R1 250 to ASSECA (Association for the Educational and Cultural Advancement of Africans).50 In June Mr. David Curry, Deputy Leader of the Labour Party, upon his return from the U.S. announced that top executives of G.M., Ford and Chrysler had granted him permission to conduct on-the-spot investigations.

42 Star, 3 October; Rand Daily Mail, 5 October. 43 Rand Daily Mail, 1 January. 44 Ibid. 2 May.
4.1 Star, 28 March.
46 Rand Daily Mail, 12 April.
47 Ibid, 10 April.
4s Ibid. 12 April.
49 Ibid, 22 May.
50 Ibid, 19 May.
228

FOREIGN INVESTMENT
at their South African plants.5 On 27 August the Sunday Times reported that G.M. had encouraged the formation of "works committees" for its Black workers, that it was prepared to pay full tuition fees for any employee who wished to
continue his education after hours, and that it had instituted a scheme to subsidise school fees and books for the children of its African employees. Several Black workers had been promoted to, the status of foreman but were to supervise Black workers only.

The Sunday Times on 20 August carried lengthy reports on Chrysler. In 1968 the company's production plant was moved from the Cape to Silverton near Pretoria, where it employs some 2 400 workers. Its recruitment of staff is governed by work determination number 26 of 1970 which established a ratio of White to Coloured to African workers of at least 30: 10: 60. Most of Chrysler's assembly workers are drawn from the African township of Mamelodi. When Chrysler moved to Silverton in 1968 the average industrial wage rate was 15 cents an hour. Chrysler immediately offered a higher rate and its African workers now earn an average of 40 cents an hour. African workers communicate with management through a works committee of 24 representatives of hourly-paid workers which meets with executive staff once a week. Chrysler has announced that its 1972 budget includes provision for 25 scholarships for Black South African students who will be chosen by the works committee in its South African plant.2

One of the frankest disclosures by an American company on its role in South Africa has been that of Mobil Oil in response to approaches from the United Church Board for World Ministries. This indicated that all Mobil's workers were being remunerated at rates above that stringent measure the poverty datum line but a substantial number of African and Coloured workers were in receipt of wages below that more humane measure the minimum effective level. It also appeared that there was some justice in the claim that "equal pay for equal work" was being applied, i.e. in those categories where Whites and Blacks are being employed in the same job. Fringe benefits seem to have been progressively extended to Blacks on the same basis as Whites, particularly over the last few years.3 Mobil is employing both African and Coloured workers as tank drivers and one of its depots is entirely staffed by Black drivers.4 It was later announced that the entire board of Mobil would attend a full board meeting in Cape Town at the end of September.5 The Chairman of Mobil, Mr. R. Warner, and other members of the board met Chief Kaiser Matanzima, Chief Minister of the Transkei, on an "unofficial basis". The Chief said that Mr. Warner had told him that "equal pay for equal work"

51 Ibid, 22 June.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
was the policy of his company"." Caltex announced that from May 1972 its Black employees would join a common contributory pension plan.7 It is also to spend R250000 on improving and extending its rest-room facilities for both Whites and Blacks which would be identical in all rooms.5" Caltex, like Mobil, is employing Black workers as tank drivers.59
In April, Mr. S. Greiley, chief executive of Masonite, visited South Africa. It was reported that the improvement of working conditions of Black workers in the company would be a subject of discussion with the South African subsidiary. Goodyear Tyre and Rubber Company has announced a programme to ensure that dependants of all their employees are given every opportunity to further their education, both at school and university. The agricultural equipment company, John Deere, has announced the introduction of a pension scheme for its Black staff which will be the same as that for its White employees. Lilly Laboratories also states that it pays the rate for the job, and that White and African workers have the same non-contributory pension and life assurance benefits, get a double salary cheque in December, and are offered the same food in their respective canteens. A free medical-aid scheme for African workers and their families - with the same benefits as Whites - was to come into operation in September. A Black works committee has been in operation for about 2 years and there is a free education scheme for the children of African employees up to Standard 6 and beyond if the children have the ability and desire it. The company's director of industrial relations maintains that productivity is exceptionally high and the turnover of African staff almost nil.

Western Europe
In the Netherlands the Werkgroep Kairos has issued a newssheet on Dutch investment and employment practices in South Africa entitled Aandrijven en ondernemingsraden van Nederlands bedrijven met vestigingen in Zuid-Afrika containing a list of Netherlands companies with subsidiaries in the Republic. The Anti-Apartheid Movement in the Netherlands is actively trying to discourage emigration to South Africa. An article in the Sunday Times of 17 September described some of the Dutch companies and their activities. A roneoed list of German firms with subsidiaries in South Africa has been circulated by Germans opposed to apartheid. THE COST OF LIVING
In its annual report the South African Reserve Bank stated that the seasonally adjusted consumer price index had risen at a rate of 5.2 per cent between June 1971 and June 1972. Although this was some 1 per cent lower than the rate of increase for the previous year it was still unduly high for South Africa. The Reserve Bank pointed out that imported inflation as a result of the realignment of exchange rates had probably not yet had its full effect on the consumer price index. Taking into account their relative importance to
consumer spending, those items mainly responsible for the overall rise in the index where a higher rate of increase than the previous year was recorded were housing (6.6 per cent against 5.9 per cent), food (5.5 per cent against 4.7 per cent), clothing and footwear (5.5 per cent against 2 per cent).

Whereas wholesale prices had increased at an average annual rate of 3.2 per cent from June 1962 to June 1972, they rose by 5.3 per cent between 1970 and 1971 and by 7.3 per cent between 1971 and 1972, with a particularly dramatic increase of 10.7 per cent during the first half of 1972. The latter acceleration was attributed largely to the influence of the devaluation of the rand and the general realignment of exchange rates.

Minimum family budgets for Africans in Soweto

Various minimum budgets for Soweto were given on page 177 of last year's Survey. The Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce's Non-European Affairs Committee presented a revised minimum monthly budget for an African family of five in Soweto as at May 1972:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Cost</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>R 40,16</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>R 10,75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>R 8,50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuel and light</td>
<td>R 4,15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>R 5,03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxation</td>
<td>R 0,97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleaning materials</td>
<td>R 0,95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical expenses</td>
<td>R 0,51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>R 2,53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture</td>
<td>R 1,65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crockery etc.</td>
<td>R 0,56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing materials</td>
<td>R 1,72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amusement and sport</td>
<td>R 1,06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal care</td>
<td>R 1,65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savings for emergencies</td>
<td>R 2,00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R 82,19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If estimates given by the South African Institute of Race Relations last year were to be updated against the rise in the consumer price index mentioned in the South African Reserve Bank's report, figures for an African family of five in Soweto in June 1972

I Rand Daily Mail, 31 July.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

of that stringent measure the poverty datum line (PDL) and that more humane measure the minimum effective level (MEL) would be: PDL-R70,62; MEL-R105,93.

Minimum family budgets for Africans in Durban

In a fact sheet entitled Incomes among Africans in Durban and the Poverty Line, Mr. Lawrence Schlemmer, Senior Research Fellow at the University of Natal's Institute for Social Research estimated that the PDL and the MEL of the average
African family in Durban as at March 1972 were, roughly, in the region of R77,30 and R 115,95, respectively.

Minimum family budgets for Africans and Coloured people in the Port Elizabeth area

In February 1972 the Institute for Planning Research at the University of Port Elizabeth published The Poverty Datum Line in Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage and Despatch, an investigation by J. F. Potgieter and D. B. Roger. Items comprising the PDL were calculated on the basis of prices current in November 1971 and separate figures were provided for an African family of six (two adults and four children) and a Coloured family of five (two adults and three children). The MEL has been calculated by the writer.

Nov. 1971

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PDL</th>
<th>MEL</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Port Elizabeth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African family</td>
<td>63,98</td>
<td>95,97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured family</td>
<td>73,68</td>
<td>110,52</td>
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<tr>
<td>Uitenhage and Despatch</td>
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<tr>
<td>African family</td>
<td>64,41</td>
<td>96,61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured family</td>
<td>70,43</td>
<td>105,64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Minimum family budgets for Africans in Cape Town

At the beginning of 1972 the S.A. Institute of Race Relations published African Poverty in Cape Town, 1960-1970 by Michael Hubbard. This study examined the criteria used in South Africa for the measurement of poverty and pointed out that the poverty datum line (PDL) is merely a "datum" from which a poverty line -the minimum effective level (MEL)-can be computed for any particular group. It estimated that the MEL for an "average" African family of six persons in Cape Town in 1970 would have been R95 per month (the PDL according to Mr. Hubbard's method being in the region of R73). The Industrial and Economic Commission of the Students' Representative Council of the University of Cape Town later used Mr. Hubbard's study to up-date the cost of living of an average African family of six persons to April 1971. According to these estimates the PDL was then R75,97 per month and the MEL R113,95.3

2 South African Institute of Race Relations (Natal Region) Information Sheet No. 1 of 1972.
3 University of Cape Town Students' Representative Council. Industrial and Economic Commission. A report ... into the wages and working conditions of employees in the lowerechelons of the Cape Town City Council. August 1972.
tabulated below. Table A covers multiple households and the data is given under the following heads:
A. Size of sample;
B. Average size of household;
C. Average size of household if adult children retaining more than R10 per month of their own incomes were to be included;
D. Average income of a household per annum and per month;
E. Average income of a household per annum and per month if the salaries mentioned under C were to be included;
F. Percentage increase in income per annum since the last survey was conducted;
G. Percentage increase in income per annum if the increase in the consumer price index were to be taken into account;
H. Average percentage contribution to household income by head of the household.
Table B covers Africans living under single conditions in hostels, compounds, on their employer's premises or with multiple African households and the data is given under the following heads:
A. Size of sample; B. Percentage who were born in the respective city;
C. Overall average income per annum and per month;
D. Average income per annum and per month of men;
E. Average income per annum and per month of women.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE A</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>G</th>
<th>H</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria Report African Survey: 27.1.71 households</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>5,7</td>
<td>6,0</td>
<td>R 934,89</td>
<td>R1 068,37</td>
<td>6,74</td>
<td>3,93</td>
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<tr>
<td>R 77,91</td>
<td>R 89,03</td>
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<tr>
<td>Johannesburg Report African Survey: 27.2.71 households</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>5,1</td>
<td>5,4</td>
<td>R1 042,63</td>
<td>R1 158,30</td>
<td>6,1</td>
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<td>R 86,89</td>
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<td>5,3</td>
<td>5,7</td>
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<td>R2 039,83</td>
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<td>Durban Report African Survey: 27.4.71 households</td>
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<td>5,7</td>
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<td>R1 046,40</td>
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<td>R 77,72</td>
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<td>Johannesburg Report Asian Survey: 27.5.71 households</td>
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<td>R2 724,59</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>81,8</td>
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<td>R 227,05</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cape Town Report Coloured Survey: 27.6.72 households</td>
<td>430</td>
<td>4,99</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>R1 586,00</td>
<td>R1 799,97</td>
<td>6,46</td>
<td>3,12</td>
<td>72,10</td>
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<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
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<tr>
<td>Port Elizabeth</td>
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<td>Uitenhage</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>5,18</td>
<td>5,3</td>
<td>R 914,35</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>East London</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>R 726,36</td>
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<td>Report African</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cape Town</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5,9</td>
<td>R 137,44</td>
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<td>71,5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Krugersdorp</td>
<td>155</td>
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<td>R 1027,24</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>69,2</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tembisa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5,95</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>R 129,60</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>63,4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Report African</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survey</td>
<td>27.13.72</td>
<td>households</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE B**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>G</th>
<th>H</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>23,5</td>
<td>R 501,55</td>
<td>R 535,94</td>
<td>R 441,73</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Report</td>
<td>27.14.72</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>470</td>
<td>15,4</td>
<td>R 568,18</td>
<td>R 602,68</td>
<td>R 480,09</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Report</td>
<td>27.15.72</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R 47,35</td>
<td>R 50,22</td>
<td>R 40,01</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Durban Report**
Survey 27.16.72
400 10,1 R 528,64 R 571,54 R 449,25
R 44,05 R 47,63 R 73,44

**East London Report**
Survey 27.17.72
140 32,5 R 467,21 R 503,01 R 445,73
R 38,93 R 41,91 R 37,14

**Port Elizabeth Report**
Survey 27.12.72
170 36,6 R 540,02 R 606,90 R 448,62
R 45,00 R 50,58 R 37,39

**Cape Town Report**
Survey 27.19.72
170 9,0 R 710,28 R 714,52 R 657,23
R 59,19 R 59,54 R 54,77

**WAGES AND POVERTY**
In a press release issued in July the Bureau of Market Research commented that Africans living in non-family conditions in the Republic's main urban areas constituted an extremely important sector of the market, spending approximately R240 000 000 a year on goods and services in those urban areas. From these reports it was evident that single Africans in the survey areas were responsible for more than half the total African expenditure on alcoholic beverages (62.6%), cigarettes (60.9%) and dry-cleaning services (57.0%).

During the latter half of 1971 the Bureau of Market Research surveyed the income and expenditure patterns of multiple African households in two White rural areas: the magisterial districts of Bethal and Viljoenskroon. The surveys were based on a sample of 150 households in each district. The report (No. 31 of 1972) showed that the average size of a household in the Bethal area was 6.83 persons while in the Viljoenskroon area it was 6.46 persons. The average, total, annual, household income was R487.51 (R40.63 per month) in Bethal, and R475.49 (39.62 per month) in Viljoenskroon. However, cash wages contributed only 61.25 per cent of total household income in Bethal and 55.34 per cent in Viljoenskroon. The survey compared this with Johannesburg, where cash wages contributed 83.92 per cent to the total, annual, average, household income of R1 042.63.

During March 1972 the Productivity and Wage Association distributed a questionnaire on the African labour force among 8 852 employers and received a return of 1 086 completed questionnaires -a return of some 12 per cent covering over 188 000 workers. The response was considerably higher from the manufacturing sector and financial institutions while the mining and quarrying sector was under-represented and the public sector was omitted. A detailed analysis and criticism of this important survey appeared in Race Relations News in September.
The questionnaire on which the survey was based divided the employment opportunities of the African labour force into 8 categories of jobs ranging from those which require the briefest induction and little or no education to jobs which lack a repetitive character, are varied, require some pre-planning and more substantial skills acquired over a number of years. Table A below gives data on the average wages in each category of labour in the Republic and South West Africa (Namibia).

From Table B it would appear that, if it is assumed that the poverty datum line for the average African family was in the region of R70 per month (R16,15 per week)1 in the major urban areas covered by the survey, at least 79 per cent of African workers were being remunerated at a rate below this stringent. On the basis of the data given in the preceding section of this chapter and on pages 176178 of last year's Survey this would probably not be an unreasonable inference.

235

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

measure. At least a further 13- per cent of these workers were receiving a wage below an estimated minimum effective level of R105 per month (R24,23 per week) while somewhere between 3 and 7- per cent were in receipt of wages higher than those of a poverty level. (Reservations in respect of some of these data have been mentioned in the article in Race Relations News of September.)

It could be further inferred from Table A that if grades 7 and 8 were to be regarded as skilled labour only 4 per cent-or possibly some 5 per cent, if grade 6 is regarded as a "grey area"-of African workers had acquired those skills which would make them a "precious commodity" and give them real bargaining power.

From the data tabulated in Table B it would appear that some 32 per cent of the African workers covered by this survey earned less than RIO per week and are thus excluded from contributing to and, therefore, from applying for unemployment benefits. It is important to note that a substantial number of African workers in the lower grades earn wages in excess of R15 per week. This may well be attributable, in part, to their stability as a labour force.

| TABLE A | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 TOTAL
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average Weekly Wage</td>
<td>R9,89, 11,76, 12,66, 14,51, 16,84, 20,63, 22,05, 29,63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Annual Bonus</td>
<td>9,16, 7,65, 10,02, 10,29, 14,40, 17,20, 19,49, 31,94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Percentage Increase over last year</td>
<td>10,20, 9,90, 9,60, 10,03, 10,21, 9,60, 7,94, 9,46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Employees reported</td>
<td>62343, 51273, 31732, 18732, 11148, 5947</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| TABLE B | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 TOTAL
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RIO or Less</td>
<td>35034, 13876, 5850, 2735, 1328, 86, 495, 59404 RIO-R12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>......</td>
<td>17206, 18483, 7607, 2215, 427, 517, 83, 3, 46541 R12-R15 ......... 6571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12690</td>
<td>13526, 5404, 2982, 471, 763, 121, 42528 R15-R17 ......... 2403, 3770, 1641</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4216</td>
<td>1, 159, 1050, 318, 113, 14670 R17-R20 ......... 510, 1826, 1984, 2404, 2702</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
During the period January to June 1972 Mr. W. W. van Breda and Dr. H. P. Langenhoven undertook a pilot study of the employment practices of a sample of 110 Bloemfontein firms employing 14,302 people (38.3 per cent Whites; 53.5 per cent African men; 4.9 per cent African women; 2.6 per cent Coloured men and 0.7 per cent Coloured women). This was later published by the University of the Orange Free State as The Utilisation of Non-White Labour. The following table records their findings in respect of the wage rates current at that time for Africans and Coloured people in Bloemfontein:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Weekly wage</th>
<th>Africans</th>
<th>Coloured People</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R 5 - 9</td>
<td>61.1 per cent</td>
<td>23.6 per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R10 - 19</td>
<td>35.3 per cent</td>
<td>57.2 per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R20 + 3.6 per cent</td>
<td>19.2 per cent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It appeared that skilled Black tradesmen (after apprenticeship) commanded wages substantially higher than any other group of workers. The average wage of African tradesmen was R29.50 and that of Coloured tradesmen R35.93 per week.

In Incomes among Africans in Durban and the Poverty Datum Line, mentioned earlier in this chapter, Mr. Lawrence Schlemmer, basing his calculations on data from the Durban survey conducted by the Bureau of Market Research, some of the results of which are tabulated in this chapter, estimated that in 1970 roughly 54 per cent of African households had incomes below the PDL while roughly 85 per cent had incomes below the MEL. Insofar as the PDL was concerned, there had been some improvement since an earlier 1966 survey when 62 per cent of families had been below this level but hardly any improvement was shown in respect of the MEL, for 86 per cent of African families had had incomes lower than this measure in 1966.

In an address to the S.A. Institute of Personnel Management in June (later published by the S.A. Institute of Race Relations, with the kind permission of the S.A. Institute of Personnel Management, as Black Pay and Productivity in South Africa), Mr. J. A. Horner calculated that the real per capita increase per annum in wages between 1960 and 1967 was: Whites   Blacks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>percent per annum</th>
<th>4.9</th>
<th>2.8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Government</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Furthermore, Mr. Homer concluded, on the basis of further calculations, that between 1960 and 1970 the wage gap between White and Black in the
manufacturing industry had continued to widen. Another point made was that the average wage paid to Africans in all sectors was lower than the PDL and nowhere near the MEL and there had been no improvements in this situation over the decade between 1960 and 1970. Mr. Homer gave as an example of the anomalies which exist in industrial agreements in South Africa the instance of the brewing industry where a White gate keeper earned a minimum R23,50 a week but was graded higher than a (Black) mechanical fork lift truck driver who earned R16,35 a week minimum. Mr. Horner maintained that it was an inescapable conclusion that South African industry was operating in a climate of poverty. During the traditional no confidence debate in the Assembly on 4 February the Prime Minister stated that between 1948 and 1970 the wages of the White factory worker had increased fourfold from R864 to R3 577 per annum, "as an inevitable result of the scarcity of his labour and his greater proficiency and productivity". During the same period the Black factory worker's wage had increased threefold from R254 to R689 per annum.2 The Prime

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

Minister elaborated upon the rise in the White standard of living during the debate on his vote in the Assembly on 18 April.3 He pointed out that even if the argument that the 1948 rand was worth 40 cents today was accepted, in 1946 under the United Party Government the average wage of a bricklayer was R21,67 per week compared with R82,33 in 1972. The Prime Minister went on to give various other comparative averages between 1948 and 1972 in round figures: motor mechanic, R17 against R64 per week; police constable under 18, R30 against R110 per month; police constable over 18, R33 against R130 per month, teachers in the lowest category, R45 against R190 per month; starting salary of a teacher in the highest category R70 against R325 per month; starting salary of female teacher R36 against R145 per month; female teacher in highest category R56 against R295 per month; a matriculated clerk in the public service R36 against R130 per month; student nurse R27 against R130 per month; a trained nurse R49 against R190 per month.

In a paper entitled the Costs of Population Growth in South Africa delivered at a symposium on "Population Explosion" in October 1971, Professor J. L. Sadie of the Department of Economics at Stellenbosch University evaluated the economic disadvantages suffered by the Black population as a result of their high levels of fertility.4 The age distribution of the various population groups according to the 1970 census was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>Africans</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Whites</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 - 14</td>
<td>43,0</td>
<td>45,0</td>
<td>38,9</td>
<td>30,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 - 64</td>
<td>54,0</td>
<td>52,2</td>
<td>59,1</td>
<td>62,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 +</td>
<td>3,0</td>
<td>2,8</td>
<td>2,0</td>
<td>6,7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For each potentially productive male (i.e. 15 to 64 years old) there is 1 child under 15 years of age in the case of Whites, 1,31 in the case of Asians, 1,58 in the case of Africans and 1,79 in the case of Coloured people. Professor Sadie maintains
that the disadvantaged position of the African and Coloured populations is further underscored by the age distribution of the male labour force itself when the way in which the increments expected during 1970-1980 are distributed among the four age groups, as follows: Africans Coloured Asians Whites

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>per cent</th>
<th>per cent</th>
<th>per cent</th>
<th>per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15 - 29</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 44</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 - 64</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 +</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Professor Sadie points out that with so many new workers entering the labour market each year, as shown by the 55 per cent and 49 per cent added to the Coloured and African labour force respectively in the 15 to 29 age group compared with 21 per cent for Whites and Asians, the knowledge, experience, know-how and skill content of their working population is likely to be that much smaller on the average. In the result their average remuneration would be smaller as well.

Information on a new tendency in the remuneration of Black workers has been revealed by Dr. D. J. Gouws, Chairman of Peromnes Salary Surveys. (These surveys are not available to the general public and the information given here has been extracted from a brief report in the Financial Mail of 19 May.)

**Increases in Remuneration**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Blacks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Percentage increase in per capita remuneration)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1970</td>
<td>3,6</td>
<td>1,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1970</td>
<td>7,6</td>
<td>10,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1971</td>
<td>9,3</td>
<td>17,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1971</td>
<td>6,2</td>
<td>7,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1972</td>
<td>4,6</td>
<td>5,8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dr. Gouws commented that where Black men are concerned the rise is more marked in all job grades than among Whites. The phenomenon is apparently particularly noticeable in job grades in which considerable numbers of White as well as Black employees are encountered. (In the Peromnes survey, 1 is the highest level or grade of post, while the lowest, unskilled jobs are grouped in Grade 19.) In Grades 15-16 remuneration of Black men rose by 14,9 per cent in the last 12 months against 9,1 per cent for White men and 6,6 per cent for White women. In grades 11-14 remuneration of Black men increased by 16,5 per cent against 3,5 per cent for White men and 5,6 per cent for White women.

Towards the end of 1971 the then Minister of the Interior, Mr. Theo Gerdener, issued a serious warning on the possible consequences of the wide disparities in...
living standards evident in South African society. The South African Confederation of Labour (White) later rejected Mr. Gerdener's view that the living standards of Whites were "unrealistically high", maintaining that this point of view was totally unacceptable to the Confederation as was Mr. Gerdener's view that the earnings of Whites should be "virtually frozen" until the wage gap narrowed. The Confederation rejected Mr. Gerdener's attitude "outright".

In January the general secretary of the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) warned private industry and the Government that trade unions would react strongly against employers who


A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

attempted to use Black workers as a source of cheap skilled or semi-skilled labour. Mr. Grobbelaar said that where the work to be done by Blacks was comparable with the work of Whites they should be paid the same rate.7 On 25 February the Financial Mail reported that Highveld Steel and Vanadium Corporation had been granted exemptions to employ Africans as drivers of general stock and service cranes. These African drivers were being remunerated at 41 cents an hour compared with the stipulated minimum rate of 89 cents an hour for non-Africans.

Professor D. P. Erasmus of the Department of Economics at Potchefstroom University in an article entitled Die Loongaping (the Wage Gap)' has supported Mr. Gerdener's point of view and pointed out that there are some 5 000 000 Africans in the metropolitan areas who are conscious of the wage gap and who constitute a large complex of slumbering discontent. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has mentioned the havoc caused among his people by low Black wage levels in South Africa,9 while Mr. Alan Paton, in a graduation address delivered at Rhodes University, has said that no White-devised political policy - separate development, race federation or even a common society - can save South Africa from catastrophe unless the "shocking gulf between Black and White incomes is bridged". Mr. Colin Eglin, leader of the Progressive Party said in a speech at Port Shepstone that unless the wage gap between White and Black workers was closed and people of all race groups were allowed to develop their full economic and personal potential, South Africa ran the very real risk of violence and bloodshed.10

Addressing the Graduate School of Business Administration at the University of the Witwatersrand, Dr. Simon Biesheuvel maintained that Black wages fell short of even meeting adequate living standards and that, by permitting this, the country was courting both economic and social disaster. Dr. Biesheuvel, in dealing with the wage gap, pointed out that there were in fact 3 gaps: the disparity in wages for Whites and Blacks doing the same job; the gap between Black and White wages as a whole; and the gap between actual wages and the wages needed to maintain an adequate standard of living. He suggested a total but gradual wage plan with regular annual increases in Black wages coupled with vigorous Black job advancement and training.11
WAGES AND POVERTY

laterally raise African wages to R20 a week and aim to double them in two years. At the same time employers should take steps to increase productivity, and to keep down rises in the total wage bill. Although unemployment might rise temporarily, increased economic activity would soon overtake this. While efforts were being made to achieve export-led economic growth in South Africa, Professor Suzman believed that steps should also be taken to boost internal economic growth. This was where the increased use of Africans in skilled jobs and higher pay came in.12 In Johannesburg, the Black Sash Advice Office welcomed recent moves by large corporations and industries which had started pressing for a better wage structure for African workers but pointed out that thousands of White people who had small businesses or who used mostly unskilled labour or employed only domestic servants or farm labourers were unlikely to adopt the same attitude. As long as a man who complained could be immediately and cheaply replaced, as long as workers were denied the necessary freedom of movement to sell their labour advantageously, so long would employers continue to pay wages well below the breadline.13

Chief L. M. Mangope, Chief Councillor of BophuthaTswana, after visiting a number of factories in the border industrial area of Rosslyn to investigate labour conditions of his people, said he was disturbed to find at one factory that some workers were receiving as little as R10,50 a week. His people had complained about not getting a living wage and he was not at all happy about the position. The Chief called on industrialists to pay his people a minimum living wage of at least R85 a month (R19,60 a week), and said that the matter would be raised at the next meeting of the BophuthaTswana Legislative Assembly and representations would probably be made to the authorities for increased wages.14

In August Spectrum Offset (Pty.) Limited, which publishes the 3 Afrikaans magazines Die Brandwag, Pronk, and Uitspan announced 40 per cent pay rises for Africans who had been on its staff for three years and more. A 20 per cent increase would come into effect from September with further 10 per cent increases in the next two years. African workers were currently earning wages between R18 and R30 per week. The firm's managing director, Mr. G. Pansegrouw, said that his firm had experienced excellent growth over the past five years and loyalty of African staff had been instrumental in the firm's success.
His hope in announcing the decision was that other businesses would follow suit.5
Mr. Dawid de Villiers, managing director of Nasionale Pers, has said that Afrikaner business undertakings would have to decide where they stood on the growing movement to uplift Blacks.16
12 Rand Daily Mail, 12 September.
13 Star, 12 September.
14 Star, 20 September.
15 Rand Daily Mail, 5 August.
16 Ibid, 29 September.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
WAGE REGULATING MACHINERY
In reply to a question in the Assembly' on 17 March the Minister of Labour said that there were 173 industrial council agreements in force, including 73 agreements providing for fringe benefits such as pension funds, provident funds, medical aid, training and other schemes and other benefits. There were also 3 conciliation board awards and 76 wage board determinations in operation. The numbers of workers affected were:2

Whites  Coloured  Asians  Africans
Industrial council agreements  218 686  192 915  61 486  537 475 Conciliation board awards ... 398 407  45 1 843
Wage board determinations ... 112 397  58 678  16 908  293 104
331481  252000  78439  832422
This means that the salaries and wages of some 1,494,342 workers are covered by statutory wage regulating instruments in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act or the Wage Act. There has, since last year, been a minimal decline in the number of White workers covered by these instruments but fairly substantial increases in respect of Coloured workers, 36 402 (nearly 17 per cent); Asian workers 7 213 (over 10 per cent); and African workers 45 247 (nearly 53 per cent).
In an interview with the Financial Mail on 28 January, Mr. Hugh Tindale, chairman of the Wage Board, strongly denied that the Board's criterion in making its determinations was what the least profitable firm could cope with. He said that it was not the duty of the Board to keep unprofitable firms in business. The criterion in making determinations was what the middle level of firm, neither among the most nor the least profitable, could afford. Mr. Tindale also argued that while it was the function of the Board to protect unorganised workers by fixing minimum wages, it was beyond its scope deliberately to raise their standard of living by making constantly higher determinations. The Board had to consider the possible effects of its decisions on the economy and on the industry concerned. The Board was also worried about creating still further unemployment among urban Africans through excessive determinations. The Financial Mail commented that the real problem with the Wage Board was another matter: it did not make determinations often enough and it did not have sufficient resources at its disposal. On average it only made a determination in an industry once every four
years. Its lack of resources meant that it had no machinery for investigating the effects of its determinations.

1 Hansard 7 cols. 585-6.

2 This was the position as at 31 December 1971 insofar as agreements and awards were concerned. The figures in respect of wage determinations reflect the position as at the time of the Wage Board's investigations.

242

WAGE REGULATING MACHINERY

It was reported on page 184 of last year's Survey that the National Union of South African Students had resolved to, set up wage and economic commissions on its constituent campuses under the auspices of its welfare and social action department (Nuswel) and the Students' Representative Councils on the respective campuses.

In February the wages commission of the University of the Witwatersrand presented evidence to a Wage Board investigation into the crushed stone industry in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Employers maintained -that the industry's profits had dropped considerably since 1966 and in the existing climate with strict price control on the product there was no incentive to private investors. The students maintained that all but one of the firms they had interviewed expressed satisfaction with the state of the industry. The employers recommended a 9.2 per cent increase on the existing minimum wage of R7.50 per week for unskilled workers while the representatives of the Central Bantu Labour Board recommended a 25 per cent increase and the students a 30 per cent increase with an escalator clause linking minimum wages to the consumer price index.

The industrial and economics commission (I&EC) of the Students' Representative Council at the University of Cape Town gave evidence on wages, working conditions, and profits in the following instances:

1. Stone-crushing industry (Cape) 23 February. The I & EC recommended an immediate increase in minimum wages of unskilled labour of 22 per cent from R7.60 to R9.27 per week;

2. Soap, Candles, Edible Oils or Fats Industry, 29 February. The I & EC entered a plea that the Wage Board bear in mind the PDL and the MEL in fixing minimum wages and that a multiplier clause linked to the consumer price index be incorporated in the new determination.

3. Glass and Glassware Manufacturing Industry, 1 March. The I & EC entered a similar plea to the above and the introduction of a 40 hour week. In 2 and 3 above the students' evidence was supported by evidence submitted by the Cape Western Region of the S.A. Institute of Race Relations which requested that minimum wages be fixed at not less than R18.38 per week (the average of the African and Coloured PDL for the area).

4. Heavy clay and allied products industry (Cape) 3 March. The I & EC recommended an annual increase of 22 per cent on the existing minimum wage for unskilled labourers (an immediate increase from R7.59 to R9.26 per
week) to bring the minimum wage to the MEL in five years, and the introduction of a 40 hour week plus 21 days annual leave in respect of non-contract labour.

5. Mineral waters manufacturing industry, 25 April. The I & EC recommended an annual increase of 25 per cent on the existing minimum wage for unskilled labourers (immediate increase from
3 Rand Daily Mail, 9 February.

243

5. Mineral waters manufacturing industry, 25 April. The I & EC recommended an annual increase of 25 per cent on the existing minimum wage for unskilled labourers (immediate increase from
3 Rand Daily Mail, 9 February.

244 A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
R8,51 to R10,40 per week) to bring the minimum wage to the MEL in five years, plus a multiplier clause linked to the consumer price index and appropriate increases for other categories of
worker.

6. Report on wages and working conditions of milk-deliverymen in the Cape Peninsula, June 1972. This detailed report by the I & EC pointed out that a 1942 wage determination for the Dairy Trade in South Africa was rescinded in 1945 in the face of protests and a threatened strike by the African Dairy Workers' Union. In 1960 a "gentleman's" agreement was entered into by milk distributors in the Cape which set a delivery employee's wage at R7,28 per week (R31,52 monthly). These minima had never been re-evaluated in terms of the rise in the cost of living. The I & EC maintained that it was imperative for the Minister of Labour to instruct the Wage Board to investigate the fresh milk industry or to include it within the scope of the determination for the commercial distributive trade. This report was sent to the Minister of Labour, members of parliament, leading Cape dairies and was supported by the Cape Western Region of the S.A. Institute of Race Relations in a letter to the Secretary for Labour.

7. Stevedoring industry (Cape Town), 20 July. At this meeting, which was also attended by some 100 African and Coloured workers, a representative of the Bantu Labour Board asked for a 20 per cent increase in minimum wages (which would increase the lowest rate from R11,50 a week to R13,80) "plus a little bit" to ensure that real wages did not decline too soon after the new determination came into force. The I & EC outlined its case for a guaranteed minimum wage of R18 per week. African and Coloured workers stated that they were unable to make ends meet on their current wages.

8. Report into the wages and working conditions of employees in the lower echelons of the Cape Town City Council, August, 1972. The I & EC reported that as at 30 June 1972 the Cape Town City Council had some 4,519 Whites, 1,143,171 Coloured and 1,725 African or casual workers in its employ. The S.A. Association of Municipal Employees (SAAME) represents Whites only, while the Cape Town Municipal Workers' Association (CTMWA) represents only Coloured workers. Labourers form about 38 per cent (6,175) of the Cape Town City Council's labour force and the Council has estimated that its 1972 wage bill for this class of worker would be R5,450,000. The weekly wages of labourers at 35, 38 or 41 cents an hour would be R16,10, R17,48 and R18,86, respectively, while labour/leading hands at 41, 44 or 48 cents an hour would be R18,86, R20,24
and R22.08, respectively. Casual workers at 31 cents an hour would be getting R14.26 per week. According to the I & EC there is some justice in Cape Town City Council's claim that it pursues enlightened employment policies.' However, a major defect in the Council's employment record was its treatment of migrant workers. Apparently some years ago contract workers were classed as permanent workers and received all the advantages of that status, but current practice was to class them as casual workers so that they received neither annual increments, pensions,
The reports which have been briefly summarised for lack of space in this Survey are available from University of Cape Town Students' Representative Council. Industrial and Economics Commission.

WAGE REGULATING MACHINERY

nor holiday bonuses and other fringe benefits enjoyed by permanent staff. The downgrading resulted in lower rates of pay so that an elderly migrant could earn some R5 less, a month, than a young boy who happened to reside in Cape Town.
The University of Natal has two wage commissions located on the Durban and Pietermaritzburg campuses. The Durban wage commission has issued a Bulletin at irregular intervals since December, 1971.
These bulletins have covered contract labour, the coal trade, the heavy clay and allied products industry, the Hammarsdale bus boycott, the Owambo strike, and the textile industry. An enquiry into the conditions of farm and plantation workers is being conducted and evidence has been presented to various hearings of the wage board, among which that into the Stevedoring industry is of particular significance, for over 200 Black stevedores attended this hearing.
The Financial Mail of 28 July commented that these student wage commissions represent a "new voice, highly articulate and backed by comprehensive research", to champion the cause of unskilled Black workers. However, Mr. Hugh Tindale, the Chairman of the Wage Board, has indicated that he regards the students' interest as somewhat remote. Mr. Tindale stresses that the official body representing African workers is the Central Bantu Labour Board and he "has no reason to believe that the Board does not fulfil its responsibilities, despite the criticism that has been levelled at it". Mr. Tindale said that the Wage Board welcomes any evidence that would help in its investigations but that it would have to decide "what weight to attach to the evidence, as well as have regard to the nature of the persons giving evidence.'

In evidence to a Wage Board investigation into the commercial distributive trade in the principal areas of the Republic, the National Union of Distributive Workers and the National Union of Commercial and Allied Workers recommended a minimum total increase of 37.1 per cent above the current wage determination rates for all employees, if their purchasing power (based on 1968 wage rates) was
to be maintained until 1975. This evidence contained a well-argued case for an increase of 75 per cent and more in the minimum wage rate of semi-skilled and unskilled employees together with a strong plea for an escalator clause linking minimum wages to the consumer price index.

On 9 November the Rand Daily Mail reported that employers in the retail and distributive trade had made a substantial offer in respect of wage increases for Black workers. These increases would raise the minimum wage in Johannesburg and Cape Town.

6 Issues of this Bulletin are available from: University of Natal Students’ Representative Council. Wages Commission, Durban.

7 Financial Mail, 4 August.

8 National Union of Distributive Workers and National Union of Commercial and Allied Workers. Memorandum of Evidence to the Wage Board, June, 1972.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

from R44.42 to R65 a month (an increase of 46.3 per cent); in Durban, Port Elizabeth, Pretoria, and the rest of the Witwatersrand wages would rise by 44 per cent to R60 a month; and in East London, Pietermaritzburg, Bloemfontein, and Pinetown wages would rise by 45 per cent to R55 per month. Higher-paid African workers would also receive a wage increase in excess of 27 per cent. It was thought that these increases would affect some 50 000 Black workers. The Central Bantu Labour Board had entered a probably unprecedented plea to the Wage Board for an increase of 45 per cent but had opposed the trade unions’ claim for the lowest-paid African workers’ wages to be doubled to R21 a week. The chairman of the Wage Board said later: “The offer is ahead of anything we have had put to us in the past.”

On 17 October the Rand Daily Mail reported that the South African Electrical Workers’ Association was trying to establish a national wage agreement to cover about 3 500 radio assembly workers (mainly Coloured people and Indians). There had been no such agreement for about 20 years. Workers in the Transvaal earned a minimum of about R15 a week but the starting wage in some cases in Natal was as low as R8.

The Garment Workers’ Union of South Africa has asked the Industrial Council for the Iron, Steel, Engineering and Metallurgical Industry for an explanation of why it has permitted Africans to be employed in jobs reserved for other groups at less than half the prescribed minimum wage rate.

The national executive committee of the Trade Union Council of South Africa has decided that area divisions of TUCSA will attend Wage Board hearings wherever possible to give oral evidence in support of TUCSA’s submissions in respect of wages and working conditions of unorganised workers in South Africa.

Mr. Robert Kraft, Assistant General Secretary of TUCSA said "in taking its decision, the national executive committee was mindful of the fact that its pressure for better wages and working conditions for unorganised workers was
not a substitute for proper trade union rights for these people. However, the urgency of the task of reducing poverty, and of reducing the wage gap, motivated the council to take this decision. At TUCSA's annual congress in Cape Town the Wage Board came in for severe criticism. Mr. Robert Kraft criticised the Board for prescribing wages below the poverty datum line as well as for its defence that whereas the PDL is for a family of five, it has to prescribe wages for just the worker. Mr. Kraft claimed that this was contrary to the spirit of the Wage Act which directs the Board to take into account workers' living costs. With regard to the Board's suggestion that raising wages in an industry would put too many people out of work, TUCSA claimed that the Board had never made an investigation to test the validity of that statement and called upon the Board to conduct such a study.

At the TUCSA congress, Mrs. H. Bolton, Secretary of the Garment Workers' Industrial Union (Natal), told delegates that during the wage dispute in the clothing industry in 1971 members of the Security Police visited her office every day for seven days in an attempt to persuade her to call off a planned mass meeting of garment workers. She had also been warned by the divisional inspector of labour that the meeting could constitute a strike. After circulars advertising the meeting had been distributed, the union was visited by the Security Police who requested copies and warned that the meeting could cause incidents. At the meeting which was subsequently held at least 7 security policemen were identified.

The National Industrial Council for the Printing and Newspaper Industry has agreed to improved pension and leave benefits for labourers in both rural and urban areas. These will take effect from the beginning of 1973. The employer's contribution to the labourers' benefit fund will be increased by 25 cents a week per labourer and the Council's actuaries are preparing the way for higher pensions. Overtime payments for labourers will be on the same basis as those for other employees. Wage rates for labourers in rural areas will be adapted to equal the rates paid in the major urban areas. First year factory workers will receive R14,87 a week, those in their second year R15,13 and R16,14 thereafter. Both employers and trade unions have accepted a productivity index drawn up by the Council's productivity research group as the basis for future wage negotiations.

The protracted negotiations between trade unions and the Steel and Engineering Industry Federation of South Africa (SEIFSA) are described under the section on the reservation of work.

ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE PERSONS AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Provisional estimates of the economically active population at the end of 1970 were recorded on page 185 of last year's Survey. More accurate figures in respect of Whites, Coloured people, and Asians based on the 1970 population census were released in Department of Statistics News Release P.11 No. 66 of 19 June.
1972 and are tabulated below. The data in respect of the African population has yet to be released.

11 Financial Mail, 25 August.
12 Star, 22 August; Rand Daily Mail, 23 August. 13 Star, 8 and 15 September.

248 A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE PERSONS AND UNEMPLOYMENT 249

(There are discrepancies-in some cases marked discrepancies-
between these census figures and the data from official sources which is issued
from time to time and recorded in the respective sections of the 1970 and 1971
issues of this Survey.)

Replying to a question in the Assembly on 26 May1 the Minister of Statistics said
that provisional estimates of the economically active population at the end of
1971 were:

Whites ....................1 554 000
Coloured .................... 732 000
Asians ..................... 188 000
Africans ....................5 856 000

If the figures given above are accepted as a rough guideline, it would appear that
between May 1970 and December 1971 the economically active population
increased by 56 500 Whites (3.8 per cent), 23 500 Coloured people (4 per cent)
and 8 000 Asians (4.4 per cent). Similar estimates for Africans cannot be given
until the Department of Statistics releases the relevant report. African labour
bureaux and employment contracts

In answer to a question in the Assembly on 24 February,2 the Minister of Bantu
Administration and Development gave figures for the number of labour bureaux
at the end of December 1971: Increase/Decrease 1970-1

Regional labour bureaux ........ 9
Local labour bureaux .... ... 416
District labour bureaux .......... 405 + 26
Territorial labour bureaux .......... 7 Tribal labour bureaux ............ 296 - 175

The Minister gave the following figures for the numbers of African workers registered in each defined category of labour during 1971:
1. Agriculture, forestry, fishing .... .... .... ... 382 390
2. Manufacturing .... ... ... ... ... ... 602 136
3. Mining (non-affiliated mines) ............ 129 853
4. Mining (affiliated mines) ............ 518 161
5. Construction .... ... ... ... ... ... ... 301 924
6. Wholesale and retail trade ............ 216 714
7. Financial institutions .... ... ... ... ... ... 22259
8. Private transport .... ... ... ... ... ... 43 520
9. Accommodation and catering services .... 105 466 10. Other private business services .......... 52 495
11. Public corporations .... ... ... ... ... ... 46 311
12. South African Railways and Harbours .... 96 642
13. Government Departments and Provincial Administrations .... ... ... ... ... ... 119264
14. Local authorities .... ... ... ... ... ... 126372
15. Semi-government organizations ........ 12 443
16. Domestic servants .... ... ... ... ... ... 606 153
17. Other .... ... ... ... ... ... ... 88680
3470783

Hansard 16 cols. 1092-4.
2 Ibid. 4 col. 341.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
The number of registered African contract workers increased by 270 894 (over 8 per cent) between 1970 and 1971.
In the Assembly on 12 June' the Minister of Bantu Administration gave the following figures for 1971 in respect of migrant workers whose contracts were attested in each homeland:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homeland</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>80569</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>80569</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td>15174</td>
<td>3261</td>
<td>18435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basotho QwaQwa</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>2635</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2635</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>4335</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>4469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bophutha Tswana</td>
<td>33903</td>
<td>15952</td>
<td>49855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td>11260</td>
<td>1600</td>
<td>12860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150376 20947</td>
<td>171323</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Figures for KwaZulu were not yet available. They would probably have increased the total by a fairly substantial number.)
However, these figures present only part of the total picture. The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education indicated in the Assembly on 21 April that 191,600 Transkeians were attested for work outside the Transkei in 1971. Officially recognised recruiting agencies, such as Mine Labour Organisations Ltd., also recruit African workers in the Republic and neighbouring territories. This probably accounts for the discrepancy in the figures given by the Minister and the Deputy Minister in respect of the Transkei. There are 562,000 "foreign" Africans also working in the Republic.5

In December 1966, the African "labour complement" of employers in the Western Cape was "frozen" as from a certain fixed date earlier that year since the Western Cape is, in terms of Government policy, a "Coloured labour preference area".4 In the Assembly on 28 March the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education revealed that between June 1969 and June 1971 the registered number of African men working in the Western Cape increased from 103,830 to 134,348 - an increase of 30,518 in two years or 14.7 per cent annually - while the registered number of African women declined from 14,401 to 13,467 - a drop of 934 in two years or 3.25 per cent annually.5

In his opening address to the fifth session of the second Transkeian Legislative Assembly on 12 April, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education said that an estimated R50,000,000 was earned by Transkeian contract labourers annually. He went on to say: "There is no doubt that a certain percentage a Ibid. 18 cols. 1191-2. 
7 Hansard 9 col. 712. 
8 Debates of the Transkei Legislative Assembly, 1972. p. 2. 

ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE PERSONS AND UNEMPLOYMENT 251
of this amount has found its way back to the Transkei, but at the same time it is also true that this percentage could have been considerably higher had every employee who has dependants in the Transkei met his obligations towards them in full. It is, therefore, comforting to know that the Transkeian Government has already approved in principle the introduction of a general system of wage deferment..."

On 25 April the Transkei Legislative Assembly carried unanimously an opposition motion that the Transkei Government should consider the advisability of making representations to the Republican Government for the cancellation or revision of the contract system of labour.9 In spite of this unanimous decision, in his policy speech on 16 May the Transkeian Minister of the Interior said:"10 "Another pleasing feature revealed by labour statistics is the continuing increase in the number of placements effected by governmental labour bureaux in the Transkei. . . . At this juncture I need perforce to make mention of a disturbing trend of late as regards the recruitment of labour for the mining industry
generally. Since 1965 the fall-off in the number of recruits for the mines, especially the gold mines, has gained momentum and the reasons for this could either be due to the payment of non-competitive wage rates or the availability of a larger number of job opportunities in more congenial work situations in commerce, industry and farming. I do feel that this important avenue of employment should not be ignored by the unemployed (who) will only have themselves to blame if the mine managements induce the relative Republican authorities to import labour from elsewhere to fill the gaps left by over-selective Transkeian workseekers."

According to the Chief Minister of the Transkei,11 his Government has four representatives in the Republic stationed at Enxiweni, Germiston; Batho, Bloemfontein; KwaMashu, Durban; and Langa, Cape Town, and among their various duties are included labour matters and the general welfare of Transkeian citizens.

During the Ovambo strike last year Chief M. M. Matlala, Chief Minister of the Lebowa Legislative Assembly, called for the whole system of contract labour to be reviewed. The Chief said that many aspects of the system were unsound and should be scrapped. Chief Matlala's call was supported by Chief J. Mbandla, Chief Councillor of the Ciskei Legislative Assembly, and Professor H. Ntsanwisi, Chief Councillor of Gazankulu, but Chief Lucas Mangope, Chief Councillor of BophuTatswana, said labourers were offered a choice by employers before they were contracted. They could refuse if they did not want the particular job.2 Mr. C. D. Molapo, the Lesotho Minister of Health, Education and Social Welfare said that his country was fighting a war against labour migration to South Africa. Workers from Lesotho had worked in the development of South Africa for too long.'3

The attitude of the South African Government to African workers was clearly enunciated by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development in the Assembly on 9 May'4 when he said: "We do not regard the Bantu working in South Africa"even if they have always been working here, for whatever length of time, even if it is from the day they are born until the day they die-as being present here in an entrenched, fixed capacity; we regard them as being here in a casual capacity."

A report in the Rand Daily Mail on 25 October stated that according to a circular sent to urban authorities "foreign" Africans who have not been in registered employment since the following dates must be repatriated: Rhodesians, 1 March 1968; Malawians, 1 November 1967; citizens of Lesotho, Botswana, and Swaziland, 1 July 1963. When a foreign African is repatriated his wife and children are expected to accompany him. However, Portuguese, Rhodesian, and Malawian Africans who have been in legal or illegal employment for 15 years, or
in the employ of 1 employer for 10 years, may apply for a 5-year suspension of repatriation.

Non-Africans registered as unemployed
In reply to a question in the Assembly on 25 February'6 the Minister of Labour said that at the end of December, 1971, the following numbers of persons were registered as unemployed in his department's ten inspectorate areas: Whites

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Administrative and clerical</th>
<th>1630</th>
<th>100</th>
<th>308</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>442</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled trades</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operatives and semi-skilled</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>726</td>
<td>569</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>982</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other categories</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3477</td>
<td>2423</td>
<td>1624</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of unemployed constituted some 0.3 per cent of economically active Whites, Coloured people, and Asians in 1971, but there was an increase in the unemployment of these groups between 1970 and 1971 of some 1 293. This trend continued.

African unemployment
It remains difficult to obtain reliable data on the extent of unemployment among the African population. However, in the Assembly on 18 February7 the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education said that there were 86 721 Africans (26 260 in the Transkei alone) who were registered either as workseekers or unemployed as at 31 March, 1971. A leading industrial consultant, Dr. Lawrence McCrystal, has estimated that, given the current rate of economic growth, there would be 728 000 unemployed by 1975, virtually all of them Black people."

Unemployment Insurance
The Minister of Labour said in the Assembly on 25 February,9 that 88 112 employers were registered with, and 1 803 000 employees were contributing to, the Unemployment Fund (U.I.F.) This means that, for a variety of reasons, roughly 6 527 000 economically active persons do not qualify for benefits under this fund. The Minister said later" that as at 31 December 1971 the accumulated funds of the U.I.F. amounted to R153 253 948, and over the past 12 months R24
572 929 had been received in contributions and from interest, and R15 355 804 had been paid out in benefits and R1 899 854 in administrative costs.

RESERVATION OF WORK
There were no new job reservation determinations in 1972.

In the Assembly on 10 March the Minister of Labour reiterated the view that an estimated 2,9 per cent of the country's labour force was potentially affected under section 77 of the Industrial Conciliation Act. Exemptions granted on an individual basis from work determination provisions affected 4 686 employees. (A substantial increase of 2 606 on last year's figure.) The Minister said that statistics in respect of all exemptions granted since the inception of the reservation of work in 1957 were not readily available but gave the following details of various exemptions granted over the three-year period 1969-1971, where the figures represent the number of Black workers who could have been in employment under current exemptions at the end of 1971:

17 Ibid, 3 col. 258.
18 Star, 14 March.
19 Hansard 4 col. 352.
20 Hansard 13 col. 968.
1 Hansard 6 cols. 526-30.
253

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

Industry
Municipal Undertaking - Durban. (Driving of motor vehicles in the cleansing department.) Iron, Steel, Engineering and Metallurgical Industry Republic of South Africa. (Manufacture of window or door metal surrounds, Ciscoe windows, Arlite louvres, etc.)
Municipal Undertaking - Cape Town, (Traffic Police, Ambulance Services and Fire Brigade Dept.)
Clothing Industry - Republic of S.A. Road Passenger Transport Industry - Cape Peninsula, (Drivers and Conductors)
Motor Vehicle Driving - Certain industries, Magisterial districts of Odendaalsrus, Ventersburg, Virginia and Welkom. Certain work in abattoirs and in the wholesale meat trade - Witwatersrand and Pretoria Building Industry - Cape Province and Natal
Liquor and Catering Trade (work of barman)
- Municipal areas of Durban and Pietermaritzburg
Motor Vehicle Driving - Magisterial district of Durban
Motor Assembly Industry - Republic of S.A.
Motor Vehicle Driving (certain industries) Certain magisterial districts in the Transvaal and O.F.S.
Motor Vehicle Driving-Union Liquid Air Co. Transvaal and O.F.S.
Liquor and Catering Trade (Work of barman) Western Cape
Liquor and Catering Trade (Work of barman) Municipal area of East London
Motor Vehicle Driving -Divisional Council of Port Elizabeth
Motor Assembly Industry - Pretoria
Determination No.
2 Hansard 9 cols. 4374-5.
254
Number of Persons Affected	Coloured	Asian	African
--
45
At the request of the employer and employee parties, who arrived at an agreement, the provisions of the determination have been suspended for the currency of the agreement.
20 -
(Exemption was granted for an indefinite period during 1962.)
6 -
1091 - 31
At the request of the employer and employee parties, who arrived at an agreement, the provisions of the determination have been suspended for the currency of the agreement.
- - 902
Approximately 630
- - 22
- - 213
260 1
(In addition exemption granted in the Durban/Pinetown/Inanda area for 500 Coloured/Asians.)
- 109
2 164 10
The number of persons involved is not known as total exemption was granted to four employers in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage following agreement with the trade union. The other exemptions were granted on a percentage basis.
- - 332
14 2 17
12 -
222 in all, mainly Africans.
7 4
18 -
20 -
9
- - 23
In the Assembly on 29 March, the Minister of Finance said: "Within our basic social structure the Government's attitude towards labour problems remains flexible. In present circumstances,

RESERVATION OF WORK
for example, a concession may be justified where additional Bantu labour is required to permit greater use of unutilised productive capacity... I wish to emphasize that the Government is always prepared to consider adjustments of labour policy within the basic framework of our society, in order to promote efficiency, and productivity. The rigidity of our labour laws is, in fact, often exaggerated. Work reservation, for example, is in certain cases essential for the protection of the White or Coloured worker and the preservation of industrial peace, but it is applied with great flexibility, and exemptions are granted where justified."

Mr. Arthur Grobbelaar, the general secretary of Tucsa said the concessions were "most welcome" and that employers and trade unions had been given the green light to devise suitable schemes for the better use of labour and improvements in the levels of productivity. On the other hand, Mr. Lukas van den Berg, president of the Confederation of Labour, expressed alarm that the Government was prepared to go beyond the recommendations embodied in the White Paper on the better utilisation of labour. Unless a "careful balance" was maintained the Government could expect strong opposition from White trade unions but there would be no strong objections as long as the new policy was implemented on a selective basis.'

The Rand Daily Mail reported on 27 November that the major trade union in the building industry, the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers, had called on the Minister of Labour to scrap job reservation and to apply the policy of the rate for the job—a call which followed the earlier admission of the White Building Workers' Union that job reservation had failed, and the only protection left for White artisans was the rate for the job.

The South African industrialist, Dr. A. J. Wessels, told the South Africa Club in London that the reservation of work was not inhibiting the progress of the African in industry and neither was it limiting his potential productivity. The White trade unions in their attempt to maintain the scarcity value of their labour were a far greater danger to the development of the African workers than job reservation." In an address to a labour conference organised by the national Development and Management Foundation, Professor J. L. Sadie of the Department of Economics at Stellenbosch University said that Government policies such as job reservation, the Group Areas Act, and several other legal restrictions, together with the social colour bar, were directly responsible for depressing the development of the Western Cape's Coloured labour force.'

In 1972 there were negotiations for a new industrial agreement in the iron, steel, engineering, and metallurgical industries.

3 Star, 30 March.
4 Rand Daily Mail, 29 March.
5 Star, 21 April.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

The issues at stake were wages, productivity and the allocation of jobs governed by the technical schedule which effectively excludes Africans from employment in certain categories of work. (See pages 88-90 of the 1968 issue and pages 103-4 of the 1970 issue of this Survey for a record of the disputes on these issues.) In April the Industrial Council for the Electrical Industry in Natal met to study proposals for new job schedules but the sole result of this meeting was agreement in principle on the creation of a group pension fund for African employees in the electrical contracting and associated industries, to be administered by the pensions division of the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa (Seifsa).

The 10 trade unions involved represent some 380 000 workers and put forward wage demands that would add some R450 000 000 to the cost structure of these industries over 2 years. Appeals for restraint by some of the employer associations were firmly rejected by the unions. Employers countered with a plan for the further advancement of Africans in certain categories of work, and while it appeared that the trade unions, to a greater or lesser extent, were not averse to an easing of job reservation provisions, they were not prepared to give their unqualified approval to the scheme until their wage demands had been considered.

Mr. Tom Murray, general secretary of the South African Boilermakers', Iron and Steel Workers', Shipbuilders' and Welders' Society, warned at the annual congress of Tucsa that South Africa's engineering industry was in danger of collapse unless trade unions allowed more Africans into skilled jobs. The 10 trade unions later declared a dispute against the employer organisations and Seifsa immediately declared a counter dispute but agreed to further negotiations within the framework of the National Industrial Council. It was later reported that the unions had reached agreement on African job advancement and a revised technical schedule was being drafted. Apparently fears expressed by some right wing unions were alleviated by guarantees written into the schedule which give protection to some White jobs.

The Minister of Tourism and Indian Affairs, Senator Horwood, announced in October that the new agreement which had been concluded opened up new job opportunities for African workers in the lower-skilled D grade work categories and that some 10 000 jobs being done by Whites, Coloured people, and Asians had been regraded and would be progressively filled by African workers.

Sunday Tribune, 9 April.

7 Ibid, 16 July.

5 Star, 18 July, 15, 16, 21 and 29 August.

9 Ibid, 23 August.

10 Sunday Tribune, 10 September.

11 Star, 18 September.

12 Sunday Express, 15 October.
RESERVATION OF WORK
However, the director of SEIFSA, Mr. Errol Drummond, pointed out that the agreement's objects were: to "provide for the employment of (Africans) in rate 'D' jobs (formerly reserved only for persons eligible for trade union membership); to ensure consultation between employers and unions on this job category; to ensure an orderly changeover; and to provide the machinery needed to achieve these objects and to establish retraining procedures". Mr. Drummond stressed that the right to employ Africans in rate "D" categories was by no means automatic. It was only permitted where the former employee received bona fide promotion to a higher rated job at higher pay, or resigned, or was discharged for misconduct. If an employer wished to expand operations, the employer and the shop stewards or official representatives of the union involved had to agree before African labour could be employed in rate "D" jobs. A joint retraining scheme would be financed by employer levies, to retrain employees should they become redundant. Average retraining time for a rate "D" employee to take on a higher-rated job would be between 3 and 6 months.13

It was reported that wage increases resulting from the new agreement would be about 10 cents an hour (some R18 a month) for skilled artisans, and 3 cents an hour (some R5,40 a month) for unskilled African workers. Holiday bonuses would also be extended to Africans for the first time while increased holiday bonuses would be given to, Whites, Coloured people, and Asians. The Iron and Steel Corporation has also announced a new agreement with seven trade unions. This also gives Africans holiday bonuses, ranging between R24 and R43 a year, for the first time. About 10 000 White workers will receive pay increases of some R 15 a month while about 15 000 African workers will get a minimum increase of R6 per month. The agreement apparently also provides for the more effective use of Black and White labour.1

On 3 October the Star reported that Transvaal Malleable Foundries (which, it was alleged, was associated with Volkskas Bank) which had taken on 10 Coloured workers over a period of months had recently fired 10 White production moulders. The Iron Moulders' Society of South Africa called upon the Department of Labour to intervene and asked for a meeting of the Industrial Council for the industry. The secretary of the Iron Moulders' Society, Mr. Cliff Crompton, claimed that his union had not been able to place a White production moulder in any Transvaal foundry for 18 months. Mr. Crompton maintained that the foundries would only take on Coloured workers because they could pay them the minimum rate of R 1,05 an hour while the Is Financial Mail, 20 October. 14 Star, 13 October; Rand Daily Mail, 14 October. 257

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
going rate for Whites was R1,30 an hour, and he went on to say "if this sort of thing carries on there will be the greatest industrial upheaval this country has ever known". According to Mr. Crompton, some of the men said that the foundry's management had assured them that they would not be replaced but would be promoted when the first Coloured men were taken on. The managing director of
the foundry maintained that the company was retrenching for economic reasons and that the men had not been replaced by Coloured workers. He later admitted that his company was actually expanding but claimed that it was also modernising and there was no work for the dismissed men.

On 4 October the Star reported that the Minister of Labour had ordered the foundry to reinstate the 10 White workers who had been dismissed (although there seemed to be some doubt as to whether the Minister's action was legal). The White workers were subsequently rehired.

On 5 December The Star reported that the United S.A. Brush Company had dismissed three Whites and replaced them with Indians, but on 7 December the Rand Daily Mail stated that the company was to re-engage Whites for two of the formerly White posts on the instruction of the Department of Labour.

On page 89-92 of the 1970 issue of this Survey a notice of Ministerial intention to prohibit the employment of Africans in certain white-collar jobs in the so-called White areas of the Republic was recorded. This remains a notice of intention only, for it has not yet been implemented.

MANPOWER, LABOUR SHORTAGES AND TRAINING

Manpower and shortages

Government policy on the better utilisation of labour was outlined on pages 199-200 of the 1971 issue of this Survey, while controls on the employment of Africans in metropolitan areas-the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging region in particular-and the official ratio of Black/White employees in terms of the Physical Planning Act, and other recommendations of the Inter-Departmental Committee on the Decentralisation of Industries (Riekert Report) were recorded on pages 209-214.

In the Assembly on 31 January,' the leader of the Opposition said: "(The Government) is placing restrictions on the use of manpower which we have available. It is preventing us from forming the most efficient productive teams of White and non-White workers working together to produce for South Africa. It is therefore small wonder that we are not as efficient as we should be and that our exports are not competitive on world markets." The Minister of 15 Rand Daily Mail, 6 October.

258

MANPOWER, LABOUR SHORTAGES, TRAINING

Labour responded2 "If (the United Party) are not satisfied with the proposals made in the Riekert Report and White Paper, it means ... that the United Party ... want all restrictions on the entry of Black labour into White areas to be lifted...

This Government definitely has no intention of allowing the uncontrolled employment of Black labour in White areas". In answer to a question in the Assembly on 5 May,3 the Minister of Labour said that industrialists would not be permitted to train African workers to do skilled work in industry in "White South Africa" or in the border areas either. The Minister emphasized this point of view in the Senate on 19 May' when he said: "The policy of this Government ... is to
refrain from training and using them as skilled workers in White areas. That is and remains Government policy."

On the eve of the Budget the United Party shadow Minister of Finance, Mr. Sonny Emdin, and Mr. Colin Eglin, leader of the Progressive Party urged that the fullest possible use be made of Black labour.1 The essence of the Minister of Finance's speech on labour policy is briefly recorded under the section on the reservation of work and also under the section on the decentralisation of industry. However, the Minister also said:6 "Immigration is another field where the State and the private sector can work together to increase our productive labour force. Although the number of immigrants entering the country tended to decline during the earlier part of last year there was a noticeable increase during the last quarter of 1971. Judging by the number of applications received this year, this trend is continuing - continued efforts will be made - without, however, sacrificing principles or standards - to extract the maximum benefit for the Republic from this situation in order to strengthen further our skilled labour force."

A study entitled Graduate Housewives for Part-Time Employment, published by the Institute for Manpower Research of the Human Sciences Research Council, revealed that only 46 per cent of university-trained housewives in the Pretoria-WitwatersrandVereeniging region were currently employed, but 52 per cent could have been if there had been sufficient part-time job openings. For all practical purposes, there were no graduate housewives in this area who wanted to work full-time who were not already so employed.7

After a meeting in May of the Decentralisation Board which was attended by representatives of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation, and the Federated Chamber of Industries, the Secretary for Industries, Mr. M. A. du 2 Ibid, cols. 320-1.
, Senate Hansard 11 col. 4099.
5 Star, 28 March.
6 Hansard 9 cols. 4374-6. 29 March.
Rand Daily Mail, 30 June.
259

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
Plessis, announced that a schedule of concessions to private industries, granting the automatic right to employ more Black labour within specified limits was to be submitted to the Minister of Finance for final approval and was expected to come into operation in the near future. Apparently these concessions extended the pattern laid down in last year's Riekert Report."

Government Notice R 1014 of 16 June exempted employers who occupy factories from those provisions of the Factories, Machinery and Building Work Act, 1941, which cover the keeping of attendance registers, the keeping of certain fixed hours of work and the payment of overtime in respect of managers, submanagers, senior managerial, professional, technical and administrative personnel and

foremen in receipt of a certain stipulated regular remuneration in specified areas of the Republic.

At a conference held by the National Development and Management Foundation, Dr. S. J. Kleu, chairman of the Productivity Advisory Council, said that the argument that South Africa's productivity was mainly dependent upon the willingness of the Government to make labour available, especially Black labour, was "a dangerously narrow view". The percentage of Black labour employed in secondary industry had increased steadily and spectacularly from 57.6 per cent of the work force in 1936 to 66.5 per cent in 1951, and 70.3 per cent in 1967. The increasing absorption of Black workers in industry had not been accompanied by an increase in productivity, in fact, the reverse was the case. The problem confronting South African industry was not so much the non-availability of Black labour but rather the scarcity of managers and skilled White labour and the inefficient use of the available Black labour. He asked whether the training of African children should not more often be of a vocational nature. At the same conference the N.D.M.F.'s African training officer, Mr. Mathew Matsheke, said that to motivate the African worker to higher productivity would require a thorough upheaval in the current concepts of training. A systematic approach based on the African's background and industrial inclinations should be given priority. Increased responsibility should be coupled with organised stages of training. Mr. Tom Murray, the then president of TUCSA, claimed that the (White) worker wanted increased productivity and the rapid, but controlled, entry of Black workers into more responsible jobs. They also hoped for a more frank and direct examination of worker problems. All workers had sufficient faith to believe that the White worker could only gain by the entry of the Black worker into more highly skilled jobs but guarantees against redundancy had to be given.9 The Prime Minister, in an address to the Afrikaanse Sakekamer in Cape Town, criticised those who were calling for the "greater employment of Non-Whites". There were people in South Africa who were propagating something that could lead to the creation of a social welfare state. This could bring about the downfall of the country, especially if its racial composition were taken into account. 10

Further comment on labour shortages by industrialists and businessmen was recorded during the year. In January, Mr. P. W. Sceales, chairman of the engineering group Dorman Long which employs some 14 000 workers, said the Government should take a strong lead in upgrading Black workers because South Africa had too few Whites to solve the ever present labour shortage. His own group employed hundreds of Coloured workers paying them the rate for the job at between 80 and 100 cents an hour. However, its pool of Black apprentices was small.11 In his chairman's statement, Mr. Mandy Moross, chief executive of the Schlesinger Organisation, said that the Government had chosen to restrict the flow
of Blacks into industry and in so doing had chosen to restrict the development of the economy. He said the time had come to acknowledge that the outdated restrictions on labour utilisation were no longer acceptable. Dr. Jan Marais, chairman of Trust Bank, has called for an absolute minimum growth rate of 6 per cent a year, for the flow of immigration to be trebled or quadrupled, and the use of every scrap of available manpower and talent on the basis of merit. In a memorandum to the Commission of Enquiry into Exports (Reyners Commission) the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut has called for better utilisation of White labour capacity through the provision of adequate university and technical training, greater use of White women, maintaining immigration and the training of Africans in the border and homeland areas as fullyfledged artisans.

The Federated Chamber of Industries has associated itself with the recommendations of the Geyser Committee (see pages 199 and 200 of the 1971 issue of this Survey) and more particularly those related to immigration and the better utilisation and training of Whites, Coloured people, and Asians. It has pointed out however that the availability of labour from these three population groups was virtually inelastic. As a result, recent additions to the industrial labour force had come largely from the African group. The F.C.I. recommended the following programme:

"I. the urgent implementation of the recommendations of the Geyser Committee;
2. that Government should actively facilitate and encourage the better utilisation of manpower, and intervene in the determination of differences arising between employers and employees in the attainment of this concept;
3. that a greatly accelerated programme to train non-White and particularly Bantu labour for skilled and semi-skilled occupations be introduced, and that this programme be co-ordinated and integrated with an overall manpower plan for the Republic as a whole;
4. that in-factory training of both Bantu and non-Bantu workers be encouraged by the introduction of fiscal incentives in respect of expenditure incurred on training schemes;
5. that more effective steps be taken to rationalise job descriptions in order to facilitate the better utilisation and training of manpower particularly in the 'semi-skilled' and 'operative' categories, and that no obstacles be placed in the way of utilisation of labour in these categories;
6. in order to ensure the more effective utilisation and training of
Bantu labour falling outside Section 10 of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, No. 25 of 1945, and notwithstanding the current 'call-in' card system, that by mutual consent between employers and Bantu employees contracts be allowed for periods longer than one year, but terminable by either party, with provision for leave and other normal conditions of service."

The Chairman of the Greatermans group, Mr. Norman Herber, said that relaxation of the Government's job reservation policy was the only practical, sensible, and intelligent course for the Government to follow. The president of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, Mr. C. J. F. Human, told the Johannesburg Afrikaanse Sakekamer that African labour would have to be used more productively, and industry would have to spend more time and energy educating Black people if South Africa's economy was to progress.

In his annual review, the chairman of Union Acceptances, Mr. M. W. Rush, said that a more positive lead than just putting the whole labour problem into the lap of private enterprise was necessary. It was simply not good enough to abdicate political decision-making to the trade unions and to say that the public sector would impose its rules "flexibly" while the private sector was expected to find a solution.

In an address to the Confederation of Labour, Mr. S. R. Back, president of the Federated Chamber of Industries, warned that the country faced dire consequences if Black workers were not given the opportunity to play a bigger role in the economy. Mr. Eric Ellerine, Chairman of Ellerine Holdings, said that the manpower shortage could be easily overcome if the Government would relax its controls on the use of Black labour. By adopting their firm stand on labour the Government was doing the country a disservice.

On October 3 the Star reported that in his annual statement to Gold Fields of South Africa, Limited, the Chairman, Mr. 15 Programme for Sustained Industrial Expansion. In F.C.I. Viewpoint, March 1972. 16 Star, 14 March.

11 Rand Daily Mail, 16 March.
Is Ibid, 12 April.
19 Star, 9 June.
20 Sunday Times, 2 July.
262

MANPOWER, LABOUR SHORTAGES, TRAINING
A. Louw, said: "the potential for industrial growth in the country will be retarded until the country can find an acceptable formula to provide for the better utilization of the available labour force." The Rand Daily Mail reported on 12 October that the Chairman of the Netherlands Bank, Dr. Frans Cronje, had said that the main reason for the economy's comparatively poor performance in recent years lay in the "numerous legal and traditional restrictions on the full use of our labour". Again, on 19 October, the Rand Daily Mail reported that Mr. E. J. Keevil, president of the South African Motor Industry Employers' Association, had said that "it is our belief that Blacks are not being used to the extent they should be throughout the Republic. We believe, too, that if they are used to the
extent that they should be, productivity will be increased because obviously they will be releasing journeymen for more specialised work".

Mr. Robert Kraft, assistant secretary general of TUCSA stated that South Africa's economic pressures would put employers on a strong footing to demand labour concessions. If manufacturers were to be called upon to contribute to the fight against inflation they were entitled to ask for concessions. Mr. J. H. Liebenberg, the retiring president of the South African Railways Artisan Staff Association, called upon the Minister of Labour to organise and support a national convention on labour at which trade unions, employers, and the Government could come to an understanding on labour. Mr. E. H. McCann, general secretary of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, said that if the country's economy were to flourish... greater use would have to be made of the country's manpower so as to swell the export of our products. Better use of manpower meant the use of all sections of the community, irrespective of race, at enhanced living standards.

The chairman of the Confederation of Labour, Mr. Ivan Martin, stated that he and many other trade union leaders falling under the umbrella of the Confederation were firmly convinced that if the country wanted to advance economically, better use would have to be made of Black workers. Mr. Martin admitted that there was disagreement within the Confederation on the issue of Black labour but denied that this disagreement was threatening to break up the organisation.

In an address to the Afrikaanse Studentebond, Professor P. J. van der Merwe of the Department of Economics at the University of Pretoria, said that in the future Africans would have to be permitted to an increasing degree to undertake work of a more skilled nature in "White areas". Professor van der Merwe qualified this view by linking it with the policy of homeland development.

21 Rand Daily Mail, 11 January.
22 Star, 14 February.
23 Rand Daily Mail, 7 March.
24 Ibid, 9 August.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
by maintaining that it should be possible for Africans to undertake more skilled work (a) in the border industrial areas, (b) in the White metropolitan areas, and (c) in White urban areas, which were situated so close to homelands that the Africans could travel on a daily basis between their places of work on their homes. Mr. D. A. Jackson, director of the S.A. Institute of Personnel Management, said that the questions to pose on African job advancement were not "if and why" but "when and how". He felt that three essentials were necessary for bringing about the sort of organic change which was required: (a) awareness on the part of management that such change is possible and practical;
(b) incentives, positive as well as negative, to make the necessary "sacrifice" by White workers justified; and (c) training of African workers to take over new duties."
In January the managing director of the Federale Mynbou/ General Mining group, Dr. W. J. de Villiers, emphasised that the country was faced not merely with a labour shortage but with a shortage of ability compared with other industrialised countries. Dr. De Villiers maintained that South Africa, at its present state of development, could not afford to have a major part of its Black workers as unskilled labourers.1 Dr. A. J. van Zyl, chairman of the executive of the Association of Colleges for Advanced Technical Education, has explained the implications of new regulations which came into force this year. Apparently students who had failed at university and wanted to complete a technical course would not necessarily have to repeat the subjects they had passed at university. Exemptions would be given more freely than in the past. The measures were aimed at encouraging university dropouts to continue their studies in a new field.8 Mr. W. A. van Deventer, chairman of the Johannesburg Afrikaanse Sakekamer, said at their annual meeting that more attention would have to be given to training all races in the country."

A Journeyman Recognition Agreement in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act, relating to the iron, steel, engineering, and metallurgical industries was gazetted under Government Notice R605 on 14 April. This acknowledged the serious shortage of journeymen and apprentices in work classified as rate A and provided for the recognition of certain people as journeymen. Seifsa later announced that it had launched a large-scale training scheme for foremen and supervisors. A two-year course in supervisory management had been introduced by colleges of Advanced


MANPOWER, LABOUR SHORTAGES, TRAINING Technical Education, at Seifsa's instance."- Detailed studies of an improved, streamlined system of apprentice training were also being studied by Seifsa whose education and training scheme is supported by a levy fund which brings in R4 000 000 a year. The increase in apprentices in the metal and engineering industry rose by 9,1 per cent between 1970 and 1971 and the intake stood at just over 15 000.1 On 11 October the Star reported that Dr. A. D. Wassenaar, chairman of Sanlam, had said that the training of Black workers was an essential priority as a prerequisite for greater growth in all sectors of the economy throughout the country.

In their study entitled The Utilisation of Non-White Labour mentioned earlier in this chapter, Mr. W. W. van Breda and Dr. H. P. Langenhoven found that the largest manpower shortage was of skilled African and Coloured tradesmen. The greatest need for Africans was as operators, followed by clerical and administrative posts, while Coloured people were needed firstly as skilled
tradesmen, secondly in clerical and administrative posts, and thirdly as operators. Some 89 per cent of the employers interviewed believed that better utilisation of Black labour was necessary, and 77 per cent believed that Black workers had the potential for better utilisation, but only some 18 per cent thought they could be more effectively employed with the training currently being received. In spite of this, formal induction programmes were not in common use and neither was formal training. Special internal training programmes were seldom applied.

Immigration

In answer to a question in the Assembly on 22 February the Minister of Statistics said that 41,446 immigrants had entered the country in 1969, 41,523 in 1970, and 29,469 in the first 10 months of 1971. (A Department of Statistics release on Migration Statistics, dated 18 August, put the total number of immigrants who entered the Republic in 1971 at 35,845.) It appeared from details furnished by the Minister that, during the years in question, the principal countries of origin of immigrants were: United Kingdom, Germany, Rhodesia, Netherlands, Portugal, Austria, Switzerland, and Zambia.

The Prime Minister's Economic Advisory Council maintained that the drop in immigration should not cause concern because there were no vacant jobs. The Council re-affirmed, however, that from the long-term point of view immigration was of the utmost importance to the South African economy.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

Apprentices

In answer to a question in the Assembly on 25 February the Minister of Labour stated that the following new apprenticeship contracts were registered in each trade during 1971: Whites Coloured Asians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trade</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Building</td>
<td>607</td>
<td>1,010</td>
<td>397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diamond cutting</td>
<td>106</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printing</td>
<td>534</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hairdressing</td>
<td>409</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewellers and goldsmiths</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metal (engineering)</td>
<td>2,607</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor</td>
<td>1,944</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>595</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government undertakings</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.A. Railways</td>
<td>1,634</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other trades</td>
<td>441</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9,140</td>
<td>1,596</td>
<td>604</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The figures for 1971 show an increase over those for 1970 of 157 Whites (1.7 per cent) a decrease for Coloured people of 30 (1.8 per cent), and an increase for Asians of 251 (71.1 per cent).

In answer to a question in the Assembly on 2 May, the Minister of Coloured Affairs said that Coloured people were being trained as artisans at 9 centres in the Republic, and that in 1971 the following numbers of people were enrolled for these respective courses: welders-33; electricians-105; carpenters-1 023; motor mechanics-124. There were no courses for blasters.

The Minister of Indian Affairs said in the Assembly on 17 April, that while no Indian persons were being trained as blasters there were 3 technical colleges or schools at which Indian persons were being trained on a full-time or part-time basis as: welders164; electricians-49; carpenters-305; motor mechanics-349.

In answer to a question in the Assembly on 14 April the Minister of Bantu Education said that in 1971 there were: 3 schools at which 28 Africans were enrolled to be trained as welders; 4 at which 194 Africans were being trained as electricians; 18 schools at which 618 Africans were being trained as carpenters; 11 at which 376 Africans were being trained as motor mechanics. No Africans were being trained as blasters. In answer to a question on training facilities for Africans in the homelands on 17 March, the Minister gave a detailed schedule of the schools at which various courses which he itemized had been instituted since March 1970. The Minister went on to say that the following ad hoc industrial schools for the training of factory operators had been registered:

- Berkshire (stockings); Cesco (batteries); Shafton (paper); Xhosa Clothing (clothing); Dunlop Semtex (floor tiles); H. J. Henochsberg (clothing); Johnson & Johnson (cosmetics); Mooirivier (textiles); Scottish Cables (electric cables); Springbok Clothing (clothing); Neckelman (textiles); Wilson Rowntree (sweets).

On 10 May, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education told the Assembly that plans for a comprehensive African artisan training scheme had reached an advanced stage. There was an accumulated surplus of approximately R30 000 000 in the Bantu Services Levy Fund and the Government saw great possibilities if those funds were to be utilised for such artisan training and associated schemes. The Deputy Minister later told the Assembly that Africans trained as artisans in the homelands were subjected to trade tests. An elaborate system had been constructed by the Department of Bantu Education in this respect. These tests used to be conducted in Pretoria but provision had since been made for them to be conducted by the Department itself. The Minister of Labour told the Assembly on 26 May, that there was nothing to prevent Africans from being trained in any trade in the Transkei but this could not take place on a
statutory basis in terms of the Apprenticeship Act of 1944 since the conditions of this Act were, in terms of the Transkeian Constitution, not applicable. In the other homelands the authorities concerned could make arrangements for the application of specific conditions of apprenticeship under the Apprenticeship Act, but no such arrangements had yet been made. Training could also take place in these areas on a non-statutory basis. In the rest of the Republic an African could be trained as an apprentice in any trade under the Apprenticeship Act, but it was policy not to indenture African apprentices in "White" areas.

In response to a question on the number of Coloured people and Asians indentured as motor mechanics, the Minister of Labour gave the following information in the Assembly on 5 May:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister of Coloured Affairs later pointed out that in terms of the Apprenticeship Act, duly constituted apprenticeship committees had to approve the enrolment of an apprentice with an employer for an apprenticeship contract to be valid. One problem was that there were far too few Coloured motor mechanics (to train Coloured apprentices). The Minister's efforts to do some were thwarted by the trade unions who were not satisfied if a White member of a union took in a Coloured boy as an apprentice.

On 26 September the Rand Daily Mail reported that immigrant motor mechanics faced expulsion from their unions for training Coloured apprentices but many planned to defy the threats. The Motor Industry Employees' Union of South Africa noted that written undertakings had been given by the immigrants to their employer to the effect that they were prepared to train Coloured mechanics, and warned that unless such undertakings were withdrawn, union membership would be cancelled forthwith. Mr. E. J. Keevill, president of the South African Motor Industry Employers' Association, felt sure that the problem of training Black mechanics would be overcome since the union had agreed to a certain amount of "job dilution" in the past. Apparently difficulties over the training of Black apprentices in the Motor industry arise only in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. In the Cape and Natal there are numbers of Coloured and Indian mechanics, many, if not most, trained by Whites. They in turn are training more Black apprentices. Nevertheless, four immigrant motor mechanics who defied the Union on the issue of training Black apprentices, were expelled from the trade union.4
president of the Motor Industries Employees' Union, Mr. W. de Klerk, later said that he felt that the authorities or Coloured people themselves should train their own people because if White mechanics trained Black apprentices there would be a flood of Black mechanics who would displace White mechanics by accepting lower salaries. He said later: "The day that R100 a week is the basic rate for mechanics, I will be prepared to ask my members if they will consider opening the door a little to Coloureds.

Trade union opposition to the training of Black motor mechanics was criticised by Mr. V. A. D. Burger, the divisional chairman (Port Elizabeth) of the Motor Industries Federation, and Mr. E. P. Turk, director-general of the Automobile Association of South Africa.

National leaders of the Motor Industry Combined Workers' Union met in Durban later to debate a proposal that all contact with the White union be severed and the Government be asked to grant Blacks their own apprenticeship committees.

During the meeting of the National Industrial Council for the Motor Industry, Mr. Dennis Osborne, head of the Durban and District Motor Apprenticeship Sub-committee, said that he wanted Coloured representation on his committee as soon as possible and

41 Rand Daily Mail (Township Edition), 29 September. 45 Star, 6 October.
46 Rand Daily Mail, 7 October.
47 Sunday Tribune, 8 October.
48 Rand Daily Mail, 10 October.
49 Star, 18 and 19 October.

MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY

his executive would probably discuss severing all contact with the White union at their next meeting. But the president of the (White) Motor Industry Employees' Union, Mr. F. C. Pinnock, said that at annual general meetings throughout the Republic, union members had given unanimous support to the existing policy whereby White mechanics would not train Black apprentices.

According to, the Rand Daily Mail of 7 December, the S.A. Sugar MILLers' Association is to build an R800 000 apprentice training centre at Mount Edgecombe in Natal. The centre will train and house Coloured, Indian, and White youths, who will all receive the same rate of pay.

EMPLOYMENT IN THE MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY

The employment figures given below are based on a sample survey of private establishments conducted by the Department of Statistics (the basis for which was revised in January). These figures are therefore not strictly comparable with those for earlier years. They relate to the month of May and the average monthly earnings have been calculated by the compiler of this chapter.

Average numbers  Average monthly employed  gross cash earnings
R
Whites ......  283 000  352
Coloured ...... 204 200  88
Asians ......  77 300  94
Africans ......  662 600  60
Although these figures are not strictly comparable with those for previous years, if they were to be used as a rough guideline, it appears that between 1971 and 1972 White employment has increased by 1.4 per cent while average wages have increased by 12 per cent. Employment of Coloured people has increased by 2.4 per cent while average wages have increased by 21 per cent. Employment of Asians has risen by 1 per cent while average wages have increased by 171 per cent. African employment has increased by 2.3 per cent while average wages have increased by 15 per cent.

If the Department of Statistics' estimates are accepted, it would appear that the average earnings of all racial groups have increased at a rate considerably higher than that of the annual increase in the consumer price index. However the various criteria for measuring poverty which are recorded earlier in this chapter should be borne in mind when considering percentage increases. Average wages of Africans would still be well below the poverty datum line while those of Coloured and Asian people are substantially below the minimum effective level. The data indicates, too, that Africans constitute some 54 per cent of the labour force in the manufacturing industry while Coloured people and Asians together constitute 22.9 per cent and Whites only 23.1 per cent.

Figures for the clothing industry, alone, calculated from data given in the same news release are: Average numbers Average monthly employed gross cash earnings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>10700</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>56 000</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>23 900</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>33 300</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Given the proviso mentioned earlier, it would appear that White employment has increased by 1.9 per cent while average wages have increased by 19 per cent. Employment of Coloured people has increased by 5.7 per cent while average wages have increased by 19 per cent. Employment of Asian people has gone up by 5.3 per cent while average wages have increased by 25 per cent. African employment has increased by 2.8 per cent while average wages have increased by 12 per cent. It is possible that the fact that some concerns in this industry have located themselves in border industrial areas and are exempt to a varying degree from wage regulating instruments acts as a depressant on African wages.

According to the same news release, figures for electricity undertakings (including the Electricity Supply Commission) are: Average numbers Average monthly employed gross cash earnings

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>123 900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Again, given the proviso mentioned above, it would appear that White employment has increased by nearly 11 per cent while average wages have increased by 11 per cent. The employment of Coloured and Asian people remains unchanged but average earnings of Coloured people have increased by 22 per cent. African employment has increased by 9 per cent while average earnings have increased by 20 per cent.

In their Bloemfontein survey mentioned earlier in this chapter, Mr. W. W. van Breda and Dr. H. P. Langenhoven found that labour turnover among Africans in manufacturing firms was as high as 81.1 per cent. It is of note that employers gave as the principle reason for the high labour turnover, higher remuneration or more favourable opportunities elsewhere.

In the Senate on 19 May the Minister of Labour indicated that while 76 000 Whites were employed as semi-skilled workers and operators in the manufacturing sector, some 290 000 Africans were so employed (an African/White ratio of over 3.8 to 1).

The Clothing Industry

A report in the Financial Mail on 2 June indicated that the national president of the Garment Workers' Union, Miss Anna Scheepers, had resorted to a more forceful strategy than bargaining around the conference table. She had recommended her 13 000 members to sell their labour to the highest bidder. In so doing, she had unilaterally revoked a "gentlemen's agreement" in the Industrial Council for the Clothing Industry which had stood for about 15 years. Miss Scheepers maintained that real wages in the industry were declining. Last year's industrial agreement did not take account of the large increase in the cost of living or of devaluation. At a special meeting of the Industrial Council the Transvaal Clothing Manufacturers Association refused to accept a claim for a 2 per cent increase for lower paid workers (comprising about 50 per cent of the labour force, on average rates of R13.50 a week) to be added to a 5 per cent increase due in July. Senior employees, not entitled to any increase in 1972, wanted a further increase of 7 per cent. In terms of the industry's "enticement agreement" both the Union and employers had undertaken to take action against an employee who became party to enticement to leave one firm and join another.

In July the Industrial Council for the Clothing Industry (Transvaal) lodged objections to recommendations made by the Wage Board in respect of wages in clothing factories outside areas covered by industrial council agreements. The Consultative Committee of the Garment Workers' Unions had earlier asked for specific improvements to the recommendations. The Industrial Council specifically accused the Wage Board of being overly concerned with the ability of
firms to pay the wages recommended and suggested that the Wage Act should be amended to provide
2 Senate Hansard 11 col. 4114.
3 Garment Worker, 7 July.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
for the appointment of an expert on production to assist the Wage Board in its investigations.
During the period January to June 1972, during a serious slump in production, 72 clothing factories temporarily laid off 3 197 workers in the Transvaal. Miss Anna Scheepers maintained that the clothing industry in the Transvaal was being seriously affected by the decentralisation of industries. The growth rate for the industry was 39,6 per cent in the Western Cape, 61,9 per cent in Natal, 66 per cent in the border industrial areas but only 5,4 per cent in the Transvaal. In June 1972 two large factories employing 550 workers had closed and relocated themselves in a homeland area where starting wages were R3 per week compared with RIO in Johannesburg.4
The Garment Workers' Union of the Western Cape with 41 000 members has presented its wage claims to employers to supplant the current agreement which expires on 12 December. If these claims are met they will add some R18 000 000 to the current wage bill in the industry which is estimated at R45 000 000 annually.
The new claims are in respect of adjustments to all categories from labourer to head-cutter, including clerical employees and travellers.'
Brief information on the facilities and activities of the multiracial Training College for the Clothing Industry (Transvaal) was recorded on pages 202-3 of the 1971 issue of this Survey. In January this year the Department of Labour drew the college's attention to its position in relation to the Group Areas Act and in June told its staff to "get their house in order". The Industrial Council for the Clothing Industry (Transvaal) has appealed to the Minister of Planning for a permit to continue in its current premises. One of the aims of the college was to attract Whites into the industry by offering training facilities. It would thus be defeating one of its own aims if it closed its doors to Whites and catered only for the Black majority. It would be highly impractical if not impossible for the college to operate on a segregated basis.6
On 14 November the Rand Daily Mail reported that all courses but one would be for Blacks. Any Whites - estimated to be about a dozen - wanting to attend courses other than the technician's course for Whites would require Government permission, as would those Blacks who wanted to take the technician's course.
The Motor Industry
Towards the end of last year the director of the Motor Industries Federation, Mr. M. A. du Plessis, said that the skilled
4 Sunday Express, 30 July.
5 Sunday Times, 30 July.
6 Financial Mail, 29 September.
272
MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY

labour shortage in the motor industry had been substantially relieved by the use of Black workers as semi-skilled operatives. Since the new industrial agreement gazetted last year (a brief analysis of this agreement is contained on pages 206-7 of the 1971 issue of this Survey) the policy of using semi-skilled operatives had been intensified. All facets of semi-skilled and unskilled work had been removed from the fully-trained journeyman and delegated to operatives thus enabling the journeyman to concentrate only on the essentially skilled work in the industry. This policy was being carried out with the full co-operation of the trade unions. However, whether the current intake of apprentices was going to be sufficient to meet the needs of the future "only time could tell".7

The local-content programme introduced by the Government in 1961 which was motivated by the need for the South African motor industry to become self-reliant in the wake of a drain on foreign reserves has come under severe criticism from motor manufacturers. The local-content programme called for the creation of a local motor component industry and a phased introduction of locally-manufactured components on a percentage basis through each successive phase. Despite severe criticism at the introduction of the programme the motor industry coped well with the R200 000 000 expenditure involved in phases 1 and 2. However, phase 3 which is costing the industry R160 000 000 is being criticised as being far more expensive in terms of capital investment than the earlier phases. To a greater or lesser extent the managing directors or chairmen of Ford, General Motors, Peugeot, Volkswagen, and Toyota have criticised phase 3 of the local content programme.8 However, the chairman of the Motor Industry Manufacturers Association, Mr. Jack Levy, was reported in the Star on 17 October as having said that attacks on the local-content programme came from men "concerned only with immediate profit". Manufacturers of motor components were "making a sacrifice-risking vast capital sums with little or no capital return-to establish the future of the South African component industry". It was reported in January that General Motors was to retrench an unspecified number of workers.' (G.M. also retrenched during the slump in the motor industry in 1971.) Ford which had also retrenched in 1971 announced that it had been forced to reduce its labour force, Black and White, by 127 in June "because of the continued depressed state of the motor industry."1

Toyota's chairman, Dr. Albert Wessels, opening the Toyota training centre in Cape Town, said that the industry calculated

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
responsible for the fact that an artificial shortage of mechanics was maintained. He said that the Toyota centre was the first school for motor mechanics which would also provide training for Blacks, including Africans, "according to the South African tradition: separate but equal". Separate courses would first be provided for Coloured people but they would be extended gradually to Africans."

Mr. Brian Kelly, president of the Automobile Association, has said that one of the factors contributing materially to the abnormally high increase in garage labour charges was the reluctance to make better use of Black labour." According to the Rand Daily Mail of 2 November Mr. Rudolf Leiding, chairman of the parent company, has announced that Volkswagen of South Africa, which employs some 1 700 Black workers and is likely to employ 600 to 800 more in the future, has decided to train Africans and Coloured people for highly skilled jobs. A training programme was already underway but the question of equal pay for equal work once Blacks had been trained for these highly skilled jobs had not yet been settled.

The Star reported on 30 November that a national training college for motor mechanics would open towards the end of February 1973, in the Transvaal.

The Textile Industry
In February the Textile Workers’ Industrial Union (representing 40000 workers) and the National Textile Manufacturers’ Association began wage negotiations in Durban. The union demanded a 60 per cent increase (an immediate increase of 35 per cent followed by a 15 and 10 per cent increase over the next two years) as well as a four-hour reduction in the current 46 hour week. The union also wanted the existing 20 per cent discrimination between the wages of men and women to be reduced. The employers were only prepared to offer an immediate increase of 5 per cent with a further 10 per cent next year to senior employees, and an immediate increase of 20 per cent followed by increases of 15 and 10 per cent over the next two years for lower-paid workers, and proposed to increase the discrimination in respect of women from 20 per cent to 25 per cent. Mr. Norman Daniels, general secretary of the union, pointed out that some women were earning R4.80 per week and that every single textile worker earned less than R75 a month. The most highly paid workers

11 Rand Daily Mail, 9 June. 12 Star, 30 June.
274

MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY
in the textile industry were spinners and weavers where men are paid R12.90 and women R10.22 a week. If the employers’ proposals were to be accepted men in this category would be earning R14.19 a week in three years time and women R10.64.13 On 22 March a dispute was declared and the Minister of Labour was asked to appoint an arbitrator. On 12 June the Star carried a report on two African textile workers. The two women had been working for a Standerton textile factory for 20 years and were earning just over R6 per week when they were fired. According to the Star report the factory in question works 3 shifts a day: 6 a.m. to 2 p.m.; 2 p.m. to 10 p.m.; and 10 p.m. to 6 a.m. Every
third week the women in question had to work through the night although both were middle-aged and had families. When they asked to be taken off the night shift because their family lives were suffering they were fired. Arbitration proceedings in the dispute commenced in Pretoria in June. After two hours proceedings the employer and employee parties asked for an adjournment and announced shortly thereafter that they had come to an agreement. The final outcome was that employers agreed to a 25 per cent increase for Grade 3 employees (labourers, sorters and packers)-15 per cent immediately followed by two annual increases of 5 per cent; and a 20 per cent increase in Grades 1 and 2 (operatives)-10 per cent immediately followed by two annual increases of 5 per cent. The Union was not successful in reducing the wage gap of 20 per cent between men and women.4 The Financial Mail of 30 June pointed out that even with these increases workers in the textile industry would remain among the lower paid group in the country, and maintained that while the union had accepted the agreement it was not "too enamoured" of the end result.

Other Industries
The current industrial agreement for the Transvaal Chemical Manufacturing Industry was not due to expire until the end of 1973. However, with the marked increase in the cost of living the Chemical Workers' Union presented to employers demands for an interim increase. The union was particularly concerned about workers who earned little more than the minima stipulated in the agreement. Employers in the industry accepted that when the agreement had been negotiated early in 1969 the excessive cost of living spiral could not have been envisaged. In May an interim agreement was concluded giving a 12 per cent increase in the stipulated minimum wages in the majority of cases. The lowest rate under the existing agreement was R 11 per week while under the interim agreement it is R12.50.15

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
The Tobacco Industry on the Witwatersrand and in the Pretoria area announced a new industrial agreement coming into effect on 1 October. This was hailed by the assistant general secretary of Tucsa, Mr. Robert Kraft, as a step in the right direction which, hopefully, would set a precedent. The increase ranged from 10.6 per cent to nearly 21 per cent on previous minimum rates and the lowest category of worker - the labourer - will now receive R14 weekly against R11.90 previously. This agreement which will affect some 500 White and Coloured and some 1 000 African workers also includes an increase from 15 per cent to 20 per cent in the bonus paid to people working night shift."

The National Productivity Institute has produced its third report - on the knitting industry. The general impression gained by the investigators was that manufacturers did not realise the importance of labour as a production factor. A third of the 24 sample factories could, by introducing bonus schemes, increase
output by as much as 60 per cent. The annual labour turnover of the sample firms ranged between 32 and 220 per cent, with an average of 59 per cent in Transvaal factories, 70 per cent in Natal, and 71 per cent in the Western Cape. Of the firms visited, only 18 per cent had someone in charge of personnel matters and in the Transvaal, where 66 per cent of the manufacturers said the labour situation was tight, not one had someone in charge of personnel matters. The majority of firms had no recruitment or selection policy, and no induction or training programmes.”

THE DECENTRALISATION OF INDUSTRIES

General

Information on Government policy in connection with what is known as the decentralisation of industries is contained in previous issues of this Survey’ and in a booklet published by the Institute of Race Relations in 1969 entitled the African Reserves of South Africa, as are developments in connection with the Physical Planning and Utilization of Resources Act of 1967.2 Developments in 1971, including policy decisions based on the Report by the Inter-Departmental Committee on the Decentralisation of Industries (popularly known as the Riekert Committee Report), were outlined in some detail on pages 209-214 of the 1971 issue of this Survey.

In January, Mr. S. Shlagman, president of the Transvaal Chamber of Industries, addressing a seminar arranged by the Chartered Institute of Secretaries, said that the inflexible, dog16 Rand Daily Mail, 15 August; Garment Worker, 22 September. 17 Rand Daily Mail, 6 November.


276

DECENTRALISATION OF INDUSTRIES

matic, and completely insensitive application of pressure on industrialists to move to the border industrial areas was a danger not only to the decentralisation policy but to the economy as a whole. Flexibility in the application of the policy was essential. There had to be an adequate educational programme to make it possible for labour in the homelands, which had an unsophisticated agrarian background, to acquire industrial skills. If African labour was not allowed reasonably unfettered access to all degrees of skill, the price of moving to border areas would be loss of productivity and loss of efficiency. Mr. Shlagman claimed that a serious shortcoming in the Riekert Report was the absence of such an educational policy.’ Mr. D. H. A. Hunt-Davis, assistant general manager of the Industrial Development Corporation, had claimed earlier at the same seminar, that for a company which was not hidebound, was prepared to adjust and make use of advantages which on the surface might not be self-evident, decentralisation could be an opportunity to expand into new markets, more efficient operation, and higher profits. Mr. Hunt-Davis conceded that company profits usually drop in the first year of decentralisation and attributed this mainly to the effects of the "intangible disadvantages such as labour productivity". However, the Riekert Report had provided improved incentives, including financial recompense, for the
cost disadvantages incurred by decentralising industrialists. The move to a decentralised area was an exercise in management efficiency and without proper attention and planning by management the problems encountered could be serious. Professor Simon Brand of the Department of Economics at the Rand Afrikaans University agreed at the seminar that the most pressing economic problem of the time was to make possible the use of the reservoir of unskilled Black labour to supplement the pool of skilled labour which had become so acutely strained, but the implicit assumption that labour restrictions had only to be lifted and everything would be all right was false. Industrialists saw tangible disadvantages in moving to border areas but the advantages were less tangible and did not accrue so much to the firm as to society in general. Professor Brand denied that industrial growth and decentralisation were conflicting objectives.

In his budget speech delivered to the Assembly on 29 March, the Minister of Finance stated that "within our basic social structure the Government's attitude towards labour problems remains flexible". The authorities would, therefore, be prepared to consider allowing industry in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area and other urban areas to employ additional African labour in order

3 Rand Daily Mail, 28 January.
4 See pages 212-3 of the 1971 issue of this Survey.
5 Rand Daily Mail, 26 January.
6 Ibid, 28 January.
7 Hansard 9 cols. 4374-6.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

to work multiple shifts, even where the 2,5 : 1 ratio of the African/ White labour complement laid down in the Rieker Report was exceeded. This concession could only be granted on a selective basis (particularly for export industries) and with due regard to, such factors as the availability of housing and transport. The authorities would also be prepared to allow a company or group of companies which wished to move one or more of its activities to the decentralised areas, to retain its total quota of African labour in the "White" metropolitan areas. A spokesman for the Department of Labour later made it clear that the Minister had not announced any blanket exemptions and that applications would have to be dealt with individually. Industrialists who wanted to make use of concessions would have to apply to the Decentralisation Board.' (See also section of this chapter on manpower.)

Physical Planning Act

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 7 March' the Minister of Planning said that between 19 January 1968 (when application of the relevant provisions of the Act commenced) and 31 January 1972 the results of applications by industrialists for the establishment or extension1" of factories were: Transvaal Other controlled areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Applications received</th>
<th>6446</th>
<th>1 791</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Applications granted</td>
<td>5 818</td>
<td>1 588</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applications refused</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Applications under consideration ... 128

The number of potential African employees affected by refusals totalled 52 218. The Minister said that figures for the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging region were not available but that they represented approximately 98 per cent of the figures for the Transvaal as a whole.

In answer to an earlier question on 11 February 11 the Minister said that between 1968 and 1971 in the Western Cape alone 549 such applications had been received.

BORDER INDUSTRIES
General progress
In its report for the year ended 31 December 1971 the Decentralisation Board mentioned that there had been a noticeable decline in the number of applications for decentralization in 1971. (This continues a trend noticed in 1970.) This decline was attributed to the general cooling off in the industrial sector during 1971.

8 Star, 30 March.
9 Hansard 6 col. 479.
10 It will be recalled that an "extension" of a factory was defined in the Act as any increase in the number of African employees.
11 Hansard 2 cols. 171-3.

BORDER INDUSTRIES
However, a general improvement in the industrial sector was expected. Provided that the industrial sector grew at a "normal" rate, it was estimated that over the three years ending 1974 it should be possible to provide employment for an average of approximately 15 700 additional Africans a year in secondary industry in the homelands and border areas. The Durban/Pinetown area should absorb some 2 000 of these additional Africans. To date results had fallen short of this target.

The direct additional investment in projects finalised during 1971 was estimated at R98 000 000 which could create employment for an additional 12 271 people consisting of 9 951 Africans, 1 436 Coloured people and Asians, and 884 Whites. In the 11 years from June 1960, when the decentralisation programme commenced, employment had been created in all these areas, including homeland areas, for an additional 99 771 people of whom 78 451 were Africans. It would appear that, on average, 6 822 African employment opportunities a year have been created. Employment in the Durban/Pinetown complex, which is also officially regarded as a border area, is not included in the figures given above since decentralisation assistance is not given in the area.

Since 1960, the total direct additional investment (excluding investment in infrastructure) by both the private and the public sectors in secondary industry in all decentralised areas was estimated at R527 000 000. By the end of 1971 gross commitments by the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) in the form of loans, share capital, and industrial buildings amounted to R133 500 000. Industrialists who had been financially assisted by the IDC had themselves
invested R270 200 000 in the projects concerned. In the homelands the Bantu Investment Corporation and the Xhosa Development Corporation had committed some R25 500 000 in respect of land, buildings, and loans to industrialists who had established undertakings on an agency basis. In this respect the contribution of the private sector amounted to some R19 300 000. (This shows a very marked increase on the figures to the end of 1970 which are recorded on page 216 of the 1971 issue of this Survey.) The balance of the total estimated investment of R527 000 000 was contributed by the private sector.

During June 1971 it had been decided that industrialists should be reimbursed by means of cash grants for their immediate and direct costs in connection with the physical removal of their factories and personnel. Up to the end of 1971, 29 industrialists had applied for this concession and R15 857 had already been disbursed in this respect.

Tax and interest concessions granted by the end of 1971 were estimated at R27 400 000. (An increase of R7 400 000 over the figure to the end of 1970.) Commitments for the housing of key White personnel since 1965 amounted to R12 300 000. (An increase of R4 200 000 over 277)

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

the figure to the end of 1970 and this figure is apparently additional to the total estimated investment of R527 000 000.) Some 1 023 residential units have been erected. (An increase of 277 over the figure to the end of 1970 and would, on past figures, indicate an accelerating trend.)

Railway rebates between 1 May 1964 and 31 December 1971 were estimated to total R3 026 000. (An increase of R782 000 over the figure to the end of 1970.) Harbour rebates between 1 December 1968 and the end of 1971 were estimated at R122 000, (an increase of R55 100 over the figure to the end of 1970). The report for the year 1970 also mentioned wage concessions and road transport exemptions but there was no mention of these in the report for 1971.

* The Minister of Economic Affairs said in the Assembly' that by the end of 1971 the IDC and other official agencies had spent R24 959 591 on the development of industrial townships in border areas. Subsidies in respect of water schemes in border areas and other decentralised areas outside the homelands had cost the IDC and other official agencies R38 260 000 plus R3 419 000 granted to the municipalities of East London and King William's Town and the Water Board of Phalaborwa.

Industrial conciliation in border areas

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 17 March, the Minister of Labour said that 31 wage determinations and 49 industrial council agreements applied in border areas. One wage determination and six councilmen applied to border areas only, but the latter had been in operation before the areas concerned became border areas. As at 31 December 1971 five exemptions had been granted from industrial council agreements covering the textile industry; clothing industry; iron, steel, engineering, and metallurgical industries; furniture industry; and biscuit manufacturing industry. There had been two exemptions from wage
determinations, both of them covering the clothing industry. In all instances exemption was granted from wage provisions whilst in one instance total exemption was granted. Exemptions from wage provisions were granted subject to the observance of rates determined either on the basis of a percentage of the minimum prescribed rates or in accordance with a scale put forward by the applicants or suggested by the Wage Board. Where applicable, a condition of exemption was that wages actually paid at the time of the application for exemption must not be reduced.

Speaking in the Assembly on 8 May,3 the Minister of Labour
1 Hansard 4 cols. 344-5.
2 Hansard 7 cols. 585-7.
3 Hansard 14 col. 6737.

BORDER INDUSTRIES
said that a third investigation by the Wage Board into the clothing industry in border areas was in progress.

The Garment Worker reported on 20 May that the Wage Board had recommended increases of between 14.78 per cent and 25 per cent for workers in certain border areas. Although the wages of almost all qualified workers were increased to RIO and more a week, wages for beginners at R4 and slightly more a week depending on the category and area remain very low. The Garment Worker commented that trade union spokesmen felt that employers should have been able to build up a stable qualified work force. Some factories at Charlestown in the magisterial district of Newcastle had been operating for nearly 20 years.

In an article in the Rand Daily Mail on 18 August Miss Anna Scheepers, president of the Garment Workers' Union of South Africa, pointed out that at a certain factory operating under wage exemption a qualified machinist received, on average, only 36 per cent of the rate which applied in urban areas of the Transvaal. It was not only in the area of wage rates that disparities existed: workers in border areas generally worked a 45 hour week compared with a 40 hour week in urban areas of the Transvaal and they received two weeks' leave a year compared with three weeks' leave in the Transvaal.

Progress in various border industrial areas4

Transvaal
Rosslyn near Pretoria has reached the stage of development where no further inducements to industrialists are considered necessary, but the Decentralisation Board still considers loans at commercial rates of interest in exceptional cases. Of the total area of industrial land of 370 hectares only 8 hectares were still available for allocation at the end of 1971. (This shows no change since the end of 1970.) At present some 56 industries employ approximately 1 900 Whites and 11 700 Africans. Investment by industrialists is estimated at more than R63 000 000 and a further 25 undertakings have purchased land to erect factories in the near future. In April Bantu mentioned that 87 per cent of the African labour force was male. It was estimated that 30 per cent of Rosslyn's African employees were attached to three motor assembly plants while an even larger number were employed in
ancilliary industries manufacturing motor spares and accessories. Some eight factories were manufacturing furniture and the plastic industry was represented by five factories. Agricultural equipment and building materials were also being manufactured at Rosslyn and a porcelain plant which began production in 1965 had developed into one of the

4 Unless otherwise stated, information in this section is drawn from the report of the Decentralisation Board for 1971.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
Republic's largest sources of china-ware. In the mechanised industries the wage structure of African workers showed an average rise of from 40 to 50 per cent over a period of eight years. Between 1969 and 1971 the average income of this group of workers increased by 22.5 per cent. The annual spending power of African workers at Rosslyn was about R9 000 000.

At Brits 130 of the 290 hectares of fully planned industrial land have been allocated to 23 undertakings. The IDC has completed eight factory flats and a further eight were being erected. (This shows no change since the end of 1970.) Eight factories were, however, in production at the end of 1971 and three were being erected. Industries in production or in the process of establishment entailed an estimated capital investment by the IDC and private concerns of more than R20000 000 and would probably employ 400 Whites and 1 800 Africans in the initial stages, and 2 700 Africans by the end of 1972. African Telephones and Cables, the largest of its kind in the telecommunications field, has started work on a new factory in the Brits industrial complex.

At Rustenburg good progress was being made with the industrial township covering 280 hectares. Industrial sites had already been earmarked for seven undertakings while a further six were on the waiting list. The total area required by all 13 undertakings was approximately 50 hectares.

Development in the Potgietersrus, Pietersburg, and Phalaborwa areas remained fairly slow in 1971 but the necessary infrastructure was available. At Pietersburg 130 hectares of industrial land was available and the proclamation of a further 230 hectares had been approved. At Potgietersrus the existing industrial township was fully occupied and two further industrial townships of 140 hectares in all were being planned.

At Phalaborwa an industrial area of 110 hectares complete with services had been laid out and a further 210 hectares could be developed if this was necessary. In answer to a question, the Minister of Planning said that the establishment of the industrial township at Phalaborwa which would serve the Shangaan (Gazankulu) homeland had been approved on 13 May 1964 and all services in the first development zone had been available by March 1969. The State had expended some R1 598 515 on the development of this growth point. Two stands had been taken up by industrialists but no industries had yet developed. In an address opening the Bantu Affairs Commissioner's Office at Phalaborwa, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development said that the Phosphate Development Corporation employed an African labour force of some 1 200. These people were housed
either in approved compounds or in the Namakgale Township. Similar housing provisions
5 Sunday Times, 21 May.
6 Hansard 3 col. 197.
282

BORDER INDUSTRIES

existed for the 2 300 Africans employed by Palabora Mining Company. Nearby at
Gravelotte, Murchison Consolidated Limited, mining antimony, employed some 1
600 Africans while one of the few emerald mines in the Republic employed 400.
In the Mica area and the rest of the Phalaborwa area smaller mines and works
employed a further 4 500 Africans whilst a good number were employed in
agriculture.
Natal

Pietermaritzburg is regarded as having reached the stage of development where
no further special encouragement is necessary. All land at the Elangeni industrial
area of Hammarsdale has been sold. Fifteen industries have been established in
the area entailing estimated capital investment by the IDC and private concerns of
more than R36 000 000 and employing 6 600 persons, of whom some 6 000 are
Africans. In answer to a question, 'the Minister of Labour said that minimum
wages at Hammarsdale were governed by a wage determination in the case of the
clothing industry and by industrial council agreements in respect of the iron, steel,
engineering, and metallurgical industries; the textile industry (canvas and duck
section); the leather industry; and the building industry. The remaining factories
were not as yet subject to wage regulating measures. The Minister gave the
following prescribed minimum rates of remuneration for labourers in the
following industries:
Clothing industry  - men over 18, R5.70 per week
women, R4.55 per week
Leather industry  - R9.60 per week
Textile industry  - R8.25 per week
Building industry - Grade I, R11.73; Grade II, R10.35
per week
Iron, steel, engineering, and
metallurgical industries - Adults, R9.45 per week; juveniles, between R4.73 and
R9.45 depending on age and experience.
At Ladysmith 210 out of 600 hectares of land at the Danskraal industrial township
have been fully planned. Basic services have been provided for 150 hectares and
could be extended to the remaining 60 hectares as this became necessary. The
railway line serving the area has been completed and taken into commission. The
IDC erected 12 factory flats in the area and these were occupied by seven smaller
undertakings. The erection of a further four units was being planned. A further
five large undertakings had either been established or were in the process of
establishment and these would entail an estimated capital investment of nearly
R24 000 000 and the employment of 300 Whites and 2 000 Africans by the end of
1972.
The Wage Board has investigated these rates with a view to revision.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
The large-scale replanning necessitated by the establishment of the third ISCOR steelworks considerably delayed the planning and provision of basic services at Newcastle. In January ISCOR awarded two substantial contracts worth well over R10000000 for work on the Newcastle steelworks. A further contract of some R20 000 000 was awarded in June. Over and above the area for ISCOR, approximately 120 hectares of industrial land and a number of residential stands were available. A further industrial area of 500 hectares was in the planning stage. There were indications that industrial development in the Tugela area was expanding to Dundee, Colenso, and Estcourt. Nestld (South Africa) was reported to be spending R3 000 000 on expansions to its Estcourt factory in 1972.

At Richards Bay the industrial township of 320 hectares was being developed and basic services were expected to be available by the end of 1972. The first residential area was also being developed. The aluminium smelting works was already in production and two related industries were being erected. A Bill enabling the State President to cause the construction and equipment of a commercial harbour at "Richards Bay Lagoon" was introduced into the Assembly in 1972. The report of the Railways and Harbours Board relative to the construction of a new harbour at Richards Bay was also presented to both Houses of Parliament. This report contained the expectation that the harbour would be commissioned in 1976 with three berths at a capital cost of R1 38 000 000. A fourth berth which would be completed in 1977 would cost a further R4 000 000. The estimated cost of the deepwater harbour would be in the region of R 142 000 000, inclusive of the cost of harbour craft. The South African Railways has rejected tenders for building the rail link between the Witbank area and Vryheid as being too expensive and is itself to provide tracklaying materials and will call for tenders for labour only. Five civil engineering contracts worth R12 300 000 were awarded later in the year for the central section of the railway line between Broodsnyersplaas and Vryheid. In answer to a question, the Deputy Minister of Transport said that R248 053 had been spent on the new rail link between Broodsnyersplaas and Ermelo, R 166 297 on relaying the railway line between Ermelo and Vryheid, and R51 000 694 on the new line between Vryheid and Richards Bay. The sum expended on the development of the harbour at Richards Bay was R325 311. The Sunday Times reported on 9 July that ALUSAf, the R60 000 000 aluminium project, was being considered by the South African Iron and Steel Industrial Corporation. 10

11 Ibid, 11 June.
12 Sunday Times, 25 June.
14 Rand Daily Mail, 5 January.
16 Financial Mail, 21 July.
11 Hansard 4 cols. 300-301. (Figures in rand only, cents not included.)
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
The large-scale replanning necessitated by the establishment of the third ISCOR steelworks considerably delayed the planning and provision of basic services at Newcastle. In January ISCOR awarded two substantial contracts worth well over R100 000 000 for work on the Newcastle steelworks." A further contract of some R20 000 000 was awarded in June. Over and above the area for ISCOR, approximately 120 hectares of industrial land and a number of residential stands were available. A further industrial area of 500 hectares was in the planning stage. There were indications that industrial development in the Tugela area was expanding to Dundee, Colenso, and Estcourt. Nestlé (South Africa) was reported to be spending R3 000 000 on expansions to its Estcourt factory in 1972." At Richards Bay the industrial township of 320 hectares was being developed and basic services were expected to be available by the end of 1972. The first residential area was also being developed. The aluminium smelting works was already in production and two related industries were being erected. A Bill enabling the State President to cause the construction and equipment of a commercial harbour at "Richards Bay Lagoon" was introduced into the Assembly in 1972. The report of the Railways and Harbours Board relative to the construction of a new harbour at Richards Bay was also presented to both Houses of Parliament. This report contained the expectation that the harbour would be commissioned in 1976 with three berths at a capital cost of R1 38 000 000. A fourth berth which would be completed in 1977 would cost a further R4 000 000. The estimated cost of the deepwater harbour would be in the region of R 142 000 000, inclusive of the cost of harbour craft. The South African Railways has rejected tenders for building the rail link between the Witbank area and Vryheid as being too expensive and is itself to provide tracklaying materials and will call for tenders for labour only." Five civil engineering contracts worth R12 300 000 were awarded later in the year for the central section of the railway line between Broodsnyersplaas and Vryheid. In answer to a question, the Deputy Minister of Transport said that R248 053 had been spent on the new rail link between Broodsnyersplaas and Vryheid, and R166 297 on relaying the railway line between Ermelo and Vryheid, and R51 000 694 on the new line between Vryheid and Richards Bay. The sum expended on the development of the harbour at Richards Bay was R325 311. The Sunday Times reported on 9 July that ALUSA, the R60 000 000 aluminium pro South African Iron and Steel Industrial Corporation. 10 Sunday Tribune, 9 January.

11 Ibid., 11 June.
12 Sunday Times, 25 June.
15 Rand Daily Mail, 5 January.
16 Financial Mail, 21 July.
17 Hansard 4 cols. 300-301. (Figures in rand only, cents not included.)
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

On 24 March the Rand Daily Mail reported that four of South Africa's leading clothing companies were keen to establish factories in a new Coloured growth area being created around Mamre and Darling on the Cape West Coast. The factories would be Whitetowned but would provide large-scale employment for the growing Coloured population.

From published data on the 1960 and 1970 censuses it would appear that while the Asian population increased by some 30 per cent in this period, the employment of this group in manufacturing showed a marked increase of over 100 per cent. While some 6,6 per cent of the entire Asian population were employed in manufacturing in 1960, some 10,23 per cent were so, employed in 1970. Investment by Indians in the manufacturing industry was estimated at R30 000 000 in 1971 and was expected to double by 1980. In 1961 there were some 181 Indian undertakings in Natal employing 4 664 people but by 1971 this figure was approaching 700 undertakings employing 14 000 Indians.

Developments in the industrial field in 1971 included the establishment of factories at Umzinto; the provision of 80 hectares of industrial land at Phoenix near Durban; making available industrial sites at the Chatsworth complex in Durban, at Stanger, and at Tongaat. At Verulam 12 industrial stands had been sold, at Estcourt 15 industrial sites were being made available while two factories were operating in Lenasia.

Industry in the homelands is dealt with in the chapter on the African homelands.

EMPLOYMENT IN AGRICULTURE

According to the 1970 census there were 98 950 Whites, 119 200 Coloured people, and 6 660 Asians actively engaged in agriculture at that time. (See section of this chapter on economically active population.) Fairly reliable figures for Africans engaged in agriculture will not be available until the Department of Statistics releases the relevant report. However, the Minister of Statistics gave the following preliminary figures based on the 1970 Census of people actively engaged in agriculture in the White areas of each province of the Republic in the Assembly on 22 February. 'Cape Natal Transvaal O.F.S. Totals

Whites ...... 38160 6760 31800 15670 92390
Coloured ...... 105510 430 1160 2570 109670
Indians ...... 30 6110 90 6230
Africans ...... 148 200 185 280 478 400 180 200 992 080 1 200 370
21 Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the period January to June 1971. (R.P. 38/1972). A later estimate put Indian investment in the manufacturing industry at R40 000 000 (Fiat Lux, April 1972.)

Hansard 4 col. 305.

AGRICULTURE
On the basis of provisional and/or preliminary data it could be tentatively concluded that, of the economically active population in 1970, 6.3 (6.6) per cent of the White, 15.5 (16.9) per cent of the Coloured, 3.9 (3.7) per cent of the Asian, and nearly 20 per cent of the African economically active persons were engaged in agriculture.2 (These figures presumably exclude self-employed Africans engaged in agriculture in the homelands.)

It would appear from the Minister’s preliminary figures that Africans contribute 82.7 per cent, Coloured people 9.1 per cent, Whites 7.7 per cent and Indians 0.5 per cent to the labour force in agriculture.

Professor W. E. Kassier of the Department of Agricultural Economics at the University of Stellenbosch, in an article in the Rand Daily Mail of 7 September, pointed out that the contribution of agriculture to the gross domestic product declined from 21 per cent in 1911 to 12.1 per cent in 1960 to 9.5 per cent in 1969. He predicted that in the next three decades agriculture’s contribution would decline still further and could eventually stabilise at around 5 per cent of gross domestic product. Over this period farm size will be likely almost to double the 1970 acreage while the number of farmers is likely to decline by almost half.

Even at the present time the lower 50 per cent of (White) farmers produce a bare 5 per cent of agricultural output and the country could even now afford to lose some farmers.

The third and final report of the Commission of Enquiry into Agriculture3 has recommended that the Departments concerned should make a deliberate effort to make it easier for owners of uneconomic farms, in particular, to give up farming. Special attention also had to be given to methods of financing to assist farmers who remained on uneconomic farms and merited consideration for special assistance. This, report indicated that between 1936 and 1967 the number of White farmers had decreased from some 132 000 to some 90 000 while the number of farming units had declined from some 105 000 to some 101 000.

On the question of Black labourers on farms, the report pointed out that, if, in the national interest, the productivity of labour had to be raised above its present level, the number of Black labourers engaged in agriculture would have to be reduced sharply. The report also went on to say that the movement of White farmers away from agriculture would result in a widening of the numerical ratio of White to Black, particularly on the farms, and that the indications were that the trend would continue, no matter what financial relief measures might be devised to keep

2 The figures given in parenthesis for Whites, Coloured people and Indians are calculated on the data given in the Department of Statistics report. Other figures are calculated on the basis of provisional/preliminary data given by the Minister in 1971 and 1972. a R.P. 19/1972.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
(White) farmers and their families on the farms. According to various estimates contained in this report, it would appear that the average net farm income of the
White farmer (presumably at current prices) rose from R1 179 per annum in 1947 to R6 108 in 1970. (The real income of the White farmer in 1970, assuming that the 1948 rand is worth 40 cents today, would be in the region of R2,443 p.a. if one accepts these estimates.) It is of interest to note here that the second report of this Agricultural Commission (R.P. 84/1970) had indicated that regular Black farm labour as a cost item ranged between 6,2 per cent and 27,6 per cent of total costs in various types of farming, with the exception of irrigation farming where they were as high as 40,9 per cent. (Some information on the wage rates which currently obtain for Black farm labour are recorded on pages 226-7 of the 1971 issue of this Survey.)

In April the Sugar Manufacturing and Refining Employers' Association announced an interim increase of 7,5 per cent in minimum wage rates for unskilled and semi-skilled factory personnel. The agreement was concluded after months of negotiation between the employers and the Natal Sugar Industry Employees' Union.' In terms of the new agreement the minimum cash rate for unskilled labourers is now R35,40 per month.'

On 20 April the Star carried a report which maintained that Zululand sugar farmers were facing their worst labour shortage in years. Higher wages being paid to Africans by developers in the Empangeni/Richards Bay area was given as the reason for this labour "drift from the land". At the annual meeting of the South African Cane Growers' Association, in Durban, both the chairman and the vice-chairman of the association called for the improvement of wages and working conditions if their labour force was to be retained.6

From February to October 1972, the Agricultural Research Division of the Students' Representative Council's Wages Commission at the University of Natal (Pietermaritzburg) carried out a survey of the wattle-growing industry in the Natal mist belt. Farm owners, managers and skilled and unskilled workers on 20 establishments were interviewed. The report issued by the Wages Commission indicated that there were, roughly, three categories of labour: drivers or indunas (foremen) earning an average wage of R8,69 per week; the majority of workers, who were engaged in loading or sawing timber and in stripping the bark from the trees, and who received an average of R3,17 per week; and domestic servants and women employed in hoeing firebreaks earning an average of R2,06 per week. All the employers interviewed, but one, provided rations at an average weekly cost (calculated by employers) of 85 cents. The Wages Commission pointed out that most wattle growers fell well below even the S.A. Timber Growers' Association's recommended rate of R1,15 per week for rations. The Commission concluded that Black workers in the wattle-growing industry in Natal's mist belt were living at a sub-human level. Among its major
recommendations was that the scope of the Wage Board's activities should be extended to cover wattle plantations.

In answer to a question in the Assembly on 25 February, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development said that 34 agricultural labour liaison officers had been appointed by his Department and that in 1971 these officers had inspected 10,796 farms in Natal, the Orange Free State, Western Transvaal, Transvaal Midlands, and the Eastern Cape. (It could be inferred from the figures that, assuming a five-day working week, each liaison officer inspects, on average, over 1,2 farms per day, or, assuming a six-day working week, slightly over 1 farm a day, on average. It could be further inferred, if the preliminary figures given by the Minister of Statistics of Africans economically active in agriculture are accepted, that each liaison officer is concerned, on average, with the welfare of some 29,179 African farm workers.)

In answer to a question in the Assembly on 1 March, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that 776 African labour tenants (694 of whom had been resettled by his Department) were evicted from farms in the Transvaal while 752 (750 of whom had been resettled) were evicted from farms in Natal during 1971. At the end of 1971 there were 419 registered African labour tenants in the Transvaal and 24,040 in Natal.

An article in the August edition of Fiat Lux mentioned that the Natal Indian Agricultural Co-operative Society, the first of its kind for Indians in South Africa, which was first registered in 1970, had increased its membership from 100 to 250 in less than two years, and that by 29 April 1972 the gross annual turnover of the co-operative had exceeded the R40,000 mark.

(See the section of this Survey on "Justice" for information on the use of prison labour on farms.)

EMPLOYMENT IN MINING

According to Mining Statistics, 1971, issued by the Department of Mines, the average numbers of persons employed in mining during that year were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All mines</th>
<th>Gold mines</th>
<th>Coal mines only</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>85,545</td>
<td>38,175</td>
<td>7,220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>7,707</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>925</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>629,764</td>
<td>386,625</td>
<td>68,777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>723,941</td>
<td>425,163</td>
<td>76,307</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the employment in mining in general increased, the following are the changes from 1970 to 1971 in numbers employed on the gold and coal mines:

Gold mines: Whites 3.1 per cent decrease; Coloured people 2.3 per cent decrease; Asians 5 per cent decrease; Africans 0.1 per cent increase.
Coal mines: Whites 11.7 per cent decrease; Asians 4 per cent decrease; Coloured people 2.2 per cent increase; Africans 2.3 per cent increase.
Calculating from figures given for the totals paid in salaries, wages, and allowances, the monthly average earnings per head were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All mines</th>
<th>Gold mines</th>
<th>Coal mines only</th>
<th>only</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>378</td>
<td>421</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>84</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The value of the rations, accommodation, and other benefits provided for Africans was not stated. White miners also receive certain benefits. It appears that between 1970 and 1971 increases in average monthly cash earnings in mining in general were: Whites R20 (5.9 per cent); Coloured people R8 (11.3 per cent); Asians R5 (5.4 per cent); Africans R2 (10.5 per cent). On the gold mines increases in monthly wages were: Whites R24 (6.8 per cent); Coloured people R10 (11.1 per cent); Asians, R2 (2.3 per cent); Africans R1 (5.9 per cent). On the coal mines changes in average monthly wages were: Whites R71 increase (20.3 per cent); Coloured people R13 decrease (17.8 per cent); Asians R5 increase (6.3 per cent); Africans R1 increase (5.6 per cent). (Several factors could be responsible for apparent anomalies in some of these wage movements. One contributory cause could be that the lower echelons of White miners are gradually withdrawing from gold and coal mining while the upper echelons of Coloured workers are withdrawing from coal mines.)

In his report for 1971, the Director of Rand Mines Health Department stated that the annual cost of feeding an African to 290

**MINING**
miner amounted to R68,62 while hospital costs per African miner were R14,98 (i.e. the monthly cost of these two principal benefits was R6,97 per African worker). The composition of the African labour force of members and contractors of Mine Labour Organisations Limited2 (MLOL), i.e. most of the gold mines and certain coal mines as at 31 December 1971 was: Area from which recruited

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cape</td>
<td>64857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free State</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal</td>
<td>10251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>86 522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesotho</td>
<td>68 651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botswana</td>
<td>16 003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swaziland</td>
<td>838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>89492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Coast</td>
<td>102 400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tropicals</td>
<td>107 760</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On these mines between 1970 and 1971 the employment of native-born Africans dropped by 10 334 and that of "foreign" Africans by 4663. "Foreign" Africans constituted 77.60 per cent of the labour force at the end of 1971 compared with 75.68 per cent at the end of 1970. There was a significant increase of 9 532 in the employment of Africans from tropical territories. Anglo American Corporation was the largest single employer of African labour with some 113 018 workers. The collieries as a whole employed only 34 335 workers, recruited by this agency. Amendments, during 1971, to the Mocambique Labour Agreement of 1964 enabled MLOL to undertake engagements for member mines other than gold and coal. A similar arrangement has been made with the Malawi Government. As from 1 June 1971 the minimum and maximum wage rates for all African labourers on the mines concerned were increased by 5 per cent. A report in the Friend, 28 July, quoting statistics released in Maseru by MLOL showed that, during January to June 1972, 37 109 migrant workers from Lesotho were recruited to the South African gold mines as against 29 856 in the same period in 1971. A MLOL spokesman said recruitment was greater in 1972 because of an expected crop failure in Lesotho. Deferred pay—the percentage of a migrant worker's earnings only paid at his normal place of domicile after he completes his contract—was R 340 514 for the first six months of 1972 compared with R 1 067 733 in the same period in 1971.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

same period in 1971. Remittance payments sent home by migrant workers showed an increase from R 891 583 to R 961 053. During the year an intensive study of the gold mining industry from 1911 to 1969 by University of Cape Town economist, Dr. Francis Wilson, appeared and provoked widespread interest. Dr. Wilson pointed out that in real terms Black cash wages in 1969 were no higher than in 1911, while real cash earnings of Whites had increased by 70 per cent. In 1889 the Black:White cash earnings ratio was 1:7.5; in 1969 the ratio was 1:20. He argued that underlying and cementing the monopoly power of the Chamber of Mines' labour recruiting organisation was the agreement not to pay wages above a specified level. Inseparable from this was a migratory labour policy of recruiting "single" men for a contracted period and housing them in compounds. Dr. Wilson concluded: "Only trade unions embracing unskilled workers with the right to strike would have the power to raise real wages (of Black miners) by appropriating some, at least, of the increase in productivity".

In January the Council of Mining Unions (White) presented the Gold Producers' Committee of the Chamber of Mines with wage, holiday allowance and pensions claims, and claims for improved over-time rates, and asked that wages be further examined during 1972 and be increased quarterly in relation to the expected rise in the consumer price index. The wage claims amounted to a monthly increase of
R35 for each of the 21 000 members on the Transvaal and Orange Free State gold and coal mines.’ In March the Council and the Chamber issued a joint communiqué saying that the demands had been discussed but that no agreement had been reached. Discussions had been deferred until April. In April the general secretary of the Mine Workers’ Union, Mr. P. J. Paulus, said miners who worked more than a 48-hour week were breaking the law and damaging the chances of the union to arrange a five-day week with the Chamber.’ Later in April the Chamber agreed to a R15 a month increase in standard rates of pay for 19 000 trade union men employed on the gold mines. This would cost an additional R7 000 000 a year. Holiday allowances for White miners were increased from R120 to R175 per annum, while both employers’ and employees’ contributions to the Mine Employees’ Pension Fund increased from 6 to 71 per cent. Medical benefit allowances were increased from R6 to R9 a month. No clause linking wage increases to the rise in the C.O.L. was included in the agreement and the question of a five-day week remains to be resolved. The new increases were to come into effect on 1 May. On 2 November the Rand Daily Mail reported that the Chamber of Mines had turned down a request by the mining unions for an interim wage increase of R20 a month for (White) gold miners. In May the Chamber announced that it had given African workers in the gold mining industry a wage increase costing R7 500 000 a year—the biggest in history. Minimum starting rates for underground workers were raised from 42 cents to 50 cents a shift, with effect from 1 June. This may be compared with previous increases, which were 4 cents between 1964 and 1967, 6 cents between 1967 and 1969, and 2 cents between 1969 and 1971. Men earning above the minimum would also receive varying pay increases.” For surface mineworkers the minimum basic rate was increased from 34 to 38 cents per day. Dr. Francis Wilson, while stressing that not all African workers were remunerated at the minimum rates, questioned the assumption that, with the increase in basic rates, African wages in the gold mining industry had risen by 19 per cent. If the wage bill of African mineworkers increased by R7 500 000 from R84 000 000 a year the percentage increase was an overall 9 per cent. This could not be interpreted as materially altering the wage gap when the White trade union members had received an increase of 7,4 per cent and mine officials an increase of 9,5 per cent. After the increase had taken place average monthly cash earnings of African mine workers were likely to, be slightly below R22. Dr. Wilson asked how the worker was expected to maintain a family in the reserves from that amount. Figures indicated that 6 out of 10 African mineworkers were 25 years or older—they could reasonably be expected to have families. He maintained that the lion's share of the reward for increased productivity had gone to White workers.
As a first step, he called for the wages of African mineworkers to be doubled while White wages should be raised only sufficiently to keep pace with increases in the consumer price index.1"

Anglo American Corporation has engaged Market Research Africa to conduct a survey into the expenditure patterns of African miners, preparatory to raising African miners' wages.3 The average wage for underground workers (African) on all A.A.C. gold mines is just over R25 per month; the average for Africans at head office is R97 per month.4

8 Star, 24 and 25 April; Rand Daily Mail, 25 and 26 April.
9 On the basis of 26 shifts a month an African miner working underground at the new minimum rate would only be earning a basic salary of R13 per month-comp. 10 Rand Daily Mail, 19 May.
11 Koea News, 19 May.
12 Financial Mail, 2 June.
S. Rand Daily Mail, 4 November.
14 Rand 1)2ly Mail, 10 November.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
In November, Johannesburg Consolidated Investments announced a 30 per cent minimum increase for African workers: at head office the minimum wage rises from R65 to R96 per month, the average rising from R90 to R134 per month.5 The Rand Daily Mail estimates the average wage on the Rustenburg platinum mine will be just over R25 per month, and on J.C.I.'s gold mines, just under R25 per month.6 The Star estimates the average African wage in the group to be R48-R50 per month.7

In September Mr. W. D. Wilson, a deputy chairman of Anglo American Corporation drew attention to the need for a major overhaul in attitudes and practices towards Black employees. Anglo American, one element in a complex whole, fell far short of what was needed and did not claim special wisdom. In employment policies and practices in South Africa double, treble, or even quadruple standards were applied and too seldom were Black employees consulted. Mr. Wilson believed that there should be one standard and it should be a high one. Established practices which were applied to White employees should be adapted to the needs of Black employees and should be applied with the same degree of conscientiousness—or perhaps a greater degree, because of their comparative lack of facilities, experience, and bargaining power. On wages Mr. Wilson said that the greatest headache was the gold mining industry, not only because A.A.C. employed more people in that field, but because (Black) wage levels were appreciably lower. Present wages did not represent a reasonable reward for arduous and dangerous work in spite of the increase throughout the industry in minimum rates for novice underground workers from 42 to 50 cents, and on A.A.C.'s gold mines from 50 to 60 cents per shift. Even allowing for payments in kind, the average wage of 76 cents per shift (92 cents on A.A.C.'s mines) during the quarter ended June 1972 was extremely low in an absolute
sense and compared unfavourably with other industrial wages which were also criticised. Between 1968 and 1971 there was a negative real growth in Black mining remuneration on gold mines and a dangerously large and insupportable gap between annual earnings of Whites and Blacks, with White earnings growing at a higher rate than Black earnings. In terms of job content, more senior and experienced Blacks were grossly underpaid compared with Whites. Wages paid on South African mines were appreciably lower than those paid in neighbouring independent African states even when, as in Botswana, the stated government policy was to hold down industrial wages to avoid too great a disparity between industrial and rural wages. Increases of the magnitude called for could not be made without substantial improvements.

15 Rand Daily Mail, 9 November.
16 Rand Dally Mail, 10 November.
17 Star, 10 November.
294

MINING

in productivity. To achieve this, some changes in the structure of the labour force and composition of jobs was necessary, and this could only be accomplished in collaboration with the mining unions. On minimum wages, Mr. Wilson mentioned that opinions were divided but he thought that most people in the Anglo American group felt a programme of general upward pressure on minimum wages was wrong, for an excessive upward pressure was likely to work against the interests of illiterate or poorly educated people who had no industrial experience. Ranking in priority with wages was the whole area of negotiation, consultation, grievance procedures and communication in general, all of which were at a low level in South Africa and which industry had to tackle in its own interests.8

Mr. Bernard Smith, executive director of Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Company, said feeling in his group was "closely akin" to the views expressed by Mr. Wilson.9 Mr. Wilson's statement was welcomed by Mr. F. J. van Wyk, director of the S.A. Institute of Race Relations, and by the general secretary of the Trade Union Council of South Africa, Mr. Arthur Grobbelaar.2° On the other hand, Mr. H. Mallet-Veale, general secretary of the South African Reduction Workers' Association, stated that, if the free market price of gold was maintained, a R50-a-month increase for White mineworkers would not be out of order, but if the African reduction worker were to be paid R250 a month "he will work for six months and then go and sit on his backside for two years in his homeland". Mr. Mallet-Veale proposed that the African worker's salary be gradually increased until 1980 to one-third of the White worker's salary and then increased until 1990 to half the White earnings.2'

The question of job advancement for African miners received further attention in 1972. Mr. S. C. Newman, managing director of Lonrho (S.A.) Limited, pointed out that Africans are precluded, except under direct supervision, from doing some of the general work done by a stoper. He maintained that it would seem practical at the present time for an African miner to be allowed to do all the work under the general but not direct supervision of a White miner or supervisor. The success of
the non-scheduled competent person scheme some years back had proved that this was so.22 It was generally conceded that Africans did perform some work of this nature as prosecutions by the Department of Mines confirmed. It was also well known that a great deal more
18 Rand Daily Mail, 2 September.
19 Ibid, 5 September.
20 Ibid, 2 September.
21 Ibid, 19 September.
22 For an excellent summary of the introduction of this scheme and the events leading to its abandonment see Muriel Horrell's South Africa's Workers (S.A.I.R.R. 1969) pages 93-98.

In terms of the Mines and Works Act, 1956, certificates of competency in any occupations may be granted only to "scheduled persons" among whom are included Europeans, Cape Coloureds, Cape Malays, Mauritius Creoles and St. Helena persons.
295

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
was done (by African miners) than the trade unions generally conceded. Mr. Newman said that he was sure that nearly every first line job on the mines could well be undertaken by Africans, and that every occupation or job reserved for scheduled persons could, without reservation, be performed by Africans.2''

When the Council of Mining Unions again requested a fiveday week the Chamber of Mines raised the question of African job advancement.24

In his address to the annual general meeting Mr. John Shilling, then president of the Chamber of Mines, said: "We would like to improve work opportunities for our Bantu labour and be able to compete with other industries for South African Bantu but current trade practices and legal provisions impose an upper limit on what they can do and thus what can reasonably be paid to them ... A prerequisite (for increasing productivity) is suitable education and training for every section of the population . . . The Government has given its blessing to adjustments of labour practices within the framework of its overall policy because it recognises the need to promote efficiency and productivity. Perhaps the Government should go further and add the positive exercise of influence where this is needed ... the orderly solution ... will call for the co-operation of the Government, of employers and of trade unions."'

In the Assembly " Dr. E. L. Fisher (United Party) said that in 1971 the Government had received R228 700 000 in direct taxation from the mines. Mr R. C. J. Goode of Union Corporation pointed out that the Government was taking a substantial share of the additional profit being earned by sales of gold on the free market.2 Marievale, a dying mine, was paying 50 per cent tax on its increased profits, while Brakpan mine was paying over 60 per cent in tax on the extra profit. The Minister of Mines said that subsidies from the State made it possible for 20 marginal gold mines to exploit low-grade ore.8 This prevented the early or immediate closing of these mines and the gold yield increased. During the three-
year period ending 31 March 1971, R37 500 000 had been spent on such subsidies. With the rise in the free market price of gold State assistance to marginal mines, introduced in 1968 and commenced in 1969, was to be phased out. By April free-market sales of gold on the London market had reached $49.35 an ounce, and in August topped $70 an ounce.23

Coal, Gold and Base Minerals of Southern Africa, April 1972, p. 15-29. 24

Financial Mail, 19 May.
25 Financial Mail, 23 June.
26 Hansard 2 col. 582.
27 Rand Daily Mail, 13 April.
28 Hansard 2 col. 620.
29 Rand Daily Mail, 19 July.
30 Star, 13 April.
31 Rand Daily Mail, 2 August.

MINING

In August the U.S. Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. George Schultz, said the soaring free market price of gold was a serious problem, which could weaken confidence in the official $38 price. Congressman Charles Diggs has criticised a 1969 agreement between the International Monetary Fund and South Africa on gold sales. This was supported by Mr. Henry Reuss, chairman of the Congressional sub-committee on international monetary reform. The agreement was defended by President Nixon's chief spokesman on international monetary affairs, Mr. Paul Volker. 32 The incoming President of the Chamber of Mines, Mr. R. C. J. Goode, said that an authoritative survey in 1966 had indicated a rapid and accelerating decline of the gold mining industry beginning in 1973. However, the forecast had been falsified by events. With the prospects for a rising gold price, production could conservatively be expected to exceed three-quarters of the present rates in the early 1980's.33 The Minister of Finance told the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund that an increase in the official price of gold should be the first step in reforming the international monetary system. Doubling the gold price would have less effect on the value of gold monetary reserves than the actual increases in 1970 and 1971 and if the gold price were increased, South Africa would be prepared, as part of an international effort, to set aside part of its reserve gains to aid developing countries.4

From 1975 all cars in the U.S.A. must be fitted with equipment to cut exhaust pollution by 90 per cent. Devices devised thus far use platinum as a catalyst. Rustenburg Platinum Mines—the world's biggest single producer of platinum—cut its staff from 35 000 to 14 000 in 1971 because of a drop in demand. 5 In July the Ford Motor Company signed a contract with Rustenburg Platinum Mines for the supply of platinum. This could earn the mine R 140 000 000 in three years. A spokesman for Johannesburg Consolidated Investments, which has controlling interests in the mine, said the labour force of 35 000 would have to be doubled. The present recruiting programme would be phased over the next 18 to 24 months. About 2 000 new White miners would be needed with another 19 000
Africans from Malawi, Mocambique, Lesotho, and the Transkei.3 Impala Platinum Mines and General Motors jointly announced a development contract to enable Impala to supply G.M. with up to 300 000 troy ounces of platinum and 120 000 troy ounces of palladium a year, for devices to reduce exhaust pollution.7 Lonrho's Western Platinum Mines has sold its 32 Star, 11 and 12 September; Rand Daily Mail, 12 September. 33 Rand Daily Mail, 15 September.

34 Ibid, 27 September.
35 Sunday Times, 14 May.
36 Rand Daily Mail and Star, 11 July.
37 Rand Daily Mail, 22 September.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
output of platinum and palladium until April 197423s Palabora Copper Mine (Rio Tinto Zinc) has announced that it will finance three sets of African bursaries in addition to bursaries already provided for White children in the Phalaborwa area. The African bursaries would be: 2 open bursaries for advanced education; 3 bursaries for advanced education restricted to the families of African employees or former employees; bursaries for secondary education which would total R5 000 a year. The company was building 850 well-equipped, three-bedroomed houses for married African mineworkers and well-furnished single quarters with fourbedded cubicles. Together with Government housing, the company would have 2 350 houses for married African employees. Rio Tinto Zinc's chairman, Sir Val Duncan, said in London that his company would not use contract and compound labour and that was why the company was not in gold in South Africa."

A dispute brought 262 White miners out on strike at Kloof Gold Mine (Westonaria) in February. A tentative agreement was reached between the mine management and the Mine Workers' Union and the men returned to work."

Twenty-one White miners who went on strike at Kuruman Cape Blue Asbestos Company in May were dismissed and 13 of them ejected from company houses.4 On 27 October, 27 African mineworkers employed at Windsorton near Kimberley were arrested on charges of staging an illegal strike.42

EMPLOYMENT IN CONSTRUCTION
Calculating from figures given in the Department of Statistics News Release dated 5 September, mentioned earlier in this chapter, the average numbers employed in construction during May 1972, and their average gross salaries and wages that month, based on a revised sample survey and therefore not strictly comparable with previous years, were shown to be:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment Category</th>
<th>Gross Salaries and Wages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites .............</td>
<td>59 000 369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured ...........</td>
<td>46 800 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians .............</td>
<td>5 700 161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans ..........</td>
<td>274 600 60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CONSTRUCTION

Bearing in mind the proviso mentioned in the section on manufacturing, it appears that the employment of both Whites and Coloured people declined by almost 3 per cent and nearly 1.3 per cent, respectively, between 1971 and 1972. White average wages increased by 13 per cent while those of Coloured people increased by 15 per cent. The employment of Asians increased by nearly 8 per cent while their average wages increased by 12 per cent. African employment increased by nearly 1 per cent while their average wages increased by 22 per cent.

The report of the Commission of Enquiry into Remuneration for Professional Services in the Building Industry1 stated: "Not only does the building industry on its own make a significant contribution to the gross domestic product, but it also depends on and generates the outputs of a large number of industrial sectors, e.g. plumbing and electrical equipment, fittings and materials, structural metal products, paints and other chemical products, machinery etc. The problems of the building industry are, therefore, largely the problems of industry as a whole as they manifest themselves in all facets of economic activity. At present the building industry is labour intensive and it has been estimated that the total labour directly and indirectly concerned with the building and construction industries, is about 20 per cent of the total national labour force. As the industry grows in sophistication, however, it is inclined to become more capital intensive.' In 1967 the value of building in South Africa divided by the number of architects was approximately R430 000 (the investment in building was R715 000 000 and the number of nonretired registered architects was 1 655). The analogous figure in the United Kingdom was R220 000 or about half the South African figure. This difference points either to a lower level of use of architects' services in South Africa, or far more likely, to a serious shortage of architects."

The Bantu Building Workers' Act of 1951 enabled Africans to be trained and employed as skilled building workers for work in African areas only at lower rates of pay than workers of other racial groups. In reply to a question in the Assembly on 25 February,3 the Minister of Labour said that up to the end of 1971 altogether 5 481 Africans4 obtained registration as building workers in terms of this Act in the following categories: blocklaying, 74; bricklaying, 2817; bricklaying and plastering, 338; carpentry, 1 060; carpentry and joinery, 54; electrical wiring, 23; joinery, 1; painting, 388; plastering, 344; plumbing, 382. These

The Commission of Enquiry mentioned that gross domestic investment in building comprised 33 per cent of gross domestic fixed investment in 1970 and expenditure on buildings amounted to 8.1 per cent of the gross domestic product. 'Hansard 4 cols. 351-2. 'It would appear that in the some 20 years since this measure was enacted, on average, some 274 skilled African building workers have been trained each year. A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972 figures include Africans not trained under the Act but who had passed trade tests prescribed in terms of the Act. A further 392 Africans were in training under this Act by the end of 1971. The Minister of Labour in answer to another question in the Assembly on 8 February,5 said that 607 White apprentices entered the building trade during 1971. However, according to the Durban Master Builders' and Allied Trades Association, only 10 per cent of all new apprenticeship contracts signed during 1971 were in respect of Whites. An analysis of all 1 116 building apprentices under contract in Durban at the end of 1971 showed that while 98 per cent of the Coloured and Indian apprentices had a minimum of standard VII education, only 53 per cent of White apprentices were suitably qualified upon engagement. Exemptions had to be obtained from the minimum, prescribed, educational qualifications before the remaining 47 per cent of White apprentices could be engaged.' On pages 233-4 of the 1971 issue of this Survey details were given of various exemptions granted in respect of certain categories of work in the building industry. Further exemptions of this nature were granted in 1972: Government Notice No. R719 of 5 May granted exemption from Work Reservation Determination No. 13 to all employers and their employees in the Electrical Industry in East London to permit Black workers to perform any work specified in the definition of "labourer"; No. R823 of 19 May exempted from Determination No. 13 all employers and their employees in the Building Industry in Northern Natal to permit Black workers to perform any work specified in the definitions of "building assistant, Class I and Class II"; No. R1327 of 28 July exempted from the provisions of Determination No. 13 all employers and all Coloured employees, registered with the relevant Industrial Council in the Building Industry in the Western Province to permit these Coloured workers to perform any work specified under the definition of "operative", except for work in connection with shop, office, and bank fitting; No. R1650 of 15 September exempted from Determination No. 13 all employers and their employees in the Building Industry in East London to permit Black workers to perform any work specified in the definitions of "operator, Grade I and Grade II"; and No. R1965 of 27 October provided further exemptions from Determination No. 13 to all employers and their Coloured employees who were registered with the Industrial Council for the Building Industry, Western Province, to perform further "operative" work. All these exemptions carried a proviso that no White be replaced by a Black worker. On the Witwatersrand at the end of July, employers and trade unions negotiated an agreement through the
CONSTRUCTION

Industrial Council for the Building Industry introducing two-hour-a-day overtime, Monday to Friday, until the end of September and one-hour-a-day overtime from October until December, to relieve the serious shortage of skilled labour. On 25 October the Rand Daily Mail reported that the Building Industries Federation had carried without dissent a motion calling on its executive to continue efforts to have certain aspects of job reservation revised and to point out to the Government "the inadequacy of legally approved sources" of skilled labour. Mr. B. L. Moyle in introducing the motion said: "We have gone to the authorities with our problems. We have been told to recruit and train, become more productive, mechanise and industrialise. We have complied with the requests, but in the case of recruiting and training under present legislation, we are rapidly coming to the end of available resources". (Also see section on Reservation of Work.)

In June it was announced that the minimum wages of unskilled African building workers in the Transvaal were to be increased from 29 to 31’ cents an hour (amounting to an increase from R12,76 to R13,86 a week). It was stated that a further increase could be expected in 1972 because the real value of the increase was small.'

It was reported on page 233 of the 1971 issue of this Survey that certain companies had been accused of using skilled Africans to do work reserved for Whites. In the Assembly on 8 May,9 Mr. L. E. D. Winchester (United Party) stated that a certain organisation, which had a semi-government contract at Newcastle, was employing Africans to do skilled jobs at one-fourteenth of the rate which would have to be paid an artisan under the Industrial Conciliation Act. On 19 May in the Senate,"10 the Minister of Labour said that the company in question was employing 125 artisans, 70 per cent of whom were White and the rest Coloured people, and 450 Africans. However, it also employed 14 bonus-teams consisting of White artisans and African assistants. Sub-contractors engaged on the same project were employing 126 White and Coloured artisans and 426 African assistants. Inspections had been carried out in situ on 15 May but no Africans could be found doing skilled work. The Minister of Agriculture speaking on behalf of the Minister of Labour in the Senate on 9 June,'1 said that between 1969 and 1971 legal proceedings had been instituted against 8 employers for underpayment of wages in the Newcastle area. Four employers were convicted and, in addition to the fines imposed, they were ordered

7 Star, 31 July.
8 Rand Daily Mail, 2 June; Sunday Express, 11 June. 1 Hansard 14 cols. 6706-8. 10 Senate Hansard 11 col. 4104. 11 Ibid, 14 cols. 5058-60.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
by the Court to adjust the underpayments. In June an inspector from the Industrial 
Council for the Building Industry is reported to have said: "Catching people in the 
act (of employing Africans illegally) is not that easy. Inspectors are well known 
and there are only 3 for 9 magisterial districts. We can't get to various sites as 
often as we would like to. (Employers) usually pay admissions of guilt which 
don't involve a great deal of money. It appears it is worth their while to do so."

In August a director of the company handling the R17 500 000 ISCOR housing 
project at Newcastle was charged with wrongfully and illegally employing 
African labourers without the consent of the Minister of Labour. These charges 
were later withdrawn when the prosecutor told the magistrate that the State had 
been unable to find State witnesses in the case.

EMPLOYMENT IN FINANCE AND COMMERCE

On 11 October the Department of Statistics issued a News Release giving the 
average employment during the second quarter of 1972 in banking institutions 
(including the S.A. Reserve Bank and the Land and Agricultural Bank). The data 
was based on complete quarterly surveys and gross total salaries, wages, and 
allowances for the period were given. Monthly averages have been calculated by 
the writer:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employed and wages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites ............ 44056 290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured .......... 1 433 87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians ............ 426 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans .......... 5212 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total ............. 51127</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It would appear that the employment of Whites over the past year increased by 
278 (0.6 per cent) while their average earnings increased by 12.4 per cent. The 
employment of Coloured people increased by 130 (nearly 10 per cent) while their 
average earnings increased by 19.9 per cent. The employment of Asians increased 
by 126 (42 per cent) while their average earnings increased by 13.9 per cent. 
Employment of Africans declined marginally by 57 (1.1 per cent) while their 
average earnings increased by 16.4 per cent.

At the end of 1971 the South African Society of Bank Officials asked the Minister 
of Labour to appoint a Conciliation Board to 
settle a dispute which had arisen between the society, on the one hand, and 
Barclays and Standard Banks, on the other, after negotiations in connection with 
claims for pension improvements and a 10 per cent salary increase had broken 
down. In February it was announced that a settlement had been reached granting 
salary increases of 5.6 per cent to junior and 8.3 per cent to senior staff. The 
increases would cost some R5 000 000 a year.
In March Barclays Bank announced that a complete banking service for Blacks was being opened in Pretoria and this was being staffed entirely by African staff who were all matriculants under an African commerce graduate. The staff would be paid the same rate as their White colleagues. Barclays have also made alterations at their Umzinto (Natal) branch to cater for Indian employees. Policy was to employ Indians where the bank was represented in their areas.

In April Volkskas Bank was reported to have refused to register 100 of its shares in the name of an Indian investor. The investor is reported to have said: "What makes the whole thing so strange is that I already own 600 Volkskas shares, but they are registered in the name of a nominee company . . . I (have) bought shares in Trust Bank and Federale Volksbeleggings, both Afrikaner-controlled, and they had no objection to me". Apparently the Volkskas act was legal since the Banks Act grants banks the right to reject any person or group of people as shareholders.

It was later announced that an official complaint was being lodged with the Johannesburg Stock Exchange whose president said that the complaint would be referred to the Listings Committee as soon as it was received. The Stock Exchange later made representations to Volkskas and the Indian investor was advised that if he still wanted to register his Volkskas shares no impediment would be put in his way.

The Rand Daily Mail reported on 27 November that at a conference called by the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce, it had been decided that R5 000 000 had to be collected within a six-month period to form a company to establish an African bank.

The News Release mentioned above also gave data on employment figures and earnings in building societies. These also related to the second quarter of 1972 and were based on complete quarterly surveys. Monthly averages have been calculated by the writer.

1 Rand Daily Mail, 29 December.
2 Ibid, 11 February.
3 Ibid, 8 March.
4 Sunday Tribune, 16 July.
5 Sunday Times, 9 April; Star, 11 April.
6 Sunday Times, 16 April.
7 Ibid, 21 May.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

Building Societies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Monthly salaries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>employed</td>
<td>and wages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>8 478</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>1 572</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10447</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It would appear that over the past year the employment of Whites increased by 307 (3.8 per cent) while their average earnings increased by nearly 13 per cent. Employment of Coloured people increased by 44 (nearly 19 per cent) while their average earnings increased by over 14 per cent. Employment of Asians increased by 14 (over 13 per cent) while their average earnings increased by nearly 24 per cent. Employment of Africans increased by 136 (9.5 per cent) while their average earnings increased by nearly 12 per cent. The same News Release also gave data on employment and total earnings in insurance companies based on complete quarterly surveys. Monthly averages have been calculated by the writer:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Insurance Companies</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Monthly salaries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>26216</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>2947</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>654</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>4 087</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>33 904</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It would appear that over the past year the employment of Whites increased by 2547 (10.8 per cent) while their average earnings rose by 5.7 per cent. Employment of Coloured people rose by 362 (almost 14 per cent) while their average earnings rose by 9.5 per cent. Employment of Asians rose by 138 (26.7 per cent) while their average earnings increased by 14.6 per cent. African employment increased by 558 (15.8 per cent) while their average earnings rose by 10 per cent. A Department of Statistics News Release dated 20 July gave data, based on quarterly sample surveys, on employment and gross earnings in the wholesale and retail trades. These statistics relate to the first quarter of 1972 and monthly averages have been calculated by the writer:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wholesale</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Monthly salaries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>76 900</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>19 900</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>9700</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>81 700</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>188200</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It would appear that over the past year the employment of Whites has increased by 1.2 per cent while their average earnings have increased by 13.9 per cent. Employment of Coloured people has increased by 5.3 per cent while their average earnings have increased by 10.5 per cent. Employment of Asians has increased by 5.4 per cent while their average earnings have increased by 10.2 per cent. African
employment has increased by 2.1 per cent while their average earnings have increased by 7.4 per cent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Retail employed and wages</th>
<th>Monthly salaries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites .......... 122 200</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured .......... 31 500</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians ............. 16 600</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans .......... 111 500</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>281 800</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It would appear that over the past year White employment has increased by 2.4 per cent while their average earnings have increased by almost 6 per cent. Employment of Coloured people has increased by 4.3 per cent while their average earnings have increased by 11.9 per cent. Employment of Asians has increased by 3.75 per cent while their average earnings have increased by 4.4 per cent. African employment rose by 2.9 per cent while their average earnings rose by nearly 7 per cent.

On 1 November the Rand Daily Mail reported that seven Indian retail shop managers at branches of a Durban-based clothing factory who had been appointed in the place of Whites were to be replaced by Whites. The police were to press charges against the company for employing Blacks in controlling positions in place of Whites in a White proclaimed area. The police also visited several other businesses in Durban where Blacks held key positions in White proclaimed areas. (It should be noted that the State has ready to hand, in the form of the State President's Proclamations Nos. 3, 4, and 5 of 1968 issued in terms of the Group Areas Act of 1966, the necessary instruments to control in group areas, specified areas and controlled areas employment in the positions of: "chargehand"; "executive, professional, technical or administrative employee"; "manager"; and "supervisor". Certain types of trade or business are specifically exempted in terms of these proclamations.)

In her study entitled Some Socio-Economic Aspects of African Entrepreneurship, Mrs. Gillian Hart pointed out that "at present a marked dichotomy exists in the legal framework within which African enterprise operates. Official policy in the reserves is directed towards the active encouragement of an entrepreneurial class, whereas African businessmen in the urban areas are being faced with increasingly severe legal obstacles. This differentiation has only become extreme during the past decade, but factors which have culminated in the present situation can be seen to have been in operation for a number of years." Mrs. Hart suggests that two elements, "namely the status of Africans in urban areas and demands by White
groups for protection from African traders have been the basic factors determining policy towards African enterprise”.

In his address to the eighth national congress of the National African Chamber of Commerce, the president Mr. S. M. Motsuenyane said: 9

"In the Urban Areas of South Africa, we have today thousands of African traders, who cannot increase the size of their businesses due to legal prohibitions. This places the African businessman in the position of a temporary sojourner, who is unable to develop a sense of security and permanence in these areas. This unfair limitation, not only goes contrary to the present policy that Black businessmen shall serve Black people in their areas, but to a substantial degree it militates against the potential economic growth of the Bantu Homelands.”

It has been announced that a mutual company is to be set up under the sponsorship of the Johannesburg African Chamber of Commerce to establish direct links between industrialists and retailers in African areas. The organisation aims to help some 600 traders in Soweto and 300 in surrounding areas to meet consumer demand. It will also assist African traders in legal and licensing matters, bookkeeping, insurance, marketing and product information, shop layout, business administration, and finance.”

9 African Business, June. 10 Star, 7 January; Rand Daily Mail (Township Edition), 6 April.

FINANCE AND COMMERCE

A Johannesburg travel agency has appointed an African general manager to cope with the demand from middle-class Africans for organised holidays abroad and in neighbouring Black states like Malawi.”

Mr. Thomas Rodolo, a senior African training officer at Unilever, has published a textbook guide entitled A Business Guide for African Shopkeepers which is aimed at some 6 000 African shopkeepers.

In the Coloured Representative Council Mr. Solly Essop has attacked a leading bank and five national furniture stores for the "scandalous exploitation" of people through hire purchase. Mr. Essop demanded that the Hire Purchase Act be amended to make it compulsory for any person entering into a hire purchase agreement to reveal his existing commitments and to limit a consumer's hire purchase commitments to five per cent of his gross salary if he earned R100 a month and to 1 times his monthly salary if he earned under R300 a month.12

Some of the issues involved in employment in the hotel trade were outlined on pages 236-7 of the 1971 issue of this Survey. The president of the Federated Hotel Associations of South Africa, Mr. Arthur Freedberg, has said that "the present system of obtaining exemptions from labour restrictions is tedious and long-winded. There must be an overall suspension of job reservation and certain other regulations in the industry. Without them we will not be an effective advertisement or attraction for tourists.”'"

In answer to a question in the Assembly on 14 April,14 the Minister of Tourism said that short training courses for Coloured waiters and wine stewards had been
instituted by the Department of Coloured Affairs with the guidance and technical advice of the Hotel Board at Cape Town and Kimberley. A full-time course for prospective Coloured hotel employees was being investigated by the Hotel Board. At Cape Town 98 students had completed the short course as had 17 at Kimberley. In 1972 some 73 young men and 51 young women were enrolled for similar courses.

At Ga Rankuwa about 32 kilometres north-west of Pretoria African hotel staff are being trained at the Hotel Board School. The building was erected by the Bantu Investment Corporation at a cost of R265 000 and has been hired by the Hotel Board which has provided the necessary equipment and furniture at a cost of R70000. Two courses are offered at the school: one for table and wine waiters and one for cooks. Courses in Afrikaans and English are compulsory. The entrance requirement is a standard 6 pass and only men are being trained at the 11 Die Vaderland, 12 February; Rand Daily Mail, 28 June. I2 Sunday Tribune, 10 September.

13 Star, 15 May.
1 Hansard 10 cols. 822-3.
307

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
moment. On the basis of present courses the hotel industry could be provided with nearly 500 trained workers a year.15
The regional representative of the Department of Indian Affairs in Durban has said that since 1966 the M. L. Sultan Hotel and Catering School had turned out 1 567 trained Indian staff who had completed either full or part-time courses. As from 1973 the College proposed to offer a course in hotel management. In so far as the Indian community was concerned, there were, in Natal, some 22 hotels owned, operated, and staffed by Indians.6
The Johannesburg City Council has been granted permission by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development to build an hotel in Soweto. The Bantu Resettlement Board has also been granted permission to build an hotel in Diepkloof near Baragwanath Hospital (Johannesburg)."
Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Executive of KwaZulu, and Father Cosmos Desmond, a Roman Catholic priest under house arrest, were refused lunch at the President Hotel in Johannesburg in August.18 It was later announced that the Hotel Board was to ask the Government to approve a special list of Black VIPs to simplify the necessary formalities.9 The Minister of Justice later made it clear that Black people could be housed and served in certain hotels only. The Minister said: "Since 1928 there have been hotels where accommodation and meals can be given to nonWhites if the licensee is prepared to do so. This was the position during the time of General Hertzog, General Smuts, Dr. Malan, Mr. Strijdom and Dr. Verwoerd and is still the position today." A spokesman for the Minister said it was "almost impossible" to list the hotels or say how many there were.2 The KwaZulu Cabinet was later accommodated at the White Stanger Hotel on the eve of the first official Shaka Day celebrations.1 However, the Boulevard Hotel in Pretoria was reported to have refused dinner to a party including a member of the
Johannesburg Urban Bantu Council and members of the Gazankulu Cabinet. In October the Minister of Justice warned that hoteliers who failed by February 1973 to employ telephonists and receptionists who could speak to clients in both English and Afrikaans would be liable to prosecution under the Liquor Act. This was later extended to 1 April.

An executive member of the Associated Clubs of South Africa has said that the Clubs would object to any amendment to the Liquor Act which would prevent the employment of Black bar men. Objections were based on three main reasons: (a) Clubs were often in out-of-the-way areas where White barmen were reluctant to work; (b) the type of White barman who sought work with licensed clubs often proved to be unsatisfactory and over the past 20 years it had been the experience that Black barmen were more trustworthy and reliable; and (c) Indian and African barmen gave better service than Whites, were smart and carried out their duties more willingly.

EMPLOYMENT IN THE SERVICE OF PUBLIC AUTHORITIES

Central Government

In a Statistical News Release dated 7 July, the Department of Statistics gave employment figures for the Central Government together with estimates of earnings relating to the first quarter of 1972. The average per capita monthly earnings have been calculated by the writer from the total figures given:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Monthly salaries employed and wages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>104,443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>32,648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>7,816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>12,867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It would appear that in some 9 months the employment of Whites increased by 1.6 per cent while their average earnings increased by 6.5 per cent. Employment of Coloured people increased by 2 per cent while their earnings increased by 9.7 per cent. Employment of Asians increased by 3.1 per cent while their earnings increased by 13.3 per cent. It is not possible to compare African employment with previous years since from November 1971 Africans in the employ of homeland governments, with the exception of those in the employ of the Department of Bantu Education, have been excluded from the total number of Africans in the
employ of the Central Government. It would appear, however, that African average earnings increased by 9.6 per cent.

In the Assembly on 1 February, Dr. G. F. Jacobs (United Party) said that since 1948 (when the National Party came into power) the number of people employed by the Central Government had increased by more than 400 per cent. The then Minister of the Interior, Mr. Theo Gerdener, said in the Assembly on 2 June, that there were 43 government departments in South Africa compared with 11 in the United States of America, 22 in Germany, 20 in Australia, 26 in Canada, and 24 in the United Kingdom. Mr. Gerdener also said that approximately 3 400 White government employees were seconded to other racial groups and this did have an overall effect on the manpower position in the public service. In order to improve the manpower position the Government was trying to recruit more women to the Public Service. Of the 62 000 salaried posts in the Public Service 33.6 per cent were filled by women. The Minister of Statistics said in the Assembly on 26 May, that in addition to people in the employ of the Public Service Commission and those employed in other State departments, 1 599 Whites, 87 Coloured people, and 596 Africans were employed by boards established in terms of the Marketing Act.

In May Chief Gatsha Buthelezi criticised the White/Black wage gap in the civil service and said that if this could not be bridged the KwaZulu Government would have to devise ways and means of finding additional funds to make this possible. In September, the president of the Public Servants' Association (White) said that it was hoped that the authorities would regard the time as opportune to grant salary increases which had already been requested. He also criticised the appointment of people outside the public service to senior positions in the service.

The report of the Commissioner of the South African Police for the year ended 30 June 1971 showed that between 1969/70 and 1970/71 the ratio of police to 1 000 of the population had declined from 1.56 to 1.40. The shortfall between the authorised and actual establishment of White policemen was 1 853, that of Black policemen was 591; that of White civilian employees was 180 and that of Black civilian employees was 14. Over the year, 2 199 Whites and 948 Blacks were enlisted while staff wastage amounted to 1 776 Whites and 880 Blacks. The Reserve Police Force consisted of 16 377 Whites, 348 Indians, 544 Coloured people, and 2 389 Africans.

The Minister of Police said in the Assembly on 22 February that the strength of the Police Force at the end of 1971 was: Whites Coloured Asians Africans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Officers</th>
<th>Warrant Officers</th>
<th>Chief Sergeants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 792</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

10 in the Netherlands, 13 in Japan, 7 in Switzerland, 12 in Sweden, 26 in Australia, 26 in Canada, and 24 in the United Kingdom. Mr. Gerdener also said that approximately 3 400 White government employees were seconded to other racial groups and this did have an overall effect on the manpower position in the public service. In order to improve the manpower position the Government was trying to recruit more women to the Public Service. Of the 62 000 salaried posts in the Public Service 33.6 per cent were filled by women. The Minister of Statistics said in the Assembly on 26 May, that in addition to people in the employ of the Public Service Commission and those employed in other State departments, 1 599 Whites, 87 Coloured people, and 596 Africans were employed by boards established in terms of the Marketing Act.

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<tr>
<td>7</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

309
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>Coloured and Indian</th>
<th>African</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant</td>
<td>2850</td>
<td>1560</td>
<td>3500</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>1500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warrant Officer</td>
<td>2100</td>
<td>1100</td>
<td>2300</td>
<td>1100</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>1100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief Sergeant</td>
<td>2600</td>
<td>1300</td>
<td>2800</td>
<td>1300</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Sergeant</td>
<td>2100</td>
<td>1100</td>
<td>2300</td>
<td>1100</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>1100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>1400</td>
<td>900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constable</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>2200</td>
<td>1100</td>
<td>2400</td>
<td>1100</td>
<td>1600</td>
<td>1100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It appeared from the Minister's reply that White members of the force received an all-inclusive allowance, including a uniform allowance, which ranged from R240 to R420 per annum in the lower grades, tapering off from the R2 160 notch. Black members of all ranks receive a uniform allowance of R66 per annum. On first appointment to commissioned rank a White member received R237 to defray expenses for additional uniform and equipment while a Black member received R106.1°

In answer to a question in the Assembly on 22 February the Minister of Police said that 10 police stations in the Transkei, 10 in the Ciskei, and 13 in other African territories of the Republic were being administered by Africans; seven were being administered by Coloured people and one by Indians. At a passing-out...
parade at the South African police Training College at Benoni, the Chief Deputy Commissioner, Lieutenant-General T. J. Crous, told 360 African policemen that at 36 further stations White policemen were preparing to hand over to their African colleagues." From the beginning of April, five police stations were taken over by the Transkeian Ministry of Justice. The Minister of Police said at the opening of the Tswana Legislative Assembly that the Bantu Training College section of the South African Police to be built at Hammanskraal would cost approximately R4 000 000. On 1 November the Star reported that up to 576
district police headquarters and 6 police stations when the new Soweto police division becomes operational on 1 January 1973.
On 16 July the Sunday Express reported that 96 (White) policewomen had passed out of Police College and been sent to police stations throughout South Africa. In March the Commissioner of Police said that African police units, many of whom were said to be volunteers, were being used in patrols along the Zambezi on the Republic's northern borders." In May it was reported that a second contingent of several hundred Black policemen were about to leave for the Caprivi Strip." On 1 June the Star reported that a large and important section of the Caprivi border had been handed over to Black police. In answer to a question in the Assembly on 20 April, the Minister of Police said that subsistence allowances of R5 and R4 per day, respectively, were payable to White married and unmarried policemen patrolling the Republic's northern borders. Black policemen, married and unmarried, were entitled to R2 per day if their salaries were less than R780 a year and R3.25 per day if their salaries were R780 and more.
In the Assembly on 22 February, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education said that four magistracies in the Transkei were being administered by Africans. The Transkeian Minister of Justice said in the Legislative Assembly on 5 May said that of 18 legally qualified Transkeian officers, five were magistrates and 13 were assistant magistrates. The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, opening the first session of the first Ciskeian Legislative Assembly, on 14 April said that the total strength of the Department of
Justice totalled 161 units. The posts of four legal assistants, one senior clerk, and one clerk Grade I were occupied by Ciskeians.2°
In answer to a question in the Assembly on 22 February,2' the Minister of Community Development (on behalf of the Minister of Prisons) said that 409 Whites, two Coloured people, and two Africans held commissioned ranks in the Prisons Service. On 28 March, in answer to a further question in the Assembly, the Minister of Prisons gave the following salary scales for warders.22

is Sunday Times, 26 March.
16 Sunday Express, 14 May.
"7 Hansard 11 col. 859.
1 Hansard 4 col. 313.
22 Ibid, 9 cols. 745-6.
312

PUBLIC AUTHORITIES
White: R1 110 - 1200 x 120 - 2 400 x 150 - 3 900.
Coloured & Indian: R900 x 90 - 1 800 - 1 920.
African: R576 x 42 - 660 x 60 - 900 x 90 - 1 260.

White members received an all-inclusive duty allowance ranging from R240 to R420 per annum in the lower grades, tapering off from the R2 160 notch, while Black members received their first issue of uniform free of charge and a uniform allowance of R66 per annum after completion of their first year of service.

The Transkeian Minister of Justice said in the Legislative Assembly on 5 May, that as from 1 April, 16 prisons with a staff complement of 116 had been taken over from the Republican Government."

At the end of 1971 Mr. Justice Trengrove, giving judgment in a case where two White farmers and an African induna were found guilty of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm on a paroled prison labourer who subsequently died, pointed out that it was essential that employers treat paroled prisoners with humanity if the parole system was to work. The learned judge criticised the contract forms used by the Department of Prisons for hiring out paroled prison labourers to private individuals.4 In the Assembly on 4 February,25 the Minister of Prisons said that during 1971 there had been 342 inspections carried out into the housing, feeding, and working conditions of prisoners hired out as farm labourers.

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 11 April,26 the Minister of Defence said, in respect of the Permanent Force, that there were 1 899 vacant posts on the establishment of the Army, 1119 on that of the Air Force, 845 on that of the Navy, and 343 on that of the Common Service. In respect of the South African Coloured Corps there were 78 vacant posts in the Army and 95 in the Navy. After completion of their training 432 candidate officers would be absorbed in the vacancies in the officers' ranks and 2 730 civilians were being employed against existing vacancies. In the Army 655 apprentices were being trained while figures for the Air Force and Navy were 1 102 and 478, respectively. It has been reported
that facilities at the Military Academy at Saldanha Bay are to be extended to accommodate 300 candidate officers each year. In February it was announced that 41 Coloured seamen were to leave for a two-month training period in Glasgow where they would take over the S.A. Navy's new hydrographic survey ship, S.A.S. Protea. Coloured seamen were already crewing the hydrographic vessel, S.A.S. Natal, on which they numbered 41 of a complement of 97. Although Coloured seamen received most

23 Debates of the Transkei Legislative Assembly, 1972, p. 184. 24 Rand Daily Mail, 9 December.
25 Hansard I col. 32.
26 Hansard 10 coes. 778-80. (The Minister gave details of vacancies against each rank.) 27 Rand Daily Mail, 9 December.

313

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

of the fringe benefits of their White counterparts, equal pay for equal work had not yet been achieved. Basic salary for a Coloured seaman started at R900 and rose to R2 880 a year. In July, S.A.S. Protea was welcomed by the Minister of Defence in Simonstown. Among her crew were 53 Coloured men. In his address the Minister announced the creation of a Coloured Corps Special Service Battalion. Later, the Commandant-General of the Defence Force, Admiral H. Biemann said the unit would be modelled on the original Special Service Battalion which was initiated during the depression to lessen the acute rate of unemployment. It was hoped that men would be trained and eventually drawn into the army and navy as highly qualified national servicemen.9

On 24 April the Minister of Coloured Affairs said in the Assembly that, apart from posts in education, there were 85 authorised posts for Whites (filled by 76 people) and 18 for Coloured people (filled by 17 people) on the establishment of the Department of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs in the Republic and South West Africa (Namibia). No senior administrative posts were filled by Coloured or Rehoboth personnel. There were 2 540 authorised posts for Coloured personnel in the Administration of Coloured Affairs and 634 of these were filled by Whites and 1 536 by Coloured people. The salary scale for a chief clerk in the Administration of Coloured Affairs was R4 350 x 150
4 800 x 240 - 5 280.

The Minister of Indian Affairs said in the Assembly on 18 February that, apart from posts for teachers, there were 617 authorised posts on the establishment of his Department. Of these posts, 178 were occupied by Whites and 435 by Indians. The most senior administrative post occupied by Indian personnel was that of principal clerk. The salary scale for this post was R3 360 x 120 - 3 600 x 150 - 4 350 while the comparable White salary was R4 200 x 150 - 4 800 x 30 - 5 400. In connection with authorised posts, apart from those for teachers, in his Department, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said in the Assembly on 23 February, that of the 5 118 posts, 2 539 were occupied by Whites and 2 579 by Africans. The most senior administrative post occupied by an African was that of senior clerk on a salary scale of R1 800 x 120
In its fourth report the parliamentary Select Committee on Public Accounts has reported that the Controller and Auditor General "can hardly carry out effectively the duties entrusted to him" with his available staff. The Controller and Auditor General
28 Star, 8 February.
29 Rand Daily Mail, 15 July.
30 Hansard 12 cols. 881-2.
""Hansard 3 col. 286.
32 Hansard 4, cols. 333-4.

PUBLIC AUTHORITIES
reported to the Select Committee that about one third of the posts on the fixed establishment of the audit department were not suitably filled. Since 1964 the department had made 607 appointments but had had 583 resignations?

Provincial Administrations
The Statistical News Release mentioned earlier in this section gave employment figures for the Provincial Administrations together with estimates of earnings relating to the first quarter of 1972. The average per capita monthly earnings have been calculated by the writer from the total figures given: Numbers Monthly
salaries
employed and wages
R
Whites ........ 98486  297
Coloured ...... 13 985  71
Asians ........ 2 335  109
Africans ...... 79 125  42
193931
It would appear that in some 9 months the employment of Whites increased by 3.3 per cent while average earnings increased by 4.9 per cent. Employment of Coloured people increased by 4.7 per cent and average earnings by 10.9 per cent. Asian employment increased by 4.8 per cent and average earnings by 10 per cent. African employment seems to have declined marginally by 0.7 per cent but average earnings have risen by 16.7 per cent.

A training centre for Black traffic officers has been opened at Ottery in the Cape and 17 trainees selected by local municipalities have started courses.4 In Natal, Mr. Gert Hanekom, leader of the National Party opposition in the Natal Provincial Council, has called for a quick nation-wide salary increase for White traffic policemen to eliminate situations where White drivers had to obey the directions of Black traffic officers."

Local Authorities
The Statistical News Release mentioned earlier in this section gave employment figures and earnings based on a sample survey for Local Authorities (Municipalities, etc.). These figures include the Transvaal Board for the Development of Peri-Urban areas, the Bantu Resettlement Board, and the Natal Local Health Commission, and relate to the first quarter of 1972. The average per
capita monthly earnings have been calculated by the writer from the total figures
given:
3.1 Star, 19 September.
34 Alpha, April 1972.
35 Sunday Times. 13 February.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
Numbers Monthly salaries
employed and wages
R
Whites .......... 49 600 313
Coloured ...... 18 700 101
Asians ........ 3 800 72
Africans ...... 121 000 50
193 100

It would appear that in 9 months White employment has risen by 5.8 per cent and
average earnings by 4.7 per cent. Employment of Coloured people remained the
same but average earnings have risen by 7.4 per cent. Asian employment has risen
by 2.7 per cent and average earnings by 10.8 per cent. African employment has
risen by 1.4 per cent and average earnings by 13.6 per cent.
In June, it was reported that Pretoria's Management Committee had recommended
to the City Council that an extra R370 713 be provided on its budget to increase
the wages of African municipal employees. This was an increase of about 5 per
cent and would mean that the lowest paid African labourers would be earning R36
a month - an increase of R2 - while the highest paid African workers would be
earning R90 a month - an increase of R360. With these increases only some 143
of the Council's African labour force of about 8 392 would be receiving more than
R67 a month.

Information on the wages and working conditions of the lower paid categories of
workers in the employ of the Cape Town City Council is recorded in the section
on "Wage Regulating Machinery".

On 19 June, the Johannesburg City Council's Management Committee agreed to
raise the wages of all the Council's Black employees by about 10 per cent from
July 1. The increases would add some R400 000 to the Council's R16 000 000
wage bill for its 21 000 Black employees. The wages of unskilled African women
workers would rise from R38,13 to R41,95 a month; those of unskilled Coloured
and Asian women would rise from R61,02 to R68,64; the lowest paid unskilled
African men would rise from R43,86 to R47,67 while the highest paid would rise
from R64,83 to R68,64; the average African semi-skilled workers' wages would
rise from R85,80 to R93,43; the lowest paid semi-skilled Coloured and Asian
workers' wages would rise from R85,80 to R97,24 while the highest paid would rise
from R110,59 to R122,03; the lowest paid African skilled workers' wages
would rise from R54,60 to R62,40 while the highest paid would rise from
R122,85 to R134,55; and lowest paid skilled Coloured and Asian workers'
36 Rand Daily Mail, 22 June.
RAILWAYS ADMINISTRATION

Wages would rise from R87.75 to R99.45 while the highest paid would rise from R154.05 to R165.75, a month. The increases would leave the largest group of Black employees, namely, pick and shovel workers, office cleaners and street sweepers well below the Council's own poverty datum line for an African family of five.37

The Rand Daily Mail reported on 7 December that the Industrial Tribunal had agreed to a 10 per cent wage increase, effective from 1 October, for Cape Town's 4 200 White municipal employees. The Cape Town Municipal Workers' Association which represents 13 000 Coloured and African employees has submitted a claim for a 15 per cent wage increase, effective from 1 September. On 7 December, The Star reported that the (White) Municipal Employees' Association had requested the Johannesburg City Council to grant "realistic salary adjustments".

South Africa has been suspended from the International Union of Local Authorities.38

EMPLOYMENT IN THE RAILWAYS, HARBOURS AND AIRWAYS ADMINISTRATION

In reply to a question in the Senate on 18 February, the Minister of National Education, on behalf of the Minister of Transport, gave employment figures and average earnings in the South African Railways and Harbours Administration as at the end of 1971 (here given in monthly amounts):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employed</th>
<th>Numbers monthly salaries employed and wages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>111526 318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>15231 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>1 409 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>99 503 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>227 669</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All servants of the Administration receive benefits such as travelling concessions, annual free passes, and medical treatment while certain workers are issued with uniform clothing and some receive a rent subsidy or accommodation in departmental houses and others participate in a departmental food scheme. Such benefits cannot be readily evaluated.

It would appear that between the end of 1970 and the end of 1971, White employment rose by 0.5 per cent and average earnings by 7.8 per cent. Employment of Coloured people rose by 4.2 per cent but average earnings remained the same. Indian employment rose by 13.3 per cent but average earnings remained the same.
average earnings remained the same. African employment rose by 2.7 per cent while average earnings rose by 1.9 per cent.

From replies to further questions in the Assembly on 26 May and 6 June, the following information on the wage structure in the Administration (no date was given for these figures) emerged:

Per month

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>9245</td>
<td>48962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>15239</td>
<td>343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>1379</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>100845</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It would also appear from replies to questions in the Assembly on 24 February and 1 March, that while no Coloured employee was receiving more than R220, no Indian more than R130, and no African more than R146, per month, at the end of 1971, 4 001 Coloured employees were receiving less than R2 per working day, and 596 Indians and 89 801 Africans were in the same position.

The Report of the Railways and Harbours Board for the year ended 31 December 1971 showed that in the 33 895 "bread and butter" grades there were 6 367 vacancies (18.78 per cent) while there were 1 861 vacancies (42.25 per cent) in the 4 405 training and entry grades. The Minister of Transport later indicated that staff shortages in the harbour service at the major Republican ports were: 1 026 Whites in Durban; 456 Whites and 50 Blacks in Cape Town; 208 Whites and 64 Blacks at Port Elizabeth; and 42 Whites and 24 Blacks at East London.

Figures for the numbers of Black employees temporarily employed on work normally performed by White graded staff at 31 January 1972 were: 261 Coloured people, 142 Indians, and 1 912 Africans and the daily earnings of these employees were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>4.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>4.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>1.60</td>
<td>4.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The numbers of Black staff performing work previously done by unskilled and ungraded White staff were: 156 Coloured people

2 Hansard 16 col. 1084.
3 Ibid. 18 col. 1152.
4 Ibid. 4 cols. 335-8.
5 Ibid. 5 cols. 397-8.
6 R.P. 60172.
7 Hansard 3 col. 215.
8 Ibid. 6 cols. 501-2.

RAILWAYS ADMINISTRATION

and 400 Africans and the daily earnings of these employees were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>1.95</td>
<td>2.70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It was reported in July that the Railways Administration was short of 3 out of every 10 (male) ticket examiners on the Witwatersrand and Durban commuter rail services and was experimenting with (White) women in these posts.

Towards the end of 1971 the Minister of Transport, Mr. B. J. Schoeman, warned White railway workers that they would have to become accustomed to an increasing number of Blacks taking over work traditionally done by Whites. The General Manager of the South African Railways, Mr. J. G. H. Loubsier, said that a (White) trade union plan for the use of Black "artisans assistants" was working well. Some members of (White) trade unions who naturally had certain fears had been taken to Lourenco Marques to see how Whites and Blacks co-operated. In January it was reported that there was a critical shortage of White labour on the railways and that Africans were to be employed to do most of the tasks normally performed by shunters, but that they would be known as train compilers. A spokesman for Railway Headquarters apparently said that train compilers would do most of the work of shunters but some tasks would be done by White supervisors. It was later reported that Black shunters would be known as train marshallers. The full executive of the (White) Running and Operating Staff Union later met the Railways Management to discuss the whole question of Black "train marshallers". The president of the Federal Consultative Council of seven (White) trade unions later warned management against the "overhasty" conversion of White jobs to Black jobs.

The Minister of Transport said that his department would, in consultation with the (White) staff associations concerned, continue to examine the practicability of placing Blacks on work formerly done by Whites. It should also be borne in mind that in 1971 the Minister reported that 15,355 formerly White posts had been transferred to the Black establishment.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

in graded positions where necessary. It was interesting to note that through the greater use of Black labour his department had been able to offer many White workers better positions."
In answer to a question in the Assembly on 17 March,9 the Minister of Transport
said that there was no such grade as "train compiler" but "train marshallers"
performed the same duties as shunters but did not transmit messages to footplate
staff. The salary scale for shunters was R160 x 10 - R200 per month while the
scale for Indian and Coloured train marshallers was RHO x 5 - R120 and for
Africans R90 x 5 - R100 per month. In opening the forty-first conference of the
Railways Artisan Staff Association, the Minister thanked the departments and
committees which had agreed to the employment of Blacks but went on to say
that in an effort to combat the manpower shortage his department was using more
and more Blacks as well as women." A spokesman for the General Manager of
the Railways said in August that Africans were being employed, but only when
Whites were not available, in the following 6 categories previously reserved for
Whites: train marshallers (shunters); leading train marshallers (shunting
supervisors); bus drivers; cartage drivers; fork lift operators, and goods checkers.
Some 936 Africans were being employed as train marshallers at that time while
there were also 125 African bus drivers on homeland routes with a further 66 in
training. The ultimate aim of the Railways was to have Africans employed in all
categories - with the exception of stationmasters - at stations serving their own
communities.2 The Star reported on 2 December that more than 3 000 Africans
and Coloured people were being employed in jobs formerly done exclusively by
Whites, with the consent of the trade unions concerned.

Towards the end of 1971 the 7 (White) railway trade unions had claimed wage
increases of between 12 and 15 per cent from the Minister of Transport.2 In
March the then president of the Railways' Artisan Staff Association, Mr. J. H.
Liebenberg, criticised the Administration for its "inability to meet its obligations"
to its staff and for having "viciously depleted the rates equilisation fund to
stabilise an unsound and unscientific economy".3 At the end of June the Natal
branches of the 10000-strong Footplate Staff Association demanded an immediate
wage increase, more rapid promotion, guaranteed work, two paid rest days a
month and higher widows' pensions.4 The threat of a go-slow was averted in
Durban at the end of July

1s Star, 8 March.
19 Hansard 7, cols. 597-8.
20 Rand Daily Mail, 22 March.
21 Sunday Express, 27 August.
22 Rand Daily Mail 16 February; Star, 24 February. 23 Rand Daily Mail, 23
March.
24 Ibid, 3 July.
320

RAILWAYS ADMINISTRATION
when 250 (White) drivers of the Footplate Staff Association agreed to wait for the
result of wage negotiations between the union executive and the
Administration.25 On 10 August the Federal Consultative Council of Railway
Staff Associations presented the Minister of Transport with wage demands said to
amount to about R80 000 000, but the Minister appealed to railwaymen to
postpone these claims in the interest of the national economy and because of the financial plight of the Administration. At a protest meeting in Pretoria the Koedoespoort Branch of the Railways' Artisan Staff Association passed a resolution which expressed disappointment and dissatisfaction over the Minister's announcement that he could not grant a wage increase and called on its national executive to use all the means at its disposal including arbitration machinery to bring about an immediate increase. The executive committee of the Footplate Staff Association decided to press its demand for a 20 per cent wage increase for its members. It was reported that senior Administration officials had threatened to use the anti-strike measures in the Railways and Harbours Service Act to break up a go-slow campaign by railwaymen in Natal.

On 21 August a meeting of the Artisan Staff Association in Johannesburg resolved to demand a wage increase based on the rising cost of living plus 21 per cent a year and to call for a declaration of a dispute to go to arbitration if the demands were not met. The Minister later said that demands for wage and salary increases for railway staff would cost R130 000 000 and would be fatal for the economy. In September the Artisans' Staff Association broke off wage negotiations with the Minister and declared a dispute. The Minister of Finance claimed that it was not possible to subsidise railway wage increases from State funds.

On 1 December The Star reported that a Commission of Enquiry had recommended a 15 per cent wage increase for railway workers and that the rise in the cost of living had been taken into account in recommending this award. From January 1972 there were 19 train derailments causing 109 deaths. The two worst disasters were at Opblaas near Potgietersrus in March when 44 people died and at Malmesbury in September when 50 people died."

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
EMPLOYMENT IN THE DEPARTMENT OF POSTS AND TELEGRAPHHS

In the Department of Statistics News Release dated 5 September, mentioned earlier in this chapter, the average numbers employed in the whole Post Office system during March 1972, based on a complete survey, were:

Whites ............ 41 635
Coloured ........ 4257
Asians .......... 5700
It seems that since December 1970 employment of Whites has increased by nearly 8 per cent, that of Coloured people by nearly 7 per cent, that of Asians by 26 per cent, and that of Africans by about 8 per cent.

The Post Office discloses only its total wage bill and does not provide, for general information, separate figures for the different racial groups. It is not, therefore, possible to give the average earnings of each group. However, some idea of the wage structure in the Department of Posts and Telegraphs was furnished by the Minister of National Education, on behalf of the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, in answer to a question in the Senate on 18 February.' No date was specified for the figures given: Per annum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Less than R600</th>
<th>R600 and more</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>39 871</td>
<td>3259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>988</td>
<td>535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>6195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>7447</td>
<td>6195</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In answer to a question in the Assembly on 30 May,2 the Minister of the Interior, on behalf of the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, said that 1 014 White Post Office employees earned R100 or less while 22 151 earned between R101 and R200 per month, if only basic gross monthly salaries were taken into account and payments in respect of overtime and allowances were disregarded. The Minister of Posts and Telegraphs said in the Assembly on 11 February3 that 23 Africans, 5 Coloured people, and 4 Indians were being employed in the administrative division of his Department. The highest salary being paid to Africans was to three Bantu Postmasters, Grade III, in the salary range R2 880 - R3 240 per annum. The highest salary being paid to Coloured people was to two Coloured Postmasters, Grade III, in the salary range R3 840 - R4 320 per annum, and one Indian Postmaster, Grade III was also being employed on this salary scale.

A reply given by the Minister in the Assembly on 4 February' indicated that as at 31 December 1971 Black workers temporarily occupying posts in "White" areas which were usually occupied by White staff were: 200 Coloured postmen and 479 messengers; 439 African postmen and 739 messengers; and 208 Asian postmen and 54 messengers. On 22 March the Minister announced that a settlement had been reached with the (White) Postal Association which enabled Black employees formerly employed in a temporary capacity on mail delivery duties against White posts to be appointed in a permanent capacity.5 The Minister's statement was welcomed by Black leaders of various political opinions.6 In April 21 Black
Postal clerks took over from White women who had previously been employed in the Black section of the Jeppe Street Post Office in Johannesburg. In March the Minister said that there was an estimated shortage of 1,631 technicians and telephone mechanics in his Department. In answer to a question in the Assembly on 17 February he had said that while 251 immigrants had been recruited by his Department in fiscal year 1970/71, only 145 had been recruited between April and December 1971.

Thirty-six trained Indian telephone mechanics have completed the first year of their training at M. L. Sultan Technical College and are entering their final year of practical training. In April the Minister opened a Post Office training centre for Africans at Umtata. It appeared that 20 postal assistants and 16 learner telephone mechanics had started training in January. The Minister said that this training was a prelude to the training of African telecommunication technicians and possibly telecommunication engineers. Attention was also being devoted to training African telephonists. Africans employed by the Post Office in the Transkei since 1963 had increased from 67 to 227.

DOMESTIC SERVANTS

The most recent figures available to the writer on the remuneration of domestic servants in certain areas were contained in Table 6.1 of a Report, 11-03-06, by the Department of Statistics which gave the average monthly wages paid to full-time 4 Hansard 1 cols. 78-9.

5 Ibid. 8 cols. 3829-30.

6 Rand Daily Mail. 23 March.

7 Ibid. 1 April.

8 Hansard 8 col. 3829.

9 Hansard 3 cols. 233-8.

20 Fiat Lux, March. 1972.

11 Department of Information Press Release 101/72(K).

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

General servants in October 1970, where payments in kind represent amounts as estimated by the employers. Some extracts are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cash</th>
<th>Kind</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cape Town African woman</td>
<td>23.76</td>
<td>26.76</td>
<td>50.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured woman</td>
<td>22.79</td>
<td>25.35</td>
<td>48.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Elizabeth African woman</td>
<td>16.99</td>
<td>19.89</td>
<td>36.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured woman</td>
<td>15.71</td>
<td>20.78</td>
<td>36.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East London African woman</td>
<td>13.02</td>
<td>19.00</td>
<td>32.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kimberley African woman</td>
<td>13.76</td>
<td>17.26</td>
<td>31.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pietermaritzburg African man</td>
<td>16.19</td>
<td>17.54</td>
<td>33.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African woman</td>
<td>14.77</td>
<td>18.33</td>
<td>33.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durban African man</td>
<td>13.02</td>
<td>20.36</td>
<td>33.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African woman</td>
<td>15.80</td>
<td>18.44</td>
<td>34.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria African man</td>
<td>20.23</td>
<td>18.33</td>
<td>38.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African woman</td>
<td>16.46</td>
<td>20.33</td>
<td>36.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witwatersrand African man</td>
<td>24.18</td>
<td>21.65</td>
<td>45.83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In a revised issue of a booklet entitled Your Bantu Servant and You issued in May 1971 by the Johannesburg City Council's Non-European Affairs Department it appeared that current rates for "living-in" domestic servants, who were provided with food, accommodation, and clothing were between R25 and R30 per month. Full-time cooks generally earned between R30 and R40 per month while chauffeurs earned on average between R40 and R50 per month. Gardeners employed on a casual basis generally received between R2 and R3.50 a day plus food and some allowance for transport costs. Charwomen and laundrymaids, etc. were currently being paid between R1.75 and R2.50 a day plus transport and at least one good meal. It was customary to allow domestic servants a minimum of 2 weeks leave on full pay every year.

More than 100 African domestic servants at King Edward VIII and Wentworth hospitals in Durban rejected subsidised meals at work in favour of an extra R2.50 on their wages each month.

Coloured people in Johannesburg have been told by the City Council’s Non-European Affairs Department that in terms of the Group Areas Act they are not permitted to have "living-in" African domestic servants and neither can they employ African servants without a permit from the Department of Community Development. In October municipal police raided Indian homes in Actonville, Benoni, to check whether Indians were illegally employing African domestic servants. A number of R20 fines were imposed.

DOCKWORKERS

In Johannesburg the S.A. Institute of Race Relations in collaboration with the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre is running a Domestic Workers' and Employers' Project aimed at improving the conditions of workers and creating greater understanding between them and their employers. Similar projects have been initiated under the Institute's auspices in Durban, Port Elizabeth, and East London.

In September 1971 African stevedores in Durban threatened to strike if their wage demands were not met. The Durban Stevedoring Labour Supply Company later announced a 30 per cent increase in wages but maintained that this did not result from the threatened strike. In July, a spokesman for 2000 African dockworkers in Durban, at a sitting of the Wage Board, asked that the existing minimum weekly wage of R8.50 be raised to at least the poverty datum line level of R18 and said that if their demands were not met they would appeal to their homeland governments. Speakers at the sitting, including four dockworkers, were called to order by the chairman of the Wage Board, Mr. H. Tindale, as exchanges became
heated and employers were accused of trying to victimise workers who addressed the Board. Other demands included danger pay allowances, a holiday bonus, a skilled determination for Africans operating loading winches, shorter working hours, and non-compulsory overtime.'

In October African dockworkers struck at Durban, virtually bringing the harbour to a standstill. When an executive of the Labour Supply Company addressed the angry workers and asked to be allowed to negotiate with a few spokesmen, there were shouts from the crowd of "We will be fired". There was heated reaction from the crowd when the executive did not respond to a question asking how many times African dockworkers had gone on strike for higher pay without receiving increases. There was apparently an incident between policemen and striking dockers. Apart from their grievances on the question of wages the dockers complained that their working hours were too long, their beer was being diluted with water, their living conditions were unhygienic, their food was unfit to eat, they did not get pay slips and did not know how much money was deducted for tax and lodging fees, the Indunas who should represent them showed no interest in the complaints of the workers, they had to pay for their own safety helmets and special working shoes which cost a total of R6,35, they received only R6 a year leave pay and got no sick pay even when laid-off by a company doctor, and many of them had to work 7 days a week for months on end without a full day's break.

It was reported

1 See 1971 issue of this Survey, page 247. 2 Star, 18 July; Natal Mercury, 1 August.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

that the striking dockworkers had asked Chief Gatsha Buthelezi for assistance. Many dockers returned to work after the manager of the Durban Stevedoring Labour Supply Company had issued an ultimatum that they either return to work and await the Wage Board's determination, or collect the money owing to them and leave. A large contingent of police stood by as the dockers returned to work.' The manager of the Durban Stevedoring Labour Supply Company, Mr. W. S. Dreyer, later said that he had seen the Secretary for Labour in August to ask him to speed up the wage determination. Mr. Dreyer went on to say that the existing guaranteed minimum wage was R8.50 a week, but in addition 78 cents was paid for every day worked, overtime was 29 cents an hour normally and R1.25 plus 22 cents an hour on Sundays, and a special payment of between R1.19 and R2.03 was paid for the handling of bulk cargoes, dirty cargoes, and frozen cargoes. A spokesman for the Wages Commission of the University of Natal (Durban) Students' Representative Council pointed out that the dockers had to work from 7 a.m. to 5 p.m. with additional compulsory overtime until 8 p.m. for five days a week. To get to work at 7 a.m. the workers had to report at 6 a.m. The justice and peace commission of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Natal issued a statement saying: "We identify with the workers in their basic demands and protest the actions of the employers in forcing them back to work without meeting any of these demands. The facts of their working and living conditions run against the church's teachings on social justice and are an affront to Christian conscience."
More especially do we condemn the forced separation of the worker and his family. The secretary of the Trade Union Council of South Africa, Mr. Arthur Grobbelaar, said that the tendency for strike action by African workers was increasing. The strike by Durban stevedores heavily underlined the need for Africans to have proper channels of communication. Between 1959 and 1969 over 30000 Africans had been involved in strikes. Mr. Grobbelaar went on to reveal that Tusa had abandoned an attempt earlier in the year to establish a trade union in Durban for Coloured and Indian dockers because of police interest in the matter and the refusal of the Department of Labour to co-operate.

On 24 October Coloured and African stevedores at the Cape Town docks walked out of the harbour at 5 p.m., three hours ahead of time in protest against working hours and pay. Dismayed harbour and shipping supervisors watched, helpless, as the workers with one accord stopped whatever they were doing throughout the harbour and made for the customs gates. At sunset, normally

3 Star, 23 and 24 October; Rand Daily Mail, 24 October; Transvaler, 24 October.
5 Ibid, 26 October.

326

DOCKWORKERS

one of the busiest periods under normal conditions, the docks area was described as being "quiet as a graveyard".

Hundreds of White harbour employees who normally worked overtime to supplement their earnings were forced to leave with the stevedores, and crane drivers were without hands in ships' holds. A full fleet of forklift trucks stood idle in long rows on the quayside. An attempt to resolve the problems at a meeting between representatives of the Department of Labour, port authorities, stevedoring firms and leaders of the stevedores, on 25 October produced no results.' The walk-out continued for the third day on 26 October.

7 The Trade Union Council of South Africa appealed to stevedoring firms in Cape Town to increase the wages of workers to the level of the poverty line immediately, and the International Transport Workers' Federation cabled a protest to the Prime Minister which described the strike as the "inevitable consequence of the denial of trade union rights".

9 The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions also cabled a protest to the Prime Minister, voicing its support for dock workers, and called upon the secretary general of the United Nations to intervene on behalf of the dockers." Dr. O. D. Wollheim, regional secretary of the Cape Western Region of the Institute of Race Relations said that stevedoring companies were perpetuating poverty and its consequences. He went on to say: "To force a man to work from 60 to 70 hours a week simply to remain alive smacks of the sweated labour of the 'Hungry Forties' which Charles Dickens described so graphically. It simply has no place in a modern industrial society.""

It was later reported that some African stevedores who wanted to work overtime were being warned by pickets that they would be beaten if they did so but other workers made it clear that they would not work overtime until conditions improved.

2 On 1 November the walk-out continued into its ninth day and the
chairman of the Wage Board said: "We will finalise our investigation next week and present our recommendations to the Minister of Labour."

As this Survey went to press, it was reported that the Wage Board had recommended an increase of roughly 40 per cent in the minimum wages of stevedores, one of the highest increases yet recommended. In Cape Town the new minimum rate that has been recommended is R16 per week, while in Durban it is R9,50 for a five-day week plus RI for every day worked. The recommended increase for daily-paid stevedores is from R2,30 to R3,50 a day in

6 Ibid, 26 October.
7 bid, 27 October.
8 Star, 27 October.
9 Rand Daily Mail, 27 October.
10 Star, 28 October.
11 Cape Times, 28 October.
12 Rand Daily Mail, 1 November.
13 Ibid, 2 November.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

Cape Town, and from R2,07 to R3,20 in Durban. The period for objections to be lodged to these recommended minimum rates has been cut from the normal period of one month to fourteen days.4 The Rand Daily Mail reported on 24 November that 15 stevedores employed by the Durban Stevedoring Labour Supply Company had been dismissed, and on 27 November that the Cape Town dockers had ended their stop-at-five campaign and returned to normal overtime. On 1 December it was reported that Durban stevedores had rejected the Wage Board's recommendation and formally lodged their objections with the Minister of Labour.

OTHER AREAS OF EMPLOYMENT

Universities

A Department of Statistics News Release dated 11 October gave employment figures and total earnings, based on a complete quarterly survey, in Universities during the second quarter of 1972. These figures covered full-time as well as part-time staff and this could well distort overall averages. Monthly average earnings have been calculated by the writer:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numbers employed</th>
<th>Monthly salaries and wages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>12 369 393</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>1 609 104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>453 135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>5 103 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19534</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In June the Wages Commission of the Students' Representative Council of the University of Natal (Durban) completed a survey of the wages and working conditions of Black workers on the Durban campus. The report and recommendations which issued from this survey were submitted to the University
The survey showed that no unskilled Black worker earned a wage at the minimum effective level (R115.50 for Durban) while 61 per cent earned a wage below the poverty datum line of R77 per month. The lowest monthly income of Black semi-skilled workers was R69 while the highest was R125. Some 87 per cent of the semi-skilled workers earned less than the minimum effective level but only 1 per cent earned less than the poverty datum line. Only 26.6 per cent of the households interviewed had any source of income other than that earned by the main breadwinner. In June Black workers on the campus voted unanimously to establish an independent workers organisation to fight for the rights of Black workers.

The Wages Commission of the Students' Representative Council at the University of Natal (Pietermaritzburg) also conducted a survey of the Black staff on the Pietermaritzburg campus in March and April. This was based on a sample of 72 out of 169 semi-skilled and unskilled employees, with 59 employees actually being interviewed. It appeared from this survey that 66.45 per cent of Black semi-skilled and unskilled workers were the sole source of income for their families, the average size of a family being 5.55 members. Assuming, not unjustifiably, a poverty datum line figure of R72 and a minimum effective level figure of R108, per month, the survey showed that over 70 per cent of unskilled employees earned wages lower than the poverty datum line while the vast majority of semi-skilled employees received wages above the PDL but below the MEL. The average wage of all 169 Black semi-skilled and unskilled workers based on figures supplied by the University Administration was R67.37 per month. The Wages Commission recommended that the wage structure be revised from January 1973 introducing the PDL as the minimum wage level and that from no later than January 1976 the MEL be introduced as the minimum wage level.

In conducting its survey the Wages Commission received the full co-operation and unstinted assistance of the vice-Principal, Professor MacMillan and the recommendations submitted have been assured of the most sympathetic consideration.

On 21 September the Rand Daily Mail, reported that Black employees on the Pietermaritzburg campus had formed a workers' association and that the university authorities had welcomed this move. From a survey conducted by the Students' Representative Council Wages Commission at the University of the Witwatersrand it appeared that the minimum wages paid to certain categories of Black staff ranged from R43.67 to R60.84 a month. The Wages Commission suggested that these be increased by between R32 and R68 a month.

On 16 September the Rand Daily Mail reported that Black workers at the University of the Witwatersrand had met for 3 hours and elected a 12-man workers committee. On 5 November the Sunday Times reported that the Council of Rhodes University in Grahamstown had decided to raise the wages of African weekly-paid labourers.
by 14 per cent and of the monthly-paid hostel workers by over 25 per cent from January 1973.

Letter dated 12 October from Students' Representative Council Wages Commission; Dome, 29 June; Rand Daily Mail, 18 October.

2 Letter dated 28 September from Students' Representative Council Wages Commission.

3 Wits Student, 15 September.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
Churches

Brief information on salaries and wages in the Churches was given on page 182 of the 1971 issue of this Survey. In February the Diocesan Synod of the Anglican Church in Pretoria unanimously passed a resolution that African and White clergy be paid the same salaries and that the salary scales of clergy be reviewed every year.

The March issue of the Christian Leader raised the question of African stipends in the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches. The correspondent maintained that 9 years ago in the Presbyterian Church the African minimum stipend was only 35 per cent of that of Whites while today it was 60 per cent. However an African minister now started on R84 a month and after 24 years' service earned R114. Very few White ministers were on the minimum stipend. Of the Congregational Church, while figures were hard to get, it would be true to say that only two or three out of 78 African ministers earned more than R100 a month, the majority being in the R70 to R80 bracket with a considerable number receiving even less.

The Special Project for Christian Action in Society (Spro-cas 2) conducted an investigation into the wages and working conditions of Black employees at Church schools. Mr. Peter Randall, head of Spro-cas 2, said that preliminary results indicated that the average wage of Black employees in Church schools in the Transvaal proved to be R36,80 - R33,20 below the poverty datum line, while the average for other provinces seemed to be even lower. Mr. Randall said that many schools refused to reveal how much they paid their Black staff while others like Kearsney and Michaelhouse in Natal had failed to reply to the enquiries. The staff of Spro-cas 2 had been amazed at the bitterness their investigation had provoked from Church schools and churchmen who worked in them. On the other hand, Archbishop Hurley, of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Natal, Dr. Alex Boraine of the Methodist Church and Canon Cyprian Thorpe, head of the Anglican Department of Missions, publicly welcomed the survey and urged schools to improve the situation.

Attorneys

Attorneys in South Africa must, as part of their training, have practical experience for certain periods as articled clerks in a law firm. In July, the chairman of the Johannesburg Attorneys' Association, Mr. Rocco de Kock, announced that at least
seven firms of attorneys in Johannesburg (amongst the largest in South Africa) had engaged and were training African articled clerks. The
4 Rand Daily Mail, 8 September.
5 Sunday Tribune, 29 October.
6 Rand Daily Mail, 4 July.

ROAD MOTOR TRANSPORT
Incorporated Law Society of the Transvaal was reported to have endorsed the move of the Johannesburg Attorneys' Association to provide training for Black articled clerks in White firms.7
The Press
The Argus Company, the largest newspaper owners in the Republic, began training African, Coloured, and Indian journalists in all aspects of newspaper practice, at Johannesburg, Durban, and Cape Town from the end of June.8

Road Motor Transport
In June some 300 Black bus drivers employed by the Public Utility Transport Corporation (PUTCO), who were earning about R30 per week, went on strike in the wake of wage demands for between R60 and R80 per week. More than 120 000 commuters from Soweto, Evaton, and Martindale were stranded while thousands stood long into the night and others crammed into taxis as police stood by at bus terminals. The managing director of PUTCO (Mr. T. H. Frith), said that there had been a complete stoppage of all Coloured services and of services to Soweto, Evaton, and Martindale.
He went on to say that his corporation was unable to meet the drivers' demands and that strikers had to return to their jobs "pretty soon" for "if they do not hurry up, we will fire the lot".9 On Saturday 4 June, some 300 PUTCO bus drivers were arrested during a sit-in strike at the Faraday (Johannesburg) bus depot after negotiations between management and the drivers had ended in deadlock.
PUTCO's managing director said that the strike was costing the company between R40 000 and R50 000 a day and warned that the strike could affect the whole of Johannesburg if it continued." On the following Sunday dozens of striking drivers arrived at police headquarters - John Vorster Square in a demonstration of solidarity with their gaolled colleagues, and asked to be locked up. Mr. T. H. Frith commented on Sunday night that the strike and the wage demands were "totally ridiculous, unreasonable and unjustified". There was no chance of their demands being met. He also said he was "saddened and disturbed" that PUTCO drivers were being detained at John Vorster Square."
On Monday 5 June, Mr. Frith told a waiting crowd of several hundred Africans as he left John Vorster Square after several hours of negotiations with the detained bus drivers that all 318 bus drivers would be released that day. He said his company had not laid charges against any of the strikers. Several women pursued
7 Ibid, 28 October.
8 Race Relations News, February.
9 Star, 3 June.
10 Sunday Tribune, 4 June.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
Mr. Frith questioning him about the drivers' wages but police told them to disperse.2 During the course of the day a crowd of between 300 and 500 people waited peacefully outside John Vorster Square with police vans and riot trucks nearby, and in the evening all 318 PUTCO drivers were released, to the welcome of friends and relatives, while about 100 policemen crowded the Black entrance to police headquarters.3
Most of the drivers returned to work on Tuesday.4
Later PUTCO asked the Department of Labour and the Wage Board to settle the dispute.15 However, in July, 28 bus drivers appeared in the Boksburg Magistrate's Court on charges under section 14 (1) of the Riotous Assemblies Act, dealing with breaking a contract of employment while knowing that it would deprive members of the community of their supply of transportation services, or alternatively section 14 (2) dealing with the breaking of a contract leading to a probable consequence that this would endanger human life or cause serious bodily injury to any person. The maximum sentence upon conviction is R600 (or 3 years imprisonment).6
PUTCO later announced wage increases for all its Black staff including drivers (about 1 500 workers in all, of whom 1 280 were drivers.) Starting wages for new drivers were raised from R27,26 to R35 a week (an increase of over 28 per cent) while their "ceiling" had been raised from R36,77 to R45 a week (an increase of over 22 per cent). Drivers in their seventh year of service had their wages increased from R30,89 to R44 a week (an increase of over 42 per cent). Senior supervisors could now earn over R200 a month. Drivers would also reach their "ceiling" in 10 years instead of 26.1"
Charges against 77 Putco bus drivers were later withdrawn. No reasons were given by the prosecutor who said he was "just acting on instructions".18 From reports in the Rand Daily Mail on 24 November and 1 December it appears that a group of PUTCO's African bus drivers are attempting to establish a trade union but are being opposed by management.
TRADE UNIONS
The Minister of Labour said on 17 March in the Assembly' that the number of registered trade unions as at the end of 1971, and their membership figures as at the end of 1970 (except for a few instances where trade unions had already submitted 1971 returns) were:
12 Star, 5 June.
13 Rand Daily Mail, 6 June.
14 Ibid, 7 June
15 Star, 22 June.
14 Star, 19 July; Rand Daily Mail, 20 July.
17 Star, 12 September; Rand Daily Mail, 13 September. 1s Rand Daily Mail, 14 September.
Hansard 7 cols. 613-4.
TRADE UNIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of union</th>
<th>No. of White Coloured and Asian Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>89 356261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured and Asian</td>
<td>50 73 913 73 913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>42 59586 123904 183490 181 415847 197817 613664</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It would appear that very roughly 8.4 per cent of the economically active population are members of registered trade unions or, since Africans cannot belong to registered trade unions, roughly 26.2 per cent of White, Coloured, and Asian economically active persons belong to registered trade unions. Of the economically active persons who may belong to registered trade unions, it would appear that very roughly 14.8 per cent belong to trade unions which confine their membership to Whites.

The Minister also said that of the racially-mixed unions, seven had been exempted indefinitely and four for stated periods from having all-White executive committees on the grounds that there were too few White members for this to be feasible, while a further six had been required to guarantee that there would be representatives of White members on their executive committees. Nine unions had been exempted indefinitely, one for a stated period, and three in certain areas only, from the requirement that separate meetings must be held for White and Coloured members.

In Power, Privilege and Poverty the commissioners assembled by the Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society concluded that one of the most important pre-conditions to a fundamental redistribution of power in South Africa was the right of all workers to belong to legally recognised trade unions. As a step in the direction of trade union rights for all, the Commission recommended that works committees should be established in any undertaking employing fifty workers or more, bearing the following conditions in mind:

(a) that a national body of works committees be established, in order that experience may be shared and direction given;

(b) that works committees should have access to relevant Industrial Councils or Wage Boards;

(c) that members elected to serve on works committees should be given specific training regarding their role as representatives of the workers.

In February Miss Anna Scheepers, president of the Garment Workers' Union, warned that the threat of further Sharpevilles and more Ovambo-type strikes hung over South Africa for as long as the Government refused to allow African trade unions to develop. In the Assembly on 21 March, the Minister of Labour 2 Ibid, cols. 614-5.

3 Rand Daily Mail, 8 February.
A Hansard 8 col. 621.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
said that no consideration was being given to granting collective bargaining rights to skilled and semi-skilled African workers "in view of the protection enjoyed by Bantu workers under existing legislation".

In an important address on the eve of his retirement as president of the railway's Artisan Staff Association, Mr. J. H. Liebenberg, the veteran trade union leader who has pioneered the employment of Blacks in formerly White jobs on the South African Railways, gave his views on the organisation of African labour. Mr. Liebenberg said: "I am saying, with all the sincerity at my command, that I know of no place outside the Iron Curtain where industrial peace has been maintained for long with blocked avenues of communication and the absence of basic rights of negotiation. . . I am leaving the trade union movement with the non-registerable workers in an equally bad or worse economic position than they were decades ago, and industrially completely unorganised and unrepresented...

"The principal reason for the wage gap, in my opinion, is the lack of even elementary machinery through which African workers can strive to improve their position. The Native (Bantu) Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act, as an alternative to granting them trade union rights and negotiating machinery, was approved by Parliament nearly 20 years ago. The facts and the wage gap prove beyond any doubt that this Act has failed completely . . . and to sit back and expect employers voluntarily to make improvements is to allow valuable time to run out...

"I do not believe the problem of disparity in service conditions, and the reduction in the wage gap, can be successfully solved only by setting up Black trade unions at this stage. . . I think other channels of industrial communication and points of contact must be considered to fill the present vacuum. . . I consider that each homeland should establish its own local labour authority in whatever form it desires. At the same time the Government should establish a Bantu Labour Council in the White economy, to which each homeland labour authority should delegate one representative.

"This council would collaborate with the Departments of Labour, Bantu Administration and Economic Affairs-and with the co-operation of organised labour-be the point of contact with our organised economic sectors. Any settlements should be supported by our industrial legislation."

In April Mr. Morris Kagan, in his presidential address to the conference of the National Union of Distributive Workers, echoing the warning of Mr. Tom Murray, the then president of Tucsa, said that the dockworkers' strike in Durban in 1971 and the action taken by the Ovambo in South West Africa in 1971/72 showed that outlawing strikes for Africans was no guarantee that there would never be strikes. Given proper trade union facilities, Africans would find it less necessary to strike.' However, in May, Mr. L. J. van den Berg, the retiring president of the S.A.
Confederation of Labour, rejected the idea of mixed trade unions, or African trade unions affiliated to White unions, as this, so it was alleged, would lead to chaos and would be against the wishes of most White workers.' Calls for closer cooperation between the two organisations were made at the biennial conference of the S.A. Confederation of Labour by the newly-elected president of the Confederation, Mr. I. D. Martin, and the new president of Tucsa, Mr. L. C. Scheepers.9 Nevertheless, the Confederation decisively rejected a motion introduced by the railway's Artisan Staff Association calling for the creation of a Bantu Labour Council to look after the interest of African workers.10

In the Assembly on 8 May,1 the Minister of Labour said: "As far as the National Party Policy in regard to Bantu workers is concerned, it is our conviction that the organisation of Bantu workers is neither in the interests of South Africa, nor in the interests of improving their own wage position, nor in the interests of promoting race relations. . . But, because the Government realises that it is necessary and desirable to act fairly towards our Bantu workers, and that they should receive fair remuneration, the Government has taken steps to establish machinery for the settlement of disputes, in terms of which a Bantu Labour Board and workers' committees were established, and Bantu officials appointed.2 to do this work."

The Minister went on to say:3 "The United Party plea means only one thing, which is that the Bantu workers will be able to compel compliance with their demands by means of legalised strikes. . . This Government has adopted the standpoint that ... the recognition of Bantu trade unions ... constitutes a danger to South Africa because it will endanger labour peace." Dr. Gideon Jacobs (United Party) said:" "I would much prefer to have Bantu workers on this basis, where they are in affiliation with our own trade unions, then we can exercise control over them. If they are independent in the homelands, what is going to happen then? Every industrial problem which arises will be taken to the United Nations as a dispute between states." Mrs. Helen Suzman said:4 "It is far more dangerous to have 70 per

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

7 Star, 24 April.
8 Rand Daily Mail, 19 May.
I Ibid. 9 June.
do Ibid, 10 June.
11 Hansard 14 cols. 6683-4.
12 The Minister obviously did not mean that Africans had been appointed to these posts which are staffed by Whites.
43 Hansard 14 cols. 6685-7.
14 Ibid, col. 6692.
Blacks, they are going for ever to stop strikes, then they are making a big mistake."

In June it was announced by Mr. Chadrack Mabuza that an organisation to be known as the Sales and Allied Workers' Association and expected to be an umbrella of African workers' organisations had been formed in Johannesburg."

Mr. Drake Koka, secretary of this union, said later that the unrecognised African workers could not validly exist "like black pimples on the white unions' face". Africans were competent to speak for themselves, make their own decisions, and negotiate on their own behalf whether they were being legally recognised or not. De jure recognition and registration was not the African workers' priority. Their priority was to organise a united powerful African workers' union. Mr. Koka's union was opposed to the idea of African trade unions (unregistered) co-operating with and relying upon so-called White sister unions which made the Black worker dependent on the White worker. The Sales and Allied Workers' Association was preparing to hold a general Black workers' conference early in 1973.17

At the eighteenth annual conference of the Trade Union Council of South Africa held in Cape Town in August, Professor P. J. van der Merwe of the University of Pretoria's Economics Department and a member of the Bantu Affairs Commission outlined his views on the organisation of African labour.8 The professor suggested that given the existing socio-political framework the respective "homeland" governments could legislate for "indigenous trade unions" which could propagate the drawing up of labour agreements between the "homeland government" and the Government of South Africa which could cover a wide variety of matters including the appointment of "Labour Diplomats" from the "homeland governments" in the "White areas". As practical examples the Professor instanced the agreement with Portugal and the informal agreements with Malawi, Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana. The "indigenous trade unions" could possibly even participate, to an extent agreed upon inter-governmentally, in the preparation of such agreements. These homeland trade unions could also possibly assist in the recruitment and placement of labour, thereby replacing "foreign" recruiting organisations and their labour agents, and, perhaps, the network of tribal and district

16 Rand Daily Mail, 28 June.
17 Rand Daily Mail, 18 August.

TRADE UNIONS

labour bureaux. They could also participate in economic development by rallying worker support for such programmes and subordinating immediate wage demands to the future development of their countries," as well as assisting with other basic social services and the mobilisation of savings. The Professor concluded by suggesting that registered trade unions which advocated the inclusion of citizens of the "different Bantu nations" in these trade unions were not only ignoring, but actually undermining the efforts of "homeland governments" to make their own decisions and develop their own national institutions.
On the other hand, at the same conference, Dr. Francis Wilson of the University of Cape Town's Economics Department, in supporting the extension of trade union rights2 to Africans, maintained that African unions would: (a) serve to fight poverty and raise productivity so that wages could be increased without unemployment; (b) prevent the wage gap widening; (c) help to create a responsible society by enrolling Africans in decisionmaking processes; and (d) give a much needed impetus to the voice of the worker.2

In the event, the Tucsa conference approved by an overwhelming majority a resolution calling on "all affiliated unions to make every effort to obtain from their members an unambiguous and clear mandate in the coming year (1973), to press government to permit the organising of African workers into registered trade unions"." Mr. J. H. Liebenberg, former president of the railway's Artisan Staff Association, which is promoting the plan for a Bantu Labour Council, also rejected Professor van der Merwe's plan which, he said, neither the Government nor organised labour would accept.23 Mr. C. P. Grobler, secretary of the S.A. Confederation of Labour, said: "There may be some merit in the plan for Bantu in the homelands but I personally don't see this as the answer for the Bantu in the urban areas."24 Miss Anna Scheepers, president of the Garment Workers' Union, branded the plan as "identical to communistic state control".25

In an interview with Rapport the secretary of the Co-ordinating Council of S.A. Trade Unions, Mr. Jan van Wyk, speaking in his personal capacity said that African trade unions would be used as a very powerful weapon to cripple the national economy. He went on to say that there was fairly good information that the Bantu Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act was coping effectively enough with the labour problems of the African worker.26

19 "their countries" was the phrase employed by the Professor. 20 Probably more properly privilege in the South African context. 21 Rand Daily Mail, 30 August. 22 Financial Mail, 1 September. 23 Sunday Times, 27 August. 24 Rand Daily Mail, 26 August. 25 Star, 24 August. 26 Rapport, 27 August.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
The director of the Natal Employers' Association, Mr. L. D. Thorne, said that the time was already overdue for general discussion on the desirability and feasibility of organising Africans in some form to enable them to take a proper part in the regulation of their own conditions of employment and wages." The general secretary of Tucsa, Mr. Arthur Grobbelaar, said that an African trade union movement would stimulate the economy, make industry more competitive and help stave off possible future violence." The President of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of South Africa, Mr. L. M. Sher, called on employers to do all in their power to open up channels of dialogue with their African workers.9 The owner of a large clothing firm, Mr. Sam Jaff, said that it would benefit both
workers and employers if African trade unions were allowed to operate in border industrial areas, but Dr. Albert Wessels, head of another large clothing firm, disagreed with this point of view and maintained that Africans were not yet "ripe for trade unions". An editorial in the South African Builder said that the Building Industries Federation of South Africa would "not stand in the way of qualified recognition of Bantu trade unions" provided (a) that adequate official control of the administrative affairs of unions be applied-including the appointment of people to responsible offices; (b) that complete segregation between African and non-African organisations exists; and (c) that a total prohibition be placed on strikes and lockouts, coupled with compulsory arbitration in the event of disputes." On 9 November the Rand Daily Mail reported that Chief Gatsha Buthelezi had said that trade unions for everybody were an integral part of a democratic society.

The Rand Daily Mail reported on 29 November that, at a meeting called by the Natal Employers' Association, businessmen voted overwhelmingly in favour of a motion that African works committees be given more support by the Government and employers. The Star reported on 5 December that more than 130,000 White, Coloured and Indian members of Tucsa's 70 unions had voted in favour of allowing Africans full trade union rights in existing registered trade unions. The Minister of Labour said, however, that "absolutely nothing" had happened to change the Government's attitude to African trade union membership.

In March the general secretary, Mr. Arthur Grobbelaar, and the then president, Mr. Tom Murray, of Tucsa were summoned to Cape Town by the Prime Minister shortly before a delegation from the International Metalworkers' Federation was due to arrive in South Africa to investigate working conditions in the Republic. 27 Rand Daily Mall, 27 August.
28 Ibid, 5 September.
29 Ibid, 8 September.
30 Ibid, 18 October.
31 Star, 18 October.
338

TRADE UNIONS
The subject of the discussions was "strictly confidential". A report on their mission issued by the International Metalworkers' Federation after their delegation's visit recalled that exactly 50 years ago when White workers' interests were threatened, South Africa faced a workers' revolt. The report warned that "if the legal, political and economic situation of the Black worker in South Africa does not improve, it will not be another 50 years before they revolt." The report rejected the founding of independent African unions not only as impractical but also because they would contradict the principle of working class unity and would conform to the principal of racial segregation. The example of the Garment Workers' Union with its Black sister union was commended and recommendations to South African unions affiliated to the International Metalworkers' Union were:
(a) that they begin a campaign for the establishment of works committees to represent Africans in large companies;
(b) that Tucsa re-establish a co-ordinating office for the organisation of Black workers on the lines of the one it had until 1968 and that this office help affiliated unions to organise Blacks "and intervene where the individual unions, for any reason whatsoever, do not undertake such efforts";
(c) that they co-operate with the Urban Training Project which is active principally in trade union education among African workers in Johannesburg and Cape Town.

The report expected South African unions to do- justice to their obligations."3

The I.M.F. also sent the Secretary for Justice a letter listing 84 trade union leaders said to have been banned, detained, or imprisoned. Among these 84 were the names of at least nine top officials of the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions which in 1953 represented 53 000 (mostly African) workers and which now operates in exile from Lusaka. In his reply the Secretary for Justice said that none of the people on the IMF list was restricted because of membership of any trade union "but because it was proved that he was an officer, member or active supporter of the unlawful Communist Party of South Africa".4

As part of its programme for the "International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination" the International Labour Organisation published, at the end of 1971, a document entitled "The ILO and 'Apartheid'" which states that the organisation "could . . . not remain indifferent to a policy which contradicts the very principle of the equality of all working men and women ... in view of the fact that the ILO's own charter declares that 'labour is not a commodity'." The document also contains the full text of a resolution adopted without opposition on 22 June 1971 which calls, inter alia, upon the ILO Governing Body "to give special consideration ... to elaborating a coherent set of measures designed to contribute to restoring fundamental human and trade union rights in South Africa."

In June the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions (in exile) submitted a memorandum to the ILO conference which:
1. urged all industrialists to recognise African trade unions, collective bargaining and the right to strike;
2. called upon all industrialists to abandon the colour bar in labour policies and practices, maintained that their presence strengthened Apartheid, and called for them to withdraw if they could not abandon the colour bar;
3. called for the international labour movement to assist with the struggle for elementary human rights;
4. called upon trade unions in the United Kingdom, the United States; Japan; France; and West Germany to bring pressure to bear on companies to grant African workers the same rights which obtained in their countries;
5. called for the emigration of skilled workers to South Africa to be stopped.35

In his eighth special report the ILO Director-General made the following observations:
1. Only if the apartheid system is replaced by one offering equal opportunities to workers of all races can equal justice in remuneration be achieved;
2. What is important though, is that the recognition that apartheid holds no promise for the future of South Africa is gaining ground;
3. International business should at least ensure that it fully applies in South Africa the fair labour standards which it recognises and applies in its operations in other parts of the world. Governments should consider the desirability of importing goods which are not produced under fair labour standards;
4. Governments, employers' and workers' organisations should discourage the emigration to South Africa of skilled workers;
5. Change must come about, in the interests of the privileged, no less than in those of the under-privileged.36

The Rand Daily Mail reported on 25 November that the (White) S.A. Confederation of Labour had decided to make a "diplomatic approach" to the Government to ascertain whether there had been any change in the Government's attitude to membership of the I.L.O.

In South Africa the newly-elected president of Tucsa, Mr. 33 Unit on Apartheid. Notes and Documents. No. 14/72. 36 Unit on Apartheid. Notes and Documents. No. 13/72.

BANTU LABOUR (SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES)
L. C. Scheepers, is to make efforts to establish dialogue between registered trade unions and unorganised African workers." Coloured trade unionist, Mr. Ronald Webb, secretary of the Motor Industry Combined Workers' Union, which has a membership of some 10 000, has been elected a vice-president of Tucsa.8

It has been reported that there are fairly serious differences of opinion on Black job advancement in the S.A. Confederation of Labour.9
The Urban Training Project, which is located in Johannesburg, is training Black workers in trade union practice in Johannesburg and Cape Town. It has also issued a Workers' Calendar, a pamphlet entitled Workers' Rights, and another entitled What is a Trade Union?

The Students' Representative Council at the University of Cape Town has issued a pamphlet entitled Workers! Organise for Higher Wages. The Wage Commission of the University of Natal's Students' Representative Council (Durban) has been publishing a Zulu-language workers' newsletter called lsisebenzi (the Worker). The Wages Commission at Pietermaritzburg has distributed 5,000 Zulu pamphlets entitled A ma-Trade Unions Ayini? (What are trade unions?)

THE BANTU LABOUR (SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES) ACT

In answer to a question in the Assembly on 25 February, the Minister of Labour said that 12 regional Bantu labour committees had been established in terms of the Act at Johannesburg, Germiston, Benoni, Krugersdorp, Vereeniging, Klerksdorp, Pretoria, Port Elizabeth, East London, Durban, Pietermaritzburg, and Cape Town, while seven Bantu labour officers had been appointed at Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban, Port Elizabeth, East London, Pretoria, and Bloemfontein. On 1 March the Minister said that there were only 18 statutory African works committees then functioning and he went on to give the names of the establishments concerned. It would appear that there is one each in Cape Town, Kimberley, Germiston, Brakpan, Meyerton, and Roodepoort, while three are in Durban, seven in the Johannesburg area, and two are in Alberton. However, some 117 non-statutory works committees were also functioning.

The Minister also gave figures on the number of disputes dealt with since 1956 in terms of the Bantu Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act. Extracts from the reply are:

37 Rand Daily Mail, 22 August.
38 Ibid, 22 August.
39 Star, 9 August and Rand Daily Mail, 18 August.
1 Hansard 4 cols. 352-3.
2 Ibid, 5 col. 403.
3 Ibid 7 cols. 591-2.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Bantu Labour Central Bantu Wage Board Officers</th>
<th>Labour Board</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>... ......</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>... .....</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>..........</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>..........</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>.... ...</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 13 April on the reasons for strikes by Africans, the Minister of Labour said that 17 of the 28 strikes in 1970, and 13 of the 22 strikes in 1971, were the result of grievances in connection with wages, allowances, bonuses, or deductions from the wages of African workers.

From figures given by the Minister of Police on the number of African workers arrested for striking over a period of years it seems that 66 African workers were
arrested in 1968; 59 in 1969; 70 in 1970; 250 in 1971, and 89 in the earlier part of 1972.'

The number of African workers charged and convicted for "illegal strikes and related conduct" from the 1966/67 fiscal year were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Charged</th>
<th>Convicted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1966/67</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967/68</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968/69</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969/70</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970/71</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An example of the lack of protection afforded to African workers under existing legislation is evidenced in the case of a Benoni textile factory which dismissed some 150 African workers who were dissatisfied with the introduction of an 11-hour shift when the factory changed from three shifts a day to two.'

On 10 November the Rand Daily Mail reported that 4 African employees of a plastic and rubber factory at Industria (Johannesburg) had been charged for striking and were sentenced to R100 or 50 days' imprisonment.

**Bantu Labour Act of 1964**

In answer to a question in the Assembly on 1 June the Minister of Bantu Administration said that 26 inspectors of African labour had been appointed in terms of section 17(1) of this Act. These were located in the areas of jurisdiction of the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioners of the Witwatersrand, Pretoria, Kimberley, Pietersburg, Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Bloemfontein, Port Elizabeth, and the Western Cape. During 1971 these 26 inspectors had, between them, inspected some 4,854 compounds or other places occupied by African labourers (an overall average of 187 inspections per officer in 1971).'

6 Ibid, 17 col. 1137.
7 Rand Daily Mail and Star, 27 October.
8 Hansard 17 col. 1120.

**Bantu Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Masters and Servants Acts**

In answer to a question in the Assembly on 29 March the Minister of Labour said that no consideration was being given to either repealing or amending pre-Union legislation relating to masters and servants. The Minister went on to say that the Industrial Conciliation and Wage Act had rendered the Master and Servants Acts of only limited application but their retention was "still considered necessary to safeguard the rights of both master and servant where applicable".9

9 Ibid. 9 col. 751.
NATIONAL EXPENDITURE
In reply to a question in the Assembly,' the Minister of Statistics said that the latest comprehensive figures indicating the total public expenditure on education were in respect of the 1969-70 financial year, as follows:

R-million

The provinces (White education) .............. 241.6
Department of National Education (mainly Whites) 53.9
Other government departments (mainly Whites) ... 18.6
Department of Coloured Affairs ................. 41.9
Department of Indian Affairs ................. 15.8
Department of Bantu Education ............... 49.9
421.7

No breakdown, according to the racial groups involved, was given of the expenditure by the Department of National Education and by other government departments, which was probably incurred mainly in respect of higher and vocational training. PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE

Expenditure by the provinces was almost entirely on White school children, who, at the first Tuesday in June 1969, numbered 856 877.2 That would give a per capita expenditure from public funds of R282.

A similar calculation cannot be made in respect of other racial groups, for it is not known how much of the amounts quoted was spent on higher and vocational training. However, the Minister of Bantu Education said that the unit cost per African school pupil in 1969-70 was R16.97.3 The cost per Coloured pupil in 1970 was officially estimated at about R73.4 and per Indian pupil in 1969-70 at R81.02.1

BANTU SCHOOL EDUCATION THE FINANCING OF BANTU EDUCATION

Bantu Education Account Abolition Act, No. 20 of 1972

This Act provided as follows:

1. The Bantu Education Account was abolished, its assets and liabilities being transferred to the Consolidated Revenue Fund.
   16 March, Hansard 7 col. 571.

BANTU SCHOOL EDUCATION

2. The outstanding loan owing by this Account to the Loan Account, namely R10 169 001, was written off.

3. Universities for Africans would be financed out of moneys appropriated by Parliament, as would financial and other assistance to students, and pensions for teachers and other African persons in the educational services of Bantu Authorities.

4. The Bantu Trust and Land Act would be amended to provide for the payment of part of the amount accruing from African general taxation to the homeland governments, and the remainder to the S.A. Bantu Trust Fund.
The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, who introduced the Bill, said that the country had outgrown the need for a Bantu Education Account. This was partly because of constitutional developments: homeland governments were now handling many educational matters. The policy still was that Africans should, to an increasing extent, make their own contribution through taxation; particularly in recent years their contributions had grown very considerably. New systems of collection were bringing in much larger amounts in general and local taxes. Besides this, sales duty had been introduced about two years previously. Although it was impossible to indicate precisely what the contribution by Africans was in this respect, it could be accepted that it was a considerable proportion of the total income from the sales duty, which was estimated at about R180-million for the 1971-2 financial year. In addition to this, Africans, in the same way as Whites, were subject to customs and excise duties.

The direct and indirect taxes paid by Africans had compensated to a generous extent for the additional financial contributions by the State to the Bantu Education Account in recent years, the Deputy Minister continued. In round figures, these supplementary contributions had been R19,5-million in 1970-1 and R26,5-million in 1971-2.

Africans were paying about R18-million a year in general tax, he stated. Most of this would in future be divided between the existing homeland governments, in proportion to the taxes paid by their citizens. The remainder, about 14 per cent of the total, would be paid to the S.A. Bantu Trust Account, the appropriation made by Parliament to this Account being reduced accordingly. This remaining portion, together with the past annual appropriation from the State, would have been insufficient for the needs of the Bantu Education Department (described below); consequently this Department would now be financed from the Consolidated Revenue Fund.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

The income of homeland governments would be derived from their portions of the general taxes paid, income from local sources, and appropriations by the State, these appropriations being channeled through the Vote of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. Each homeland government would submit annual estimates of expenditure to this Department, which would refer the educational estimates to the Department of Bantu Education for expert scrutiny and advice.

The Department of Bantu Education would remain responsible for the education of Africans in White areas and in homelands which as yet did not fall under Legislative Assemblies, for financing the current expenditure of African universities, and for pensions for educational personnel. It would retain professional control throughout South Africa (syllabuses, examinations, etc.). The United and Progressive Parties supported the Bill.

Budgets for Bantu Education, 1972-3
The Department of Bantu Education has budgeted to spend R32 958 000 in 1972-3, including R5 152 000 on universities and R21 149 900 on subsidies to schools in areas not falling under the jurisdiction of homeland governments (including the Eastern Caprivi Zipfel). On 9 May the Minister announced details of the full budgets for 1972-3, as follows:

Revenue Votes

Bantu Education Department Revenue Vote 25
(including services in Basotho Qwaqwa) ... South West Africa Revenue Vote 11
...... Education estimates of homeland governments Salaries of White personnel seconded to homeland governments ...

Capital provision for erection of buildings

University buildings (Loan Vote N of Department of Bantu Administration and Development ...

Estimates of homeland governments for school buildings ...

S.A. Bantu Trust (Republic) ...
S.A. Bantu Trust (East Caprivi) ...
S.A. Bantu Trust (South West Africa) ...

Republic and South West East Caprivi Africa

R 32958000 37704 300 2730000
1 265 000 3 813 400 455 000
81 000
79006700
3 686 000
28000
1 422000 1 630 000 6766 000

It would appear that there have been slight adjustments since then, for Basotho Qwaqwa has now produced its own estimates of expenditure, and some of the other homeland governments may have revised theirs. Their estimates of expenditure on education and culture, extracted from the budgets set out in the chapters on the homelands and on South West Africa, are:

Republic R South West Africa R
Transkei ...... 11 058 000 Kavango ... 417 000
Ciskei ...... 4678 000 Owambo ...... 1 546 300
KwaZulu ...... 7 868 500
Lebowa ...... 4966 0009 Venda ...... 1 821 500
Gazankulu ... 1 380 000
BophuthaTswana 5660500
Basotho Qwaqwa 500000
The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said in March'0 that local authorities were contributing approximately R4-million, in addition to these sums. (This is for the building of primary and lower secondary schools, the money being obtained as part of housing loans advanced via the Bantu Housing Board. African heads of families repay the capital and interest by means of education levies which are added to rentals.)

UNIT COSTS

According to the Deputy Minister of Bantu Education, the unit costs (apparently in 1971-2) were just under R20 per pupil in primary and secondary schools, and R1 800 at universities.

SCHOOL BUILDINGS

A detailed analysis of the number, distribution, and types of schools was published in the August issue of the Bantu Education Journal. A summary follows.

Republic South West Totals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Areas</th>
<th>Areas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government or homeland authority</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>1 729</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td>1143</td>
<td>3 664</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm</td>
<td>3207</td>
<td>4 311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mine, factory, hospital, or scheduled</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special (handicapped children)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other churches or organizations</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Night schools and continuation classes</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

The sections of schools were as set out below. The totals do not agree with those in the preceding table because some schools provided more than one type of education.

Republic South West Totals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Areas</th>
<th>Areas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower primary</td>
<td>1 969</td>
<td>1 419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher primary</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>2420</td>
<td>3 594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior secondary</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical secondary</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Teacher training 6 29 5 40
Advanced technical training - 2 - 2
Trade and vocational training 6 27 4 37
Special education - 11 - 11
Night schools 53 7 60
Continuation classes 16 5 - 21

It was mentioned on page 256 of last year's Survey that in 1970 the Department relaxed a previous policy, deciding that in approved cases private donations could be made to the building or equipping of schools. The TEACH fund launched by The Star newspaper in October 1971 was described (Teach Every African Child). With a week to spare, this fund reached its target of R200 000 within the first year, the money being donated by the newspaper itself and by members of the public of all racial groups. By 1 November, another R24 000 had been collected. With this money, nine schools of ten classrooms each had been built at Soweto, Johannesburg, while a tenth was planned. Those completed were a junior secondary school, a primary school (all grades) and six higher primary and one lower primary schools, together providing accommodation for more than 7 000 pupils.

The usual arrangement, when private donations are made, is that the local authority concerned provides the site and undertakes the construction. The Bantu Education Department then supplies equipment and the necessary staff. A different arrangement was, however, agreed to in connection with a junior secondary school at Soweto, towards the costs of which the Chairman's Fund of the Anglo American Corporation and De Beers Groups contributed R85 000 and a private woman R10000. A condition of the grant was that the architectural section of the Anglo American Corporation should design and control the building operations, to standards approved by the Bantu Education Department, which would be adopted for further such schools. The contractor who was appointed recruited African builders, and saved about R50 000 by obtaining donations of building materials or discounts. The school has 10 classrooms, a laboratory, homecraft room, library, and ablution and administration blocks."

13 Rand Daily Mail, 22 March.

BANTU SCHOOL EDUCATION

The Star analysed the position at Soweto in its issue of 9 October. A year previously, Soweto had 1 307 classrooms and needed another 2 016: this need was growing continuously. In the year ending in September, 205 had been built: 83 by TEACH, 96 out of Government loans (apparently augmented by a donation from the Helping Hand Club), 12 by the Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Company, Ltd., 10 by Anglo American and De Beers Chairman's Fund. In progress, or planned, were
16 being built by the Bantu Welfare Trust, 194 approved from Government loan funds.
The municipality had applied for loan funds to build another 94 classrooms. There would, it was shown, still be a considerable shortfall.
The Bantu Welfare Trust, which is administered by the Institute of Race Relations, granted R98 000 during the current year for a secondary and a junior secondary school in Soweto, a lower primary and a higher primary school in Grahamstown, a combined primary school in Somerset East, and additional classrooms for existing higher primary schools in Ladybrand and Senekal. The Chairman's Fund of the Anglo American Corporation has assisted with the building of schools in other areas, too. During 1971 it paid, inter alia, for six classrooms at the Mahwahwa secondary school near Tzaneen. In 1972 it voted R22 400 for additional classrooms at the Motswedi School, Mafeking, the Kameelboom secondary school at Rustenburg, and the Bensonvale school in the Eastern Cape. Smaller grants were made to assist various schools in Soweto. With official Government approval, the Durban City Council has allocated R310 000 from its Bantu Revenue Account for schools at KwaMashu.14

Many of the tribal levies imposed by chiefs with their people's consent (described in the chapter on taxation) are used for building schools in the homelands. As one example, Chief R. Nwamitwa in Gazankulu (who was assisted by the Chairman's Fund of Anglo American to build the Mahwahwa school) imposed an educational levy of R2.25 a year on taxpayers in his area, thus raising enough to build all the schools needed for the time being. His tribesmen made the bricks and did the construction work. The Chief was then able to rule that all children in the area must attend school (the period of this compulsory education was not stated).5

**DONATIONS OF EQUIPMENT**

African Explosives and Chemical Industries, Ltd. made a donation to Soweto schools of 300 office desks, 400 chairs, 100 telephone tables, and a number of bookcases, tables, and filing cabinets.15

Members of the Witwatersrand Youth Voluntary Service continue, in their spare time, to make desks for African schools. A donation from the Julius Robinson Charitable and Educational Trust enabled them to buy the materials needed for making 45 further desks (each seating up to three children) for schools in Soweto.16

At the instigation of the Polaroid Corporation of Cambridge, Massachusetts, the Addison-Wesley Publishing Company in America offered a very large number of high-quality modern textbooks in subjects such as mathematics, physical science, chemistry, and biology for use by Africans. This offer was made through the Institute of Race Relations, which sent samples to the Bantu Education Department. The Department selected 22 100 books of 13 titles to be used in the training of African teachers of science and mathematics.
According to various Press reports, during November the S.A. Breweries, Ltd., gave R15 000 worth of text books to schools in the Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage areas. It plans to assist in other areas, too. During 1973, for example, each secondary school on the Reef and in Pretoria will receive 50 cents per pupil to spend on equipment.

DOUBLE SESSIONS

In reply to a question in the Assembly, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Education said that, on the first Tuesday of March 1971, the following numbers of pupils were attending double-session classes, in the Republic, Transkei, and South West Africa:

Sub-standards ...... 886 475
Standards I and II ... 48485

(Not many of these are in the Transkei. In a letter dater 18 August, the Transkeian Secretary for Education told the Institute of Race Relations that there were only 669 pupils in double-session classes, at two schools.)

DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS BY STANDARD

The April and June issues of the Bantu Education Journal gave detailed tables showing the distribution of pupils by standard and by type of school in 1971. A summary follows, the percentages having been calculated by the writer.

16 Rand Daily Mail. 8 June.
17 Ibid, 27 April.
Is Hansard 3 col. 251.
350

BANTU SCHOOL EDUCATION

Sub-std. A Sub-std. B Std. 1 ...
Std. II Std. III Std. IV Std. V Std. VI Form I Form II Form III Form IV Form V
Totals
Percentage inclusiv
Rep
No.
... 676 317
... 511224
... 451 684
... 342636
... 282942
... 205114
... 160316
... 148 374
... 53605
... 42509
... 29800
... 7833
... 4065
... 2916419
n Sub-std. A to Std. VI e ... ..... ..... ...
ublic So
Percentage
23,19 17,53 15,49 11,75
9,70 7,03 5,50
5,09 1,84 1,45 1,02 0,27
0,14
100,00
uth West Africa and Caprivi
No. Percentage
30 103
18 281 14742
11 284 9 163 5 788 4021 3714 938
654 368 106
44
99 206
95,28
30,34 18,43 14,86 11,37 9,24
5,84 4,05 3,74 0,95 0,66 0,37 0,11 0,04
100,00
97,87
MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION
It will be recalled that, since 1959, the medium of instruction throughout primary
schools for Africans in the Republic (ending with Std. VI) has been the pupil's
mother tongue. At secondary schools, starting with Form I, religious instruction,
sometimes physical education and music, and naturally, the African language
concerned, are taught through the medium of the mother tongue. Unless they are
exempted, principals are expected to arrange that half of the remaining subjects
should be taught through the English medium and the other half through the
medium of Afrikaans.
Many educationalists have preferred the pre-1959 procedure. Although there were
minor variations, the general pattern was that one of the official languages was
gradually substituted as the medium from Std. III, the change-over being
completed in the primary school stage. Tuition in secondary schools was in one,
but not both, of the official languages. Africans have urged that this system be re-
introduced, and that the parents, or the African governing bodies concerned,
should be free to decide which of the official languages should be used. The
Transkei adopted this arrangement in 1964, and KwaZulu and, possibly, other
homeland governments are likely to follow suit when they are empowered to
make such a decision. In the Transkei, the official language selected was English.
In about 1954, an extra year's study (Std. VI) was introduced for African pupils.
There is no such class in schools for other groups, the pupils proceeding from Std.
V to Form I. In recent years, as an experiment, some African schools have
discontinued the Std. VI class. In general, however, the grouping of the classes
has been as follows since 1954:
Lower primary: Sub-std. A to Std. II (4 years);
Higher primary: Std. III to Std. VI (4 years);

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
Junior secondary: Form I to Form III (3 years);
Senior secondary: Forms IV and V (2 years).
It has now been decided that, within the next year or two, most of the education departments will arrange school courses in four groups, each of three years' duration:
Lower primary: Sub-std. A to Std. I;
Higher primary: Std. II to Std. IV;
Junior secondary: Std. V to Form II (i.e. Std. VII);
Senior Secondary: Form III to Form V (i.e. Std. VIII to Std. X).
The various education departments will, however, vary this arrangement to suit their own requirements. It was announced in the November issue of the Bantu Education Journal that, in schools for Africans, Std. II would continue to be part of the lower primary course. The extra school year after Std. V would be abolished. In schools in "White" areas, an official language would be used as the medium of instruction from Std. V (i.e. two years earlier than at present). The language to be selected would be the one predominantly used by Whites in the area concerned. Additional time would be allocated to the teaching of the other official language. The homeland governments would make their own decisions in regard to media of instruction. A Higher Primary examination would be written at the end of the Std. V year.

In a paper entitled "The Position of the Official Languages in the Education of the Bantu", delivered at a conference organized by the Rand Afrikaans University and the Foundation for Education, Science, and Technology, Mr. K. B. Hartshorne, Deputy Director (Planning) of the Department of Bantu Education, pointed out that "the introduction of a language as medium does not per se improve the standard of that language as language: after eight years the results in English ... in the Transkei are not as good on the average as those for Bantu schools elsewhere". The main reason for this is that the teachers are Africans, using English as a second language, who often themselves have limited resources in that language.

Mr. Hartshorne recommended that any education department proposing further to reduce the period of mother-tongue instruction should do this in at least two stages, in order to give itself time to retrain its teachers and to re-orientate its teaching of the second language to pupils in the lower classes.

SUPPLY OF TEXTBOOKS TO SCHOOLS
The extent to which African pupils are supplied with free textbooks was described on page 258 of last year's Survey.
The South African Deputy Minister of Bantu Education said in the Assembly19 that the cost to the Department of free books issued to schools in the Republic in 1971-2 was R1 055 600.
19 Hansard 6 col. 2988.
BANTU SCHOOL EDUCATION
Parents have at present to pay for all stationery required by their children, and for a high proportion of the books needed in secondary schools. It has, however, been officially announced that the supply of free books to secondary pupils is to be greatly increased.

EXAMINATION RESULTS, 1971
Standard VI
The following information was given by the Minister in the Assembly:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Republic</th>
<th>Transkei</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of candidates</td>
<td>114 305</td>
<td>16 867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. who passed</td>
<td>95 974</td>
<td>10 750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. qualifying for admission to Std. VII</td>
<td>53 778*</td>
<td>10 750</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*A third-class pass is provided for in the Republic (but not in the Transkei). This grade of pass does not qualify the pupil to proceed to Std. VII.

The percentage of 1st and 2nd class passes was 47.0 in the Republic and 63.7 in the Transkei.

Junior Certificate
The issue of the Bantu Education Journal for March gave provisional figures for the Junior Certificate results, including candidates from the Republic, Transkei, and South West Africa:

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of candidates</td>
<td>28 100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. who passed:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with distinction</td>
<td>111 0,4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st class</td>
<td>3096 11,0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd class</td>
<td>11 073 39,4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd class</td>
<td>7 194 25,6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total no. of passes</td>
<td>21 474 76,4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Matriculation and Senior Certificate
In the same issue of the Journal were the results, for the Republic, the Transkei, and South West Africa of the Matriculation and School-Leaving examinations conducted by the Joint Matriculation Board and the Department of National Education:

20 9 March, Hansard 6 col. 495.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
(the Bantu Education Department does not itself conduct such examinations):

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of candidates</td>
<td>3 817</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. who passed with matriculation exemption:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st class</td>
<td>88 2,3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd class</td>
<td>1 229 32,2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd class</td>
<td>31 0,8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>1 348 35,3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
No. obtaining a School-Leaving Certificate ...... 1 051 27,6
Combined total no. of passes 2399 62,9

Of those who obtained matriculation exemption (the standard required for university entrance), 416 passed in mathematics, 327 in physical science, and 1176 in biology.

"HOMOGENEOUS" SCHOOLS AND SCHOOL BOARDS
It was announced during January that the Department wished every effort to be made by authorities on the Witwatersrand and in Pretoria and Vereeniging to arrange for all primary schools to be homogeneous in medium. More buildings would be needed. (Particularly in the older townships, some of the schools had pupils drawn from more than one language group.)
The Department has retained multi-lingual school boards administering secondary schools that serve more than one language group, but has dissolved such boards that administer primary schools, replacing them with homogeneous boards, with members drawn from the same ethnic group as that of the pupils in the schools concerned.
The Soweto Urban Bantu Council opposed this move, as did all the previously-existing school boards in Johannesburg except the one for Meadowlands. The main grounds for objection were that ethnic separation caused mistrust; that many children from numerically small groups would have to travel considerable distances to school; and that it would be more difficult for teachers to meet officials to discuss urgent matters. The Department maintained that the new arrangement would avoid children having to be taught through the medium of a strange language, and would facilitate proceedings at school board meetings.

TEACHERS
An analysis of the number of teachers in African schools in 21 Star, 17 January and 27 April; Race Relations News, March; Bantu Education Journal, May and June.

BANTU SCHOOL EDUCATION
1971, their language groups, and the types of schools in which they were serving, was given in the September issue of the Bantu Education Journal. There were 50 193 teachers in the Republic, including 754 Whites and 45 Coloured, and 2 249 in South West Africa. Of the combined total, 2 157 were serving in Church and other private schools, and 317 in night schools and continuation classes.
In the Republic (excluding South West Africa), 44 777 teachers were employed in primary schools, and 5 416 in post-primary schools.
Questioned in the Assembly on 15 February, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Education said that in the Republic (excluding the Transkei), 1 700 of the teachers in Government-aided schools were being paid privately by school boards. The Secretary for Education for the Transkei states that there are 41 unaided teachers in that territory. The number in the Republic has decreased considerably, because from October 1971 the Department subsidized the salaries of privately-paid teachers outside the homelands. This has enabled some school boards to reduce school fees.
Asked about the qualifications of African teachers, the Minister gave the following information, as at March 1971, in respect of teachers in the Republic, Transkei, and South West Africa:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualification</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professionally qualified and had:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a university degree</td>
<td>752</td>
<td>1.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>passed Matriculation or equivalent</td>
<td>5294</td>
<td>10.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>passed Std. VI or above but not Matriculation</td>
<td>36082</td>
<td>69.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other qualifications (e.g. technical)</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>0.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No professional qualifications but had a university degree</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>passed Matriculation or equivalent</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>0.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>technical or other vocational qualifications</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>0.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Matriculated and had no technical or vocational</td>
<td>837</td>
<td>17.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qualifications</td>
<td>51565</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22 Hansard 3 col. 188.
23 The number was about 6300 in early 1971, excluding those in private schools.
24 Assembly, 6 March. Hansard 6 col. 459. Percentages calculated by the writer.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

In an address given to the Witwatersrand Council of Education on 30 November 1971 Mr. K. B. Hartshorne, the Department’s Deputy Director (Planning), said that about 16 per cent of the primary school teachers had no professional qualifications. Inservice courses were compulsory for untrained teachers. They were held in school-time, the transport and subsistence expenses being met by the Department. But about 5 per cent of such teachers, mainly employed at farm schools or in unsubsidized posts, were too poorly qualified to benefit from in-service training and should be replaced as soon as possible. The courses for secondary school teachers were held at the Mamelodi Centre near Pretoria. On 10 February, the Minister was asked how many senior educational posts were held by Africans. He replied: Republic Transkei

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inspectors of schools</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant or subject inspectors</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professors</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lecturers</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principals of post-primary schools</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principals of primary schools</td>
<td>8343</td>
<td>1634</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Other senior capacities ... 239 56

The Rand Daily Mail reported on 17 November that, for the first time in the Ciskei, an African had been appointed to a position of seniority over White staff, Mr. R. G. S. Makalima having become a senior assistant at the Lovedale Teachers' Training College.

Another Parliamentary question, on 7 February, was in regard to the salary ratios between teachers of different racial groups. The Minister of the Interior gave the following figures:2

Whites Coloured and Africans

Indians

School teachers ...... 100 72 52
University teaching staff  100 73 65

A comparison of teachers' salaries made by Mr. Franz E. Auerbach was published in the March issue of the Transvaal Educational News. He described the methods he had used: briefly, the percentages were calculated on the minimum and maximum salary in each case, the two figures then being averaged. The length of scales was disregarded: except in senior promotion posts, the White scales were, on an average, three years shorter. Some examples he gave were:

25 Assembly Hansard 2 col. 136. 26 Assembly, 7 February, Hansard 2 col. 86. 356

BANTU SCHOOL EDUCATION

Qualified teachers

2 years post-J.C.,(A,aa,H.P.C.) ... Matric. plus professional certificate (B,B,M + 1) ........ Professional certificate plus degree (D,D,M + 4) ......

Promotion posts

Senior Assistant, high school ... Principal, large primary school Principal, large high school ...

Some actual salaries were:

2 years' post- J.C. training:

Men .......... .......
Women .......... .......

Degree and professional certificate: Whites

Men ...... 3360-5100
Women ... 3 000 -4 440

High school

Men ....
Women principal

Whites

... 7200-7800 ...

Men Women Men Men Men Women Men

Whites Coloured Africans and Asians

100 60,0 35,7
Full details of African teachers' salary scales in the Republic were given in the December 1971 issue of the Bantu Education Journal. Those for teachers in the Transkei were published in its Education Departmental Circular No. 2 of 10 February.

TEACHER-TRAINING

According to the June issue of the Bantu Education Journal, the following numbers of students were enrolled in March 1971 in teacher-training schools conducted by the Department or homeland governments, in the Republic, Transkei, and South West Africa:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Republic</th>
<th>Transkei</th>
<th>South West Africa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lower primary course (post-Std. VI)</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary course (post-Std. VIII)</td>
<td>3432</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary course (post-Std. X)</td>
<td>7630</td>
<td>467</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special courses in Art and Homecraft</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1st year Totals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>175</th>
<th>434</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3432</td>
<td>7630</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2nd year Totals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>176</th>
<th>467</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>70</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

27 With matriculation, 33.3. 28 With matriculation, 29.9.

Africans

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>720-1</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>576-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 350-2880</td>
<td>1 260-2400</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2880-5900</td>
<td>2 280-3 360</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

Examination results at the end of 1971, as given in the March issue of this Journal and by the Minister of Bantu Education, were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st class</th>
<th>2nd class</th>
<th>Supplementary</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lower primary</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>2997</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>3331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior Secondary</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other courses Passed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts and crafts teachers' course</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homecraft teachers' course</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade instructors' course</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In an address to the Witwatersrand Council of Education, quoted earlier, Mr. K. B. Hartshorne, the Department's Deputy Director (Planning), said that Junior Secondary teachers were trained to teach in Forms I and II, and Form III where necessary. They were given two-year professional courses in one of five directions: languages and social studies, mathematics and science, home economics, agriculture, and commercial subjects. Six colleges, one of them in the Transkei, offered this training: all were situated in homeland areas.

Training for higher secondary school teachers is provided by the universities. The Minister gave the following statistics:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Total enrolled</th>
<th>Passed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Secondary teachers' diploma course</td>
<td>386</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Education Diploma (2-year course)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Education Diploma (non-graduate) (3-year course)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Education Diploma (graduate) (4-year course)</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Soweto's Urban Bantu Council has twice appealed to the Department to establish a teacher-training college in its area. It was announced in August 30 that a course for a limited number of women, leading to the primary teachers' diploma, would be provided from 1973 at the Jabulani Technical School in Soweto, but that this was a temporary measure and might be terminated at any time.

LITERACY TRAINING FOR ADULTS

The Bureau of Literacy and Literature continues to train instructors to use its methods and material in teaching adults to read, write, and count. These instructors are selected by mining houses, industrial concerns, churches, and prison authorities, and, after completing the course, return to teach the others in their organization concerned. The Bureau has produced illustrated reading primers in eleven South African and South West African languages, together with follow-up...
reading material, written by Africans, consisting of stories based on such matters as court procedure, how to use a post office, how to feed a baby correctly. Operation Upgrade is another organization working in this field, active mainly in Natal. It employs the Laubach "each one teach one" method.

STANDARDS OF EDUCATION ACHIEVED BY THE WHITE, COLOURED, AND ASIAN PEOPLE OF THE REPUBLIC

During the year, the Department of Statistics published report 02-01-03, entitled Education: Whites, Coloureds, and Asians.

It showed, inter alia, that, according to a sample survey, the percentages of the total population who had passed the classes mentioned (being the highest standard of education they had achieved) were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Persons below 7 years</td>
<td>14,4</td>
<td>22,4</td>
<td>19,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons aged 7 y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>......</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub A and B Stds. I</td>
<td>Std. II</td>
<td>Std. III</td>
<td>Std. IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. V</td>
<td>......</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. VI</td>
<td>......</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. VII</td>
<td>Std. VIII</td>
<td>Std. IX</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. X and over</td>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following numbers had their highest qualifications (hon. Diplomas ... ... Bachelors' degrees (including medicine) ... ... Masters' degrees .......... Doctorates ... ... diplomas or degrees degrees excluded):3 Whites Coloured
Asians 4,800
2400
80 20

A fuller analysis of the Department of Statistics' report, by Professor Hansi P. Pollak, was published in the August issue of Race Relations News.

A SURVEY OF, RACE RELATIONS, 1972
SCHOOL EDUCATION FOR MEMBERS OF THE COLOURED COMMUNITY
FINANCE
Education for members of the Coloured community in the Republic is financed from three sources: the Revenue Vote of the Department of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs, the Loan Vote of the Public Works Department, and the Revenue and Loan Votes of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council. Expenditure in South West Africa is financed from the South West Africa Account.

It seems probable that the Revenue Vote of the Department of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs does not present a full picture of the expenditure on education, because certain administrative costs are, apparently, grouped with those of the Department as a whole. The following expenditure from this Revenue Vote is listed in the budget for 1972-3:

R
Salaries, wages, and allowances of full-time educational personnel .......................3 965 000
Class and examination fees ..................... 1 200
Agricultural training .......................... 1 1500
Provision for the University of the Western Cape ... 1 250 000
5 227 700

On 1 May, the Minister of Coloured Affairs analysed the expenditure to be defrayed in 1972-3 from the Loan Account of the Public Works Department on buildings for the education of Coloured people, as follows:

R
University training ............................ 330 050
Technical and vocational training ...... 435 050
634 805 0

The Coloured Persons' Representative Council allocated the following sums for educational purposes:

R
Revenue account ............... 53 637 500
Loan account ............... 39 100
53 676 600
2 Assembly Hansard 13 col. 933.
360

EDUCATION OF THE COLOURED COMMUNITY
Votes 25 and 17 of the Estimates South West Africa Account 3 included education:
Revenue Vote:
Coloured people
Namas
Rehoboth communities
Loan Vote:
Educational building
Expenditure from the following sums for
... ... ... 1836240
... ... ... 1914030
ty ...... 1959730
gs ...... 536000
6 246 000
To summarize, the expenditure budgeted for 1972-3 would appear to be:

Revenue Account
Government Votes Coloured Persons' Representative Council ...
Loan Accounts
Government Votes ......
Coloured Persons' Representative Council ... ...
Republic South West Africa
R R
5227700 5710000
53 637 500 -
6348050
536000
39 100
65252350
6246000

UNIT COSTS
Replying to a question in the Assembly on 9 May, 4 the Minister of Coloured Affairs said that the costs per student in 1970-1 had been:
Primary schools
High schools ...
Training colleges ...
University of the Western Cape
... R 83.89 ...
... R409.93
... R831.28
PERCENTAGES OF COLOURED CHILDREN ATTENDING SCHOOL, AND GRADUAL INTRODUCTION OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION

The issue of Alpha for March gave the percentages of all
4 Hansard 14 col. 1001.
361

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

Coloured children who were estimated to be attending school in 1971, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group in years</th>
<th>Percentage at school</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>8,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>68,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>86,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>92,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>96,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>100,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>97,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>94,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>87,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>72,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>52,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>31,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>15,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>5,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>2,3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When opening the session of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council in August, the Deputy Speaker of the House of Assembly stated that it was hoped, from the beginning of 1974, to make a start with the introduction of compulsory education for Coloured children. It would be done in stages, by age-groups, beginning with seven-year-olds. One of the main problems was the shortage of teachers: this presented a challenge to the Coloured community.'

Education for Coloured children is, in theory, already compulsory in Natal. Government Notice R 1055 of 1972 reaffirmed (with some amendments as to distance, etc.) a ruling introduced from the beginning of 1968. In the other three provinces it is compulsory for a Coloured child, irrespective of the age or standard attained, who lives within 5 km of a State or Stateaided school, and who enrolls in any class at the beginning of a school year, to attend regularly until the end of that year. Unless an exemption has been granted, if this ruling is contravened the parent or guardian of the child concerned is liable to prosecution, as is anyone who employs a child who should be at school.

DOUBLE SESSIONS

According to the March issue of Alpha, in 1971 there were 1 707 double-session and 15 046 single-session classes in schools for Coloured children. In the double-session classes, 474067 pupils were attending in the mornings, and 68 280 in the afternoons, sharing the use of a classroom, but with different teachers. Additional classrooms were being provided at a fast rate, but the question of adequate accommodation was complicated by the gradual take-over by the Department of unsatisfactory subsidized schools and the necessity for replacing schools situated in areas zoned for Whites under the Group Areas Act.

'Rand Daily Mail, 5 August.
362
EDUCATION OF THE COLOURED COMMUNITY
ENROLMENT AND DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS

The following information was given by the Minister of Coloured Affairs in the Assembly on 26 April relating to the third quarter of 1971.

Class
Sub A Sub B Std. I Std. II Std. III Std. IV Std. V Std. VI Std. VII Std. VIII Std. IX Std. X
Totals
No. 101 257 83674 75583 62958 54941 46202 35352 27320 20041 10295 3912 2114 ...
523649
Percentage in Sub-std. A to Std. V inclusive ...
Republic
Percentage 19,34 15,98 14,43 12,02 10,49 8,82 7,52 6,75 5,22 3,83 1,97 0,75 0,40 100,00
South West Africa No. Percentage
3597 18,42 3 149 16,13 2899 14,85 2465 12,63 2061 10,56 1 808 9,26 1 426 7,30 1179 6,04 553 2,83 243 1,25 92 0,47 51 0,26 19523 100,00 87,83 89,15

The April issue of Alpha described an Early Learning Centre established in Athlone, Cape Town, by means of a grant from the Bernard van Leer Foundation of Holland. One approach to the urgent problem of breaking the poverty cycle, it was stated, was to give early training to children from under-privileged homes during their receptive years, trying to make up for lacks in their experience, and enabling them to compete adequately when they went to primary schools. The Centre was studying this question and devising plans for pre-school education that could be widely applied.
EXAMINATION RESULTS
Replying to questions in the Assembly on 25 February,’ the Minister of Coloured Affairs gave the information that follows, relating to the results obtained by all Coloured pupils (presumably including those in South West Africa) in examinations conducted at the end of 1971.
There were 29 844 pupils who entered for the Std. VI examination, but the results were not available because the examination was an internal one.
6 Totals per territory and percentages calculated by the writer.
7 Hansard 12 cols. 907-8.
8 Hansard 4 cols. 361-2.
363

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
The Junior Certificate results were:
No. of candidates .........
No. who passed:
1st class .... .... .... ......
2nd class .... .... .... ......
Total number of passes......
No.
10478
548 6525 7 073
The Matriculation or Senior Certificate results No.
No. of candidates ......... .....2 243
No. who passed:
1st class .... .... .... .... ....
2nd class .... .... .... .... ....
Total number of passes ......
99
1 325 1 424
Percentage
5,2
62,3 67,5
were:
Percentage
4,4
59,1 63,5
Of those who passed, 491 qualified for matriculation exemption. There were further candidates who entered for supplementary Matriculation or Senior Certificate examinations to be held in March: their results were not available.

TEACHERS
In the Assembly on 26 April,’ the Minister of Coloured Affairs gave the information that follows, relating to the number of. Coloured teachers and their qualifications as at 17 March 1972: Number Percentage
Professionally qualified and had:
a university degree ......
passed Matriculation or equivalent ..... 
passed Junior Certificate or equivalent ..... 
No professional qualifications but had: a university degree ...... 
passed Matriculation or equivalent ..... technical or other qualifications Not Matriculated and had no technical or vocational qualifications ..... 645 3771 12084 102 282 72 495 17451 3,70 21,61 69,24 0,58 1,62 0,41 2,84 100,00 9 Hansard 12 col. 909. Percentages calculated by the writer.

EDUCATION OF THE COLOURED COMMUNITY

On 5 May the Minister was asked how many Coloured persons were serving in senior educational capacities. The following is a summary of his reply.1
Inspectors of education ................................ 13
Subject inspectors ....................................... 7
Rector and Vice-Rector of training college........... 2
Senior lecturers, training college .................... 7
Principals and Vice-Principals, training schools ...... 8 Senior training school assistants ....................... 8
Principals of high or secondary schools ........... 83
Deputy or Vice-Principals, high or secondary schools ..., 76 Principals of primary schools ..................1 439
Deputy or Vice-Principals of primary schools ...... 674 Senior school assistants ......................... 1 009

(This table excludes university staff.)
Senior posts held by Coloured personnel on the administrative staff of the Education Section of the Administration of Coloured Affairs were:
Senior clerks ..... 4
Clerk grade I ..... 3
Clerk grade II ... 24

Of the teachers who, resigned during 1971, the Minister continued, 453 resigned for reasons other than superannuation or marriage.
Salary increases for Coloured teachers were announced in December 1971. The resulting salary ratios of White, Coloured, and African teachers are set out on page 357. Mrs. C. D. Taylor, M.P. (United Party), pointed out in the Assembly on 30 May that, as a result of the increases, the average salaries of Coloured teachers had risen from 54 per cent to 72 per cent of those paid to White teachers.
Yet in 1964, at the time of the transfer of control of Coloured education from the provinces, the ratio had been 80 per cent.

Some examples of the actual salaries paid to Coloured teachers, as compared with those for Whites and Africans with similar qualifications, employed in equivalent posts, are given on page 357.

**TEACHER-TRAINING**

On 26 April the Minister replied to a series of questions12
10 Hansard 13 cols. 979-80.
11 Hansard 17 col. 8388.
12 Hansard 12 col. 910.
365

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

relating to the training of Coloured teachers. The students then enrolled for various courses were:

**Lower Primary Teachers' Certificate**
(2 years post-J.C.)

**Primary Teachers' Diploma** ......
(3 years post-S.C., or specialist 1-year courses for teachers with the L.P.T.C.)

**Lower Secondary Teachers' Diploma** .......
(3 years post-Matric.)

**Commercial Teachers' Diploma** ...
(3 years post-Matric.)

**Technical Teachers' Diploma** ...
(3 years post-Matric.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st year</th>
<th>2nd year</th>
<th>3rd year</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1288</td>
<td>851</td>
<td>2139</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>335</td>
<td>231</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1224</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If students taking the Primary Teachers' Diploma course did not continue with their studies after the end of the second year, the Minister said, they might be awarded a Primary Teachers' Certificate.

Besides these students, some were taking more advanced courses at the University of the Western Cape:

6 were studying for the Secondary Teachers' Diploma (nongraduate) (Matric. plus 2 years of academic training and 1 year's professional training);
23 were studying for a post-graduate Secondary Teachers' Diploma;
7 were studying for the Adaptation Classes Teachers' Diploma
(1-year course for trained teachers);
11 were taking post-graduate degree courses in Education.
The following students qualified at the end of 1971: Lower Primary Teachers' Certificate ............
Specialist one-year courses for teachers with the L.P." Primary Teachers' Certificate ..........
Primary Teachers' Diploma ..............
Lower Secondary Teachers' Diploma ...........
 Secondary Teachers' Diploma (non-graduate) .... Secondary Teachers' Diploma (graduate) .... Adaptation Classes Teachers' Diploma .... Post-graduate degree courses in Education .... Commercial Teachers' Diploma ............
Technical Teachers' Diploma 14 .... 1 .......
14 Figures given by the Minister on 25 April for passes in the Commercial and Technical Diplomas (cols. 906-7), which were slightly higher than those he gave on the next day (col. 910). The earlier figures probably include trained teachers who took a one-year course.
366

EDUCATION OF INDIANS
SCHOOL EDUCATION FOR INDIANS FINANCE
In reply to questions in the Assembly, the Ministers of Indian Affairs and Public Works said' that the following amounts were budgeted for Indian education in 1972-3: Revenue Account Loan Account
R
University education ............3 893 000
Technical and vocational education 1084 000 Other education ............ 21 429 440
26 406 440
(for buildings)
R
2752 000
168000
1 574 450
PROPORTION OF CHILDREN AT SCHOOL
According to the Minister of Indian Affairs, about 99 per cent of the educable Indian children between the ages of 7 and 13 years were attending school in 1972. The ultimate aim was to introduce compulsory education: the main difficulty was the provision of adequate classroom accommodation, aggravated by a steep rise in building costs.

NUMBER OF SCHOOLS
The Minister stated that the following schools existed:
- 69 high schools
- 299 primary schools
- 2 technical or vocational schools
- 1 school for the deaf
- 1 school for the blind
- 1 school of industries
- 2 registered private schools
- 3 registered nursery schools.

DOUBLE SESSIONS
In response to another question, the Minister said that double sessions, or the platoon system, were in operation in the following classes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classes</th>
<th>Sub-standards</th>
<th>Stds. I and II</th>
<th>Stds. III and IV</th>
<th>Stds. V and VI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pupils involved</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(A each class has a separate teacher.)

ENROLMENT AND DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS
The Minister gave the following statistics, as at 3 March 1971. There was, thus far, only one Indian school in the Cape, he said. Other Indian children there, and a few in other provinces, were attending schools for Coloured pupils, and were omitted from the figures.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
Mr. L. F. Wood, M.P., pointed out that the figures showed a considerable increase over those for the previous year.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage primary</th>
<th>Percentage secondary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>12,24</td>
<td>11,53</td>
<td>10,52 9,08 9,25 10,90 10,12 9,49 6,66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>10,52</td>
<td>11,53</td>
<td>9,25 2,85 2,11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>5,25</td>
<td>100,00</td>
<td>5,25 2,85 2,11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>2,85</td>
<td>100,00</td>
<td>2,85 2,11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>2,11</td>
<td>100,00</td>
<td>2,11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Natal, 22,163 in the Trans-. 20,542 19,362 17,666 15 25 1 5 24 18 30 3 16 992 15 932 11 181 88 18 47 91 3 543 16 7 905

Of these pupils, 145,002 were vaal, and 740 in the Cape.

EXAMINATION RESULTS

The Secretary for Indian Affairs has kindly sent the following information, in respect of examinations conducted at the end of 1971 and supplementary examinations.

Standard VI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>A level</th>
<th>O level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>41,3</td>
<td>29,2</td>
<td>14,8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentage

5 Hansard 13 col. 6561.


EDUCATION OF INDIANS
Junior Certificate (Std. VIII)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of candidates</th>
<th>Number who passed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A level</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O level</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C level</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of passes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Senior Certificate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of candidates</th>
<th>Passed:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A level with merit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A level with Matriculation exemption</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A level without exemption</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O level</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of passes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7885</td>
<td>32.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,597</td>
<td>38.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,017</td>
<td>36.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230</td>
<td>74.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,350</td>
<td>25.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,646</td>
<td>34.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>763,931</td>
<td>22.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2215</td>
<td>66.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TEACHERS**

Information about the number and qualifications of Indian teachers was given by the Minister in the position as at 2 March 1971.

Professionally qualified and had:
- a university degree
- passed Matriculation or equivalent
- passed Junior Certificate or equivalent

Not Matriculated and had no technical or other vocational qualifications

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>860</td>
<td>36.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,667</td>
<td>36.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,183</td>
<td>36.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Asked how many Indians were serving in senior educational capacities, the Minister furnished a long list, of which the following is a summary:

8 Hansard 8 col. 642. Percentages calculated by the writer. Hansard 8 col. 641.

369

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

Education Branch of Department

Inspectors of schools ........................................... 9
Subject inspectors .............................................. 1
Education planner and assistant planners ................. 3
Heads of departments ......................................... 3
Senior lecturers or lecturers .................................. 43
Principals ......................................................... 353
Deputy or Vice Principals .................................... 382
Senior Assistants ............................................. 681
University of Durban-Westville

Professor ......................................................... 1
Senior lecturers, lecturers, and junior lecturers .......... 47
M.L. Sultan Technical College

Heads of Departments ......................................... 4
Vice-Principals ................................................ 4
Senior lecturers and lecturers .............................. 14
Senior teachers ............................................... 6

There were 254 Indians serving on the administrative staff of the Department's Education Section, the Minister said.

Some examples of salaries paid to Indian teachers, as compared with those for Whites and Africans with similar qualifications and employed in equivalent posts, and examples of salary ratios, are given on page 357.

TEACHER-TRAINING

The minimum course for Indian teachers is three years' post-Senior Certificate, during the third year of which students specialize in kindergarten, or primary school, or lower secondary school work. According to the Minister, in 1972 there were 544 enrolled for these courses at the Springfield College in Durban and 288 at the Transvaal College of Education.

The M. L. Sultan Technical College in Durban provides three-year post-Senior Certificate courses for teachers of commerce, home economics, and physical education. Trained teachers may take one-year diploma courses in physical education or industrial arts. The Minister said that the combined enrolment was 138 in 1972.

At the University of Durban-Westville there are three-year post-Matriculation courses for secondary teachers or teachers of commercial subjects, a three-year (non-graduate) University Education Diploma course, and a four-year graduate University Education Diploma course. When the Minister spoke, on 10 March, he
said that 199 had thus far enrolled for these courses, but that registration was still in progress.
10 Hansard 6 col. 511.

EDUCATION OF WHITE CHILDREN
The following qualified at the end of 1971:
256 primary teachers (full-time courses)
6 primary teachers (in-service courses)
24 academic high school teachers
10 teachers of commercial subjects
7 specialists in remedial or special education
10 physical education instructors 10 teachers of home economics.

EDUCATION FOR CHINESE AND JAPANESE CHILDREN
There are a few schools for Chinese children in Chinese group areas, but otherwise they may attend only private schools or Church schools catering for White pupils. Until now, Japanese children have been limited to these Church schools or to one private school in Johannesburg. It was announced in October, 1 however, that at the request of the Japanese community, the Transvaal Education Department is to build a school for Japanese pupils in a White suburb of Johannesburg.

As indicated in a subsequent chapter, members of both of these groups are accepted at certain of the universities that cater mainly for Whites.

SCHOOL EDUCATION FOR WHITE CHILDREN NOTE ON GENERAL STATISTICAL DATA
Because of the division of the control and financing of the education of Whites between the four provinces, the Administration of South West Africa, the Government Department of National Education, and a number of private organizations, it is extremely difficult to obtain comprehensive educational statistics. During the year under review, the Department of Statistics published Report 21-02-04, entitled Education: Whites: 1969, which provided some of the data sought.

In an attempt to obtain further information, a letter was sent to the Human Sciences Research Council, which referred the writer to the Department of Statistics. This Department, in turn, suggested an approach to the Human Sciences Research Council.

No information about the financing of education for Whites, other than the globular figures set out on page 344, is, thus available.

SCHOOLS, PUPILS AND TEACHING STAFF
The following table, extracted from a more detailed one on page xvii of the report by the Department of Statistics, deals with schools of various types as at the first Tuesday in June 1969. Universities, technical and vocational institutions, and teacher training colleges are described later. South West Africa is excluded.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of institution</th>
<th>No. of Pupils</th>
<th>Teaching staff</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

372 A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
Table 3.2.1 of the report (page 53) gives the enrolment by standard, with separate figures for boys and girls (added and percentaged by the writer in the columns below). The total number of pupils in the official report is given as 812 195.

No. of pupils | Percentage | Percentage primary and secondary
---|---|---
Sub A | 82238 | 10,1
Sub B | 79569 | 9,8
Std. I | 75 890 | 9,4
Std. II | 79 132 | 9,7
Std. III | 77 784 | 9,6
Std. IV | 75041 | 9,2
Std. V | 69904 | 8,6
Std. VI | 70 555 | 8,7
Std. VII | 65 642 | 8,1
Std. VIII | 53013 | 6,5
Std. IX | 40435 | 5,0
Std. X | 30 597 | 3,8
Unspecified | 12 395 | 1,5
Totals | 812 195 | 100,0 | 100,0

Percentage in Sub A to Std. V inclusive | 66,4

The progression of pupils from Stds. VI to X between the years 1955 and 1969 is shown in the Department's Table 3.8.1, on page 76.

Table 3.9 on page 92 indicates that, in 1968-69, 12 13 456 White students obtained Matriculation Exemption, and 18 866 the Std. X School Leaving Certificate.

Some examples of the salary scales of teachers are given on page 357. Presumably, the end of 1968 together with supplementary examinations held early in 1969.

EDUCATION OF WHITE CHILDREN
PARALLEL-MEDIUM SCHOOLS
At the Transvaal congress of the National Party, held in September, a motion was passed unanimously urging that more opportunities be created for school children to learn and appreciate the second official language. It was reported that delegate after delegate supported a suggestion that an effective way of achieving this would be to establish more parallel-medium schools. (In such schools pupils are taught through the medium of their mothertongue, in separate classes, but take
part jointly in sport and other extra-curricular activities. Since 1957, in the Transvaal in particular, the official policy has been, wherever feasible, to convert existing such schools into single-medium schools.) The Minister of National Education, Senator Van der Spuy, was reported as having said that he had no hesitation in supporting the resolution that bilingualism be promoted. He added, however, that most parents preferred single-medium schools.

The Transvaal Director of Education, Dr. A. L. Kotzee, then issued a Press statement, saying that he rejected parallel-medium education as a means of bringing about greater contact. Schools of this nature existed only where small numbers made separate schools economically unfeasible. The Minister of National Education then made a further statement to the effect that the Government's policy was to diminish the number of parallel-medium schools, and eventually to phase them out. Next day, the Administrator of the Transvaal, Mr. Sybrand van Niekerk, said that his Administration's policy was to establish no further such schools. The "purely theoretical" advantage of parallel-medium schools was totally outweighed by the organizational problems they created, he maintained."

YOUTH PREPAREDNESS
The Committee of Education Heads, established under the National Education Policy Act, 1967, and consisting of the Secretary for National Education and the Directors of Education of the four provinces and S.W.A., has issued Annual Reports since 1968. In each of these, mention was made of forward planning for a Youth Defence Training Programme, later called Youth Preparedness. The basic structure now implemented is not very different from that outlined in 1968, accepted by the Committee in August 1968, from "the report of its sub-committee under the chairmanship of Dr. A. L. Kotzee, Director of Education, Transvaal". One section of the programme dealt with Moral Preparedness (Geestelike Weerbaarheid), and contained such topics as values in life, our national heroes, the fostering of good relationships between various S.A. groups, etc.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
The second section, physical preparedness, included firefighting, emergency drill, vehicle maintenance, first aid and home nursing, and drilling, shooting, and field tactics for boys, with some drilling, shooting, and training in self-defence for girls. Each province was to work out its own moral preparedness programme from the core syllabus, and both parts of Youth Preparedness were to be introduced in 1972.

Each province has dealt with the matter differently. Natal has declined to introduce the programme, while the Free State has implemented it with little change. In the Cape, the syllabuses were modified in consultation with the teachers' associations of both language groups, and were agreed to by them before being published. (Shooting for girls was to be done only where parents' written permission had been obtained.)
In the Transvaal, representations made late in 1971 by the Transvaal Teachers' Association brought no immediate change, but a promise by the Director that the programme would be regarded as provisional for 1972, and finalised in 1973. The recommendations made by the Association were published in its journal, the Transvaal Educational News. Considerable modifications in the wording of the Moral Preparedness scheme were asked for, as also the abolition of shooting for girls as part of the programme.

In September, the Department released the revised programme to heads of high schools. The Transvaal Teachers' Association publicly expressed its appreciation that most of its suggested revisions had been accepted, and shooting for girls has been omitted from the programme, though it may be carried on as a voluntary extra-curricular activity.

There have been no reports of similar programmes being envisaged for African, Asian, or Coloured pupils.

374

TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING
AFRICANS
TECHNICAL COLLEGES
During the session of the Transkeian Legislative Assembly, the territory's Minister of Education said that building extensions were being made to the technical college in Umtata, which offered courses for electricians, motor mechanics, and in woodwork. It was planned to start courses in 1973 for public health nurses and in welding and panel beating. Part-time classes leading to the National Technical Certificates (N.T.C.) I, II, and III were offered. In an effort to meet the drastic shortage of tradesmen, practical in-service courses of ten weeks' duration were being arranged in bricklaying, plastering, welding, and other trades. The Republic's Deputy Minister of Bantu Education stated that the enrolment at the technical college was about 300.

In an address to the Witwatersrand Council of Education in November 1971, Mr. K. B. Hartshorne, the Deputy Director (Planning) of the Department of Bantu Education, said that there were two technical colleges in the Republic, Edendale near Pietermaritzburg, and Mmadikoti near Pietersburg. They offered 4-year post-S.C. courses for civil engineering technicians, agricultural engineering technicians, and survey technicians. There were also 2 or 1-year courses for health assistants, and a one-year course in public health nursing for trained nurses. Training for geological (mining) technicians would commence in 1973, and for medical laboratory technicians later.

According to the June issue of the Bantu Education Journal, the following students were enrolled for advanced technical courses in 1971 (Transkei included):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Advanced technical Trade courses instructors' course</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
Replying to questions in the Assembly, the Minister of Bantu Education said that, at the end of 1971, one African qualified as a civil engineer, one as a land surveyor, twelve as engineering technicians, and eight as trade instructors. (Results achieved by those taking various para-medical courses are given in a subsequent chapter.) The man who qualified as a civil engineer was a Transkeian who had studied at the University of the Witwatersrand. The Transkeian Government recalled two other students who were taking this course (with the aid of bursaries it had awarded them) one year before the completion of their studies. They planned to continue studying while employed by an engineering firm in the Transkei.'

TECHNICAL SECONDARY SCHOOLS
There are five technical secondary schools, at Mamelodi (Pretoria), Jabulani (Johannesburg), Edendale (near Pietermaritzburg), Umlazi (Durban), and Kwazakele (Port Elizabeth), at which, inter alia, boys take academic subjects as well as a technical subject, leading to a technical Junior Certificate. A Senior Certificate course was recently commenced. The technical subjects that may be studied are building construction, workshop drawing, woodwork, plumbing and sheet metal work, or courses for electricians or motor mechanics. Mamelodi provides specialist courses, too, for watch-makers and radiotricians.

The enrolment in the combined academic and technical courses in 1971 was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister of Bantu Education said that 66 boys passed the technical J.C. and 2 the technical S.C. at the end of 1971.

COMMERCIAL SECONDARY COURSES
On the same occasion, the Minister stated that there were 40 schools where boys and/or girls could take a J.C. or S.C. course including two or more commercial subjects. At the end of 1971, 915 candidates were successful in the commercially-orientated J.C. course and 159 (including 31 girls) in the S.C. course.

2 Hansard 6 col. 458; Hansard 3 col. 198.
3 Rand Daily Mail, 25 February.
4 Bantu Education Journal, June.
5 Hansard 5 col. 417.

TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING
TRADE SCHOOLS
Mr. Hartshorne said, in his address, that there were 10 trade schools and 9 trade sections attached to other schools. Standard VIII was the entrance qualification
for motor mechanics, general mechanics, and electricians, and Standard VI for the other courses available.

According to the Minister,6 the following numbers qualified at the end of 1971 (Republic and Transkei):

Carpentry, joinery, cabinet making ...... 166
General mechanics .......................... 3
Plumbing, drainlaying, sheet metal work ... 91
Painting and glazing ........................ 17
Concreting, bricklaying, plastering ........ 188
Tailoring .................................... 50
General and motor mechanics ............ 71
Panel beating and motor upholstery ...... 18
Brickmaking ................................ 37
Electricians .................................. 23

Replying to a subsequent question,7 the Minister said that there were two trade schools in South West Africa, training carpenters and motor mechanics, with a combined enrolment of 98 in March 1971.

The Johannesburg municipality continues to run the Dube Vocational Training Centre. Boys are trained to a level which enables them, before leaving, to enter for N.T.C. examinations as well as trade tests.

In 1972, 217 boys were enrolled for three-year courses in various trades. At the end of 1971, 16 qualified from the Centre as builders, 18 as carpenters, and 10 as plumbers. Some boys obtained other certificates in addition: 12 were awarded National Bantu Building Workers' Diplomas as builders, 10 as carpenters, 18 as plasterers, and 12 as plumbers. There were 13 who obtained N.T.C. I certificates in bricklaying and plastering, and 29 in building drawing. Another 3 passed in building drawing at the N.T.C. I level.

The industrial courses being conducted for workers at factories in border industrial areas or in the homelands, and a course for hotel employees, are described in the chapter on employment.

**VOCATIONAL TRAINING FOR GIRLS**

Asked what post-Std. VI vocational courses were available

6 Hansard 4 col. 363.

7 Hansard 10 cols. 829-30.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

for girls, the Minister gave the following information:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>No. of schools</th>
<th>No. who passed during 1970</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dressmaking (2-year course)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressmaking (4 short courses a year)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home management  ..........</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides these Departmental schools, he said, there was one private school teaching arts and crafts, and three teaching spinning and weaving. (The Minister did not mention a course for assistants in pre-school institutions, in which 47 girls were enrolled in 1971.)

**COLOURED STUDENTS PENINSULA COLLEGE FOR ADVANCED TECHNICAL**
EDUCATION

Replying to a series of questions on 25 April," the Minister of Coloured Affairs said that in the first quarter of 1972 there were 144 full-time and 254 part-time students attending the Peninsula Technical College. At the end of 1971 the following numbers passed full-time courses:

- Teachers' diploma (technical) ... 7
- Teachers' diploma (commercial) 4
- Public health nurses .......... 21
- Health inspectors ............ 8
- Textile certificate ........... 8
- Other courses available at this college were described on page 282 of last year's Survey.

APPRENTICES

On 2 May,10 the Minister gave details of the institutions where apprentices could take part-time theoretical courses. Besides the Peninsula College, there were technical colleges in Athlone, Kimberley, Durban, Johannesburg, and Port Elizabeth, he said, and continuation classes in Pietermaritzburg and Grahamstown. The combined enrolment in certain trades in 1971 was:

- wheelers ... ... ... ... ... 33
- Electricians.............. 105
- Carpenters .................1 023
- Motor mechanics .......... 124

TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING

This list of trades is incomplete. On 25 April the Minister stated that, during 1971, 3 033 Coloured apprentices were attending Departmental classes, and 148 were enrolled at continuation classes. Passes during that year were:

- N.T.C. I ... ... ... ... ... 734
- N.T.C. II ............... 417
- N.T.C. III ... ... ... ... ... 82

TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS

On the same occasion, the Minister said that in 1971, 93 students passed the technical J.C. and 12 the technical S.C. Commercial subjects could be included in the ordinary school courses.

OTHER COURSES

The Minister of Tourism announced on 14 April12 that, with guidance and financial assistance from the Hotel Board, his Department was running a J.C. course at a school in Bellville in which three subjects relating to the hotel industry were included. The enrolment in 1972 was 73 boys and 51 girls.

The Hotel Board itself had conducted four short courses, each of six weeks' duration, for waiters and wine stewards: 98 completed these courses, which were held in Cape Town and Kimberley.

The April issue of Alpha described a training school for Coloured traffic officers which had been built at Ottery by the Divisional Council of the Cape in
conjunction with the Provincial Administration. It opened with an enrolment of 17 trainees selected by local authorities in various centres in the Cape.

The previous edition of Alpha stated that the Administration was running a second series of courses for Coloured businessmen.

The Khromme Rhee Training Centre continues to provide courses for Coloured farm workers, who are sent there by their employers. According to the latest report of the Department of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs, the enrolment totalled 292 in 1970—a lower figure than in the previous year. The courses were not evoking great interest. They were available in the maintenance of tractors, trucks, farm buildings, combines, and implements, in fencing, pruning vines and trees, and classing wool.

INDIANS

M.L. SULTAN COLLEGE FOR ADVANCED TECHNICAL EDUCATION

According to the Minister of Indian Affairs, besides providing J.C., S.C., and certain other courses for young people, and training apprentices (these courses are dealt with below), the M. L. Sultan Technical College in Durban and, in some cases, its branches in various Natal centres, provided a variety of more senior courses. Some of the diplomas and certificates awarded in 1971 were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>National Diplomas</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Medical technology</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public health nursing</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Administration</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tropical hygiene</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technicians in analytical chemistry</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>National Certificates</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Photography</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child care</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretarial work</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hairdressing</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The courses for teachers, available at this college, were described in the previous chapter.

In its report for 1971 the College states that the total enrolment at all branches that year was 6,752. The teaching staff consisted of 173 Whites and 227 Indians.

Some of the other courses available, besides those mentioned by the Minister, were:

- Commerce and technology: electronic data processing, industrial administration, State accounts, building draughtsmanship, printing;
- Health: health inspectors, orthopaedic technicians;
Home economics, dressmaking, machine embroidery, men's and women's outerwear;
Courses for barmen, wine stewards, waiters, and cooks;
Physical education.

APPRENTICES
Apprentices are trained at the M. L. Sultan Technical College and the Department's M. L. Sultan High School at Stanger.
The Minister said that, during 1971, the following numbers passed N.T.C. examinations:
N.T.C. I .... .... .... .... 34
N.T.C. II .... .... .... .... 58
N.T.C. III .... .... .... .... 1
14 Hansard 4 cols. 337-8.

TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING

JUNIOR COURSES
In 1971, the Minister continued, 4 Indians obtained a commercial J.C., 6 a commercial S.C., 16 a technical J.C., and 3 a technical S.C. Besides this, most high schools offered typewriting, accounting, and commerce as optional subjects.
The enrolment early in 1972 in various classes was:
Technical College Departmental school Technical Commercial Technical
Commercial
Std. VI ...... 63
Std. VII ... 262 31
Std. VIII ... 121 29 31 147
Std. IX ... ... 53 40 11 117
Std. X ...... 9 22 - 44
Catering (post-Std. V) 65
Office assistants postStd. VIII) ... 133
Nursery school assistants (post - Std. VIII) ... 17
Hairdressing (post- 30
Std. VIII) ... 30

TECHNICAL COLLEGE FOR LENASIA
It was stated in a recent report of the Department of Indian Affairs5 that the erection of a technical college for Indians in Lenasia, Johannesburg, had been put out to tender. The college was to be built by the State; but the H. M. Joosub Charitable Trust had made a substantial contribution.

WHITES
The Report of the Department of National Education for 1971" gives the number of technical colleges and institutes for White students, and the enrolment, presumably in mid-1971. There were six colleges for advanced technical education, 26 technical colleges, and 33 technical institutes, which are grouped together in the summary that follows. Also grouped together are three departmental training colleges and a college of art (in Johannesburg), which train
teachers of technical subjects, commerce, home economics, nursery school 
education, and art.
The enrolment figure for technical colleges excludes students enrolled for "adult 
education" and subjects not being taken for examination purposes. No distinction 
is made between full-time and part-time students.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
Technical colleges and 
institutes
Training colleges and 
college of art ... Schools of industries 
and reform schools National trade school 
for adults ... 
No. of Enrolment 
institutions Apprentices 
65 25780 
4 
19 
1 
25780 
Full examination results are not available, but the following passed N.T.C. 
examinations in 1971: 
N.T.C. I .............. 2455 
N.T.C. II .............. 2434 
N.T.C. HI ............ 2249 
N.T.C. IV ............ 1369 
N.T.C. V .............. 1217 
Other 
26817 
422 2127 
91 
29457 
Total 
52597 
422 
2127 
91 
55 237 
382 

383
UNIVERSITY EDUCATION 
FINANCE AN UNIT COSTS
It was stated in the latest report of the Department of National Education' that, in 
the 1971-2 financial year, the "White" universities had been authorized to raise
private loans to the combined amount of R30.4-million for capital expenditure. For the same year, the State provided R58.7-million for current expenditure. The Vote for current expenditure in 1972-3 was R71 289 500.2 No recent official figure is available indicating the unit costs per White student. If, however, the budgeted sum for 1972-3 is divided by the number of White students (see next section), the per capita cost to the State would work out at R843.93.

Expenditure by the State on the universities for Black students is set out under "Finance" in the chapter of this Survey dealing with school education. Per capita costs to the State, as given by the responsible Ministers in the Assembly,' were R831.28 for Coloured students, R785.46 for Indians, and R1 384.00 at the (African) University of the North.

Enrolment figures, in general as at the second Tuesday of June, were kindly furnished by the universities concerned.

### Enrolment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cape Town</td>
<td>7605</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8097</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durban-Westville</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 004</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Hare</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>942</td>
<td>942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>6586</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>7171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange Free State</td>
<td>5 251</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5251</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Elizabeth</td>
<td>1 602</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 602</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potchefstroom</td>
<td>5 377</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 377</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>13150</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13150</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rand Afrikaans</td>
<td>1 738</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 738</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhodes</td>
<td>2106</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
<td>2148</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stellenbosch</td>
<td>8319</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8319</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>23339</td>
<td>824</td>
<td>1785</td>
<td>3341</td>
<td>29289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the North</td>
<td></td>
<td>11464</td>
<td>1146</td>
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3 Hansard 8 col. 619; Hansard 7 cols. 589 and 590.
4 According to Professor W. M. K. Kgware, the enrolment at the University of the North dropped to 750 by the end of the year, as a result of the refusal of a substantial number of students to return to the university under the conditions then stipulated after the students' boycott in June, following the expulsion of 22 students. (Rand Daily Mail, 17 November.)
This matter is dealt with in the next chapter.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
The University of South Africa provides correspondence classes only. It states that 1 260 of its students were domiciled in countries other than the Republic and South West Africa, including 563 from Rhodesia, 214 from Botswana, Lesotho,
and Swaziland, 122 from other African territories, and the rest from other
continents.
This university did not give a breakdown of the racial groups of its Asian
students, but of those studying at the other universities, 559 were Indians and 290
Chinese. Of the 585 Black students at the University of Natal, 466 were studying
medicine.
DEGREES AND DIPLOMAS AWARDED
In reply to a question in the Assembly on 30 May,' the Minister of National
Education said that the following degrees and diplomas were awarded in 1971 or
early in 1972 (he gave a breakdown of the universities concerned): Whites
Coloured Asians Africans Post-graduate degrees ...... 2 652 5 26 29
Batchelors degrees (including
medicine) ............6 966 35 163 71
Post-graduate diplomas ... 1101 5 24 7
Non-graduate diplomas ... 1 276 4 16 31
11995 49 229 138
The Minister's figures did not include diplomas and certificates awarded at the
three universities for Africans for internal examinations, not taken through the
University of South Africa. He mentioned that they did not include the awards to,
be made at the Universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand in June. The
Institute of Race Relations, thus, wrote to these universities.
The University of Cape Town replied that the following awards were made in
June:
Whites Coloured Asians Africans
Post-graduate degrees ... 81 - 1
Bachelors' degrees ... 81 1 2 1
It appears that there must be some error in the figures given by the Minister. His
statistics in respect of Whites for the University of the Witwatersrand, as
compared with those kindly furnished by the University itself on 28 June (set out
in brackets) were: Whites
Post-graduate degrees ....... 202 (141)
Bachelors' degrees ......... 1021 (1 081)
Post-graduate diplomas ....... 63 (62)
Non-graduate diplomas ....... 191 (192)
5 Hansard 17 col. 1116.
384
UNIVERSITY EDUCATION
The two sets of figures are the same so far as the Coloured, Asian, and African
groups are concerned.
SOME NOTES ON CERTAIN UNIVERSITIES
On 30 May the Minister of Coloured Affairs announced in the Assembly' that
from 1973 a Faculty of Dentistry would be established at the University of the
Western Cape in collaboration with the University of Stellenbosch. Coloured
students would take the first, second, and part of the third year of the course at
the University of the Western Cape, then continuing their studies at a dentistry
building being erected at Parow by the University of Stellenbosch. From this stage of the training, Indian students from the University of Durban-Westville would be accepted, too.

Mrs. C. D. Taylor (United Party) pointed out that, of the 75 members of staff at the University of the Western Cape, only seven were Coloured, and of the latter, only two held permanent appointments. There was a considerably higher proportion of members of staff of the groups concerned at the Indian and the African universities, she said. The Minister replied that he would like to appoint more Coloured persons, but those who were qualified either preferred better-paid posts in the private sector, or refused to come unless the Government was prepared to "abandon certain standards". One of the two lecturers referred to, Mr. Adam Small, has been appointed to the Senate of the university, and two Coloured educationalists have been appointed to the university's Council.

The University of Durban-Westville moved to its new campus in 1972. Replying to a question on 21 March, the Minister of Indian Affairs said that the following Indians were amongst those on the teaching staff: 1 professor, 5 senior lecturers, 26 lecturers, and 16 junior lecturers. An article in the July issue of Fiat Lux indicated that the proportion of women students had grown from 9.6 per cent in 1961 to 25 per cent in 1972.

The latest available figures in regard to the composition of the teaching staff at the African universities were given on page 290 of last year's Survey.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Education said in the Assembly in May that the Minister had discussed with the principals of the African universities the question of the possible establishment of branches in densely-populated homeland towns such as GaRankuwa (near Pretoria) and Umlazi (near Durban).

STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS

SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS' ORGANIZATION (SASO) AND BLACK STUDENTS

The theme of SASO's July conference at Hammanskraal was "Creativity and Black Development". The invited guest speaker, Professor Robert Williams of the United Theological Seminary, New York, was refused a visa by the Government. A unanimous resolution instructed the SASO Executive to have nothing to do with "the so-called leadership of the White racist institutions" and committed the organization to explaining to Black people the "fraudulence and barrenness of the promise" held out by these institutions, which were merely extensions of a system which oppressed Black people. 'Whoever destroys Black unity is the enemy," said Mr. Harry Nengwekhulu, SASO's permanent organizer.'
The Conference also adopted unanimously a report calling for the composition of Black nursery rhymes and children's stories and the development of Black child art. Material at present presented to Black children inculcated "self-hate and psychological oppression". Also attacked was the pro-White and anti-Black bias of history taught in Black schools. The conference discussed at length ways of bridging the gulf between the intellectual elite and the people of ordinary Black communities. A commission was appointed to investigate the possibility of creating a "free Black university".

In February, students from SASO branches at the African universities at Turfloop, Fort Hare, Ngoye and at Natal University (Black Section), completed a two month literacy campaign in the Winterveldt, in association with churchmen in Bophutha Tswana. Forty-eight adults were taught the rudiments of reading and writing. Medical students in the group assisted at a maternity clinic in Mabopane. Mr. H. Nengwekhulu said more campaigns were planned, combining literacy training with medical treatment and health education.' Students of the University of Natal (Black Section) have also been active at the Phoenix settlement and at New Farm, near Durban, advising communities on low-income budgeting, teaching literacy in conjunction with church schools, and raising money to install a water pump. The students also operate a clinic near Wentworth for the poor of the Coloured community in the area.5 The SASO Executive's report to the

1 Rand Daily Mail, 5 July.
2 Star, 5 July.
3 Star, 6 July; Sunday Times, 9 July; World, 12 July.
4 Rand Daily Mail, 8 February.
5 Ibid.

STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS

July conference said that "our field work projects leave much to be desired. As yet we cannot claim one completely satisfactory project." The organization was not content with paper projects and would not smooth over failures with rhetoric.' The Rand Daily Mail of 8 February reported SASO's membership as 6 000 and growing. On leaving for the United States in August, the deposed president, Mr. Temba Sono, gave a figure of 8 000.1 A Star reporter gave a figure of 4000 on 13 July. Membership is not confined to campuses but includes local or non-campus branches in main towns. SASO stresses its commitment to Black communities at large and one of the first actions of the new president, Mr. J. L. Modisane, was a visit to the Black community at Tembisa.8

At the University College of the North's graduation ceremony in April, the students' elected speaker, Mr. 0. R. Tiro, an ex-mine worker and past president of the Turfloop SRC, strongly criticized the predominantly White control of Black universities, discrimination against Black people by the authorities, and the system of Bantu Education in general.' The all-White disciplinary committee expelled Mr. Tiro on 2 May and when a petition for his reinstatement was rejected, students began a sit-in in a main hall. The authorities suspended the SRC and banned all meetings. After eight hours it was announced that all 1146 students had been expelled and police with riot sticks
and dogs arrived on the campus. Although taunted by the police, the students refused to leave the hall. Food and water supplies were then cut off and students were denied access to lavatories. Thereafter, the students decided to leave. By 6 May, the campus was practically deserted and was sealed off by police."

This was not the first confrontation between students and the authorities. In March, students made bonfires of official diaries when the authorities ordered the removal of the SASO Manifesto and a Declaration of Student Rights. The students also refused an administration request to be hosts to two Malawian students. The SRC had asked to have sole responsibility for entertaining the foreign visitors and had objected to the presence of the Afrikaanse Studentebond president in the visiting party."

6 Star, 13 July.
7 Rand Daily Mail, 7 August.
8 World, 22 August.
9 His full speech was published in the South African Outlook, June/July. 10 Wits Student, Free Educational Issue. May.
11 Star, 6 May; World, 7 May.
12 Star, 16 and 30 March.
13 Report of Mr. Aubrey Mokoena, President of the Turfloop "SRC-in-exile", to the SASO Congress, July; Star, 5 July.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
A meeting of 2000 Soweto residents appointed a delegation to negotiate on behalf of the expelled students, including Mr. Tiro. "In Pretoria, a meeting of 50 parents condemned the expulsions and petitioned the Rector, Prof. J. C. Boshoff. The Turfloop authorities rejected these representations, as well as those of delegations from SASO and ASSECA and announced that students would have to apply individually for readmission.", Students who did apply were required to sign forms accepting the expulsion of Mr. Tiro, the suspension of the SRC, and the suspension of the constitutions of all Black committees on the campus, including that of SASO. ‘Mr. Temba Sono, then president of SASO, advised students to return "to continue their fight for educational justice", but not to respect the conditions.’ When students returned, they discovered that the 22 members of the suspended SRC had also been refused readmittance. Between 500 and 700 students then left Turfloop a second time. "Police from Pietersburg and Pretoria were present when lectures were resumed.‘ On June 9, the Minister of Bantu Education, Mr. M. C. Botha, told Mrs. Helen Suzman, M.P., that about 500 students were then attending classes at the university. A committee of enquiry was appointed and SASO, parents and students submitted strongly-worded representations.

Events at Turfloop were followed by demonstrations of solidarity by students throughout the country. After a meeting of 40 Black student leaders on 13 May, SASO called for a national boycott by Black students on 1 June. On that day, a meeting of student leaders from seven Black campuses demanded Black councils and senates and freedom of student organization.
On 9 May, students at the University of the Western Cape, Bellville, began a boycott of lectures in support of Turfloop students. Speaking in Cape Town on the 13 May, Mr. J. Sonn, lecturer at Hewat College, Athlone, and former UWC student, said the university was "nothing but an advanced teachers' training college." White lecturers with poor qualifications were often appointed to the teaching staff over better qualified Blacks. Dr. D. Welsh, of the University of Cape Town, said on the same occasion that the system of separate White and Black councils and senates at "ethnic" universities "must be unique in the history of universities in the modern and ancient world." Dr. Schalk Pienaar, a leading Nationalist commentator, attacked the use of security police against students at U.W.C. At the end of May, students began a boycott of food. In July, it was reported that six students had been expelled from the hostel as a result. Students then issued a demand for a Black rector. "It is an undisputed fact" they said, "that the rector at a Black university has supreme power . . . to manipulate and gear the situation into whichever direction he desires."

In July new regulations governing students at U.W.C. were published in the Government Gazette. These forbade, inter alia, the formation or membership of organizations not approved by the authorities and the publication or circulation of pamphlets or statements not approved by the Rector. Later in July the Rector, Prof. N. Sieberhagen, called police to the campus after students refused his demand to terminate a visit by the president of SASO, Mr. L. J. Modisane. Mr. Modisane was subsequently arrested at Bellville station, at Dr. Sieberhagen's instigation, and fined R50 for trespassing. In a statement, four lecturers at U.W.C., Mr. Adam Small, Head of the Department of Philosophy, Mrs. R. J. Small, Mr. C. R. Clarke, and Mr. G. J. Gerwel, said the campus was open to the police and the university administration was collaborating with the police. Mr. Gerwel, a lecturer in Afrikaans and Nederlands, was later visited by the security police, as were certain students. When students refused to abide by a ban on SASO, Mr. Henry Isaacs, national vice-president of SASO, and Messrs. P. Lemoela and P. Sonn, president and vicepresident of the SRC, were interrogated by the police.
At the University of Durban-Westville, students organized a boycott of food and a partial boycott of lectures on 7 and 8 May. The University Council rejected an SRC constitution drafted by the students and substituted its own version without consultation. The Council's constitution barred affiliation to SASO or NUSAS and prohibited student publications and Press statements. A two-day boycott of lectures followed. Speaking at a graduation ceremony, the Rector, Prof. S. P. Olivier, warned that "the Marxist and Maoist forces of negative and disruptive ideology" were at work in S.A. universities and had begun to infiltrate high schools. Students issued a charter, which said the

4 Cape Times, 13 May.
- Rapport, 21 May; Star, 22 May.
6 Cape Times, 30 May.
7 Post, 23 July.
8 Rand Daily Mail, 3 June; Rapport, editorial, 4 June.
9 Rand Daily Mail, 17 July.
10 World, 30 July; Cape Times 1 August; Die Burger, 2 August. I Cape Times, 1 August.
1 2 Rand Daily Mail, 14 August.
1 Post, 7 May; Natal Mercury, 8 May.
- Natal Mercury, 8 May; Leader, 12 May; Post, 14 May.
5 Sunday Express, 21 May; NUSAS Newsletter, vol. 3 no. 22, 26 May.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
university did not come up to standards of free universities, due to security police activity, informers, the powers of White staff, "dehumanizing" regulations, the terms of bursary contracts, and restrictions on student publications and organization.

On 29 May, a two week boycott of lectures began, in sympathy with Turfloop students, involving at least half the student body. Proposing the boycott motion to a meeting of 1,000 students, a speaker said: "We are not voting as Indians but as Blacks. We need solidarity to eradicate this repugnant system . . . . After the strike had continued for eleven days, the Rector woke students at dawn and obliged them to sign forms indicating whether they would continue the boycott or not. The strike ended when the Rector promised a parents' committee that no disciplinary action would be taken. In July, SASO was banned from the campus.

At the end of July, Prof. Olivier suspended four students for the rest of the year, including the president of the newly-formed council of Presidents of Black SRC's, Mr. M. Jacob. Students held a mass sit-in to coincide with the disciplinary hearing and Dr. M. G. H. Mayat, chairman of the parents’ committee, accused the Rector of a breach of faith.10 Senator Owen Horwood was appointed Chancellor of the university on 10 November. Shortly thereafter, Prof. Kenneth Knight, Head of the Department of Civil Engineering, and Prof. Raymond Sands, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, resigned.

At Springfield College of Education, three-quarters of the students supported a decision to boycott lectures on June 1. The decision was taken in the absence of
the SRC president, Mr. J. van Rensburg, a White lecturer. The boycott lasted a week. All students on strike were suspended and thirteen were "further suspended," which prevented them writing mid-year examinations. In July, four of the thirteen were expelled, at least for the rest of the year, and were refused all financial aid for the future.

About three hundred students of M. L. Sultan Technical College, who had boycotted lectures in support of Turfloop students, were suspended. The bursaries of 120 of them were suspended and written apologies were required from all students.

Natal Mercury, 31 May; examples of regulations in force on Black campuses are given in Wits Student, Free Education Issue, May.

Daily Dispatch, 29 May; Vaderland 1 and 2 June; Rand Daily Mail, 2 June.

Daily Dispatch, 29 May.

Leader, 14 July; Rand Daily Mail, 17 July.

Natal Mercury, 27 July.

Leader, 28 July, 1 September. Rand Daily Mail, 11 and 21 November. (Senator Horwood's views on students are reported below.)

Cape Times, 31 May; Rand Daily Mail, 2 June; Leader, 9 June. Rand Daily Mail, 10 and 12 June; Leader, 23 June. Leader, 18 August; Post, 20 August.

Vaderland, 2 June; Cape Times, 5 June; Leader, 9 June. Natal Mercury, 22 June.

STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS

At the Transvaal College of Education, 250 of the 300 students were suspended for boycotting lectures and written apologies were again required, on pain of expulsion. Students were also required to undertake to submit to all directives of the Department of Indian Affairs. Students at the Federal Theological Seminary at Alice also supported Turfloop students by a boycott of lectures. On 12 May, a student boycott began in sympathy with Turfloop at the University of Natal (Black Section). Students demanded the appointment of a Black hostel superintendent.

At Fort Hare, Mr. "Satch" Lekalake, local SASO chairman, was arrested by security police following a visit by Mr. Strini Moodley, the SASO director of publications. Students began an eight day boycott on 22 May, in protest against expulsions earlier in the year, the "dictatorial attitude" of the Rector, Prof. J. M. de Wet, intimidatory powers of lecturers, and police activity on the campus. Unconfirmed reports were received of police raids and arrests during the night of 22 May. Students returned to lectures after negotiations with the Rector, mediated by Black lecturers, and after the Rector had issued a statement that no disciplinary action would follow. On 7 June, however, students issued a manifesto, which stated, inter alia: "We, the students of Fort Hare, believe that all Black institutions of higher learning are founded upon an unjust political ideology of a White racist regime bent on annihilating all intellectual maturity of Black
people in South Africa." By mid-June it was reported that 160 students had left Fort Hare.

On 21 May, 200 students at the University of Zululand disrupted an academic procession at a graduation ceremony, carrying placards in support of Turfloop students, and singing "Nkosi Sikilele Afrika" and other songs. A mass meeting was held in support of Turfloop students and 400 students began a boycott of lectures on 1 June. In mid-June it was reported that some students were leaving the university.

In May, SASO warned Stellenbosch students to "keep your hands off" Black campuses. Turfloop and other centres rejected invitations by the Stellenbosch SRC to participate in discussions. Mr. H. Nengwekhulu, SASO-organizer, and Mr. S. Biko, former president of SASO, condemned police action during White student protests' but Mr. Nengwekhulu added later that White students were "fighting their own battle" and had no understanding of the situation on Black campuses.

SASO sent a message of support to NUSAS at its 48th Congress in July, reaffirming its policy of non-co-operation with NUSAS, but wishing the organization "every success."

NATIONAL UNION OF SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS (NUSAS)

Addressing a national seminar in April, the president, Mr. Paul Pretorius, reassessed the history and future policy of NUSAS. From its foundation in 1924, NUSAS had attempted in the main to unite English- and Afrikaans-speaking students. Factors external to student affairs had doomed this policy to failure and most Afrikaans students had left NUSAS well before the second World War. There had followed a period of more than thirty years, reaching its climax in the middle sixties, when NUSAS had incorporated Black students and leadership and "attempted to provide as a basis for its existence, an alliance between Black and White." The rise of SASO between 1968 and 1970 had now made the breakaway of Black students, too, a matter of history.

NUSAS's present dilemma, he said, "lies thus not in our failure to represent the aspirations of Black students . . . this option (if it was ever a real option), is no longer open to us - it lies somewhere in the White society and it is there we must
seek to resolve it . . ." Turning his attention to "White liberals", to sections of the churches, the English-language Press, NUSAS, the S.A. Institute of Race Relations, the Black Sash and other organizations, Mr. Pretorius said that, with exceptions, they "are an integral part of the White power structure and choose to remain there. Their efforts at change have offered little serious challenge to the powers that be in South Africa . . . The gap between humanistic ideals professed and materialistic life styles is enormous . . ." While largely abhorring "the inhuman practices of the Nationalist Government . . . they will not use their power in a concerted political struggle to end them . . ." NUSAS would have to reject many existing White liberal policies and institutions if it were to avoid obstructing Black development as it had in the past . . . "Even our much lauded 'self-help' programmes can be initiated by Black community leaders and if our help is needed it will be called for . . .

On 22 May, NUSAS launched its Free Education campaign. Mass student meetings, public meetings, and the distribution of Rand Daily Mail, 3 June.
10 World, 11 June; cf. Transvaler, 7 July.
It cf. Report of President and Deputy President to 48th Congress, July, p. 43, ff. on relations between NUSAS and SASO.
392

STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS
information were organized on all NUSAS-affiliated campuses, and attention was focussed on events at Turfloop earlier in that month. In Cape Town, on 2 June, a student meeting on the steps of St. George's Cathedral was baton-charged by police, assisted by persons in plain clothes, and some students were pursued into the Cathedral itself. Several students and passers-by were beaten up. The incident led to a snap debate in Parliament, a fierce public debate over "police brutality", and received wide international publicity. Protests at other centres led to further clashes between students and police. In Johannesburg, on 5 June, an illegal march by about 800 students of the University of the Witwatersrand was broken up by police, students and members of the public seeking refuge from tear gas in St. Mary's Cathedral. Tear gas and batons were again used in Cape Town on the same day. On 7 June, police used dogs to disperse a picket by students at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg. On 9 June, police and plainclothes persons used batons and tear gas to break up pickets at the University of the Witwatersrand.2
Hundreds of arrests were made during the above and other protests, and trials were held in all main centres. In Cape Town, 51 students were arrested on 1 June, 47 paid admission of guilt fines for obstructing the police, charges against three were dropped, and one student failed to appear. On 2 June, six students were arrested, charges against five were dropped and one was fined R50 for unlawfully addressing a meeting. On 5 June, 70 people were arrested, including a small group of churchmen and other non-students. Sixty-three were charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act. Of these 14 were convicted but acquitted on appeal. They
included ten students and three persons who had not appealed but whose sentences were set aside. Dr. Helen King, wife of the Anglican Dean of Cape Town, was convicted of assaulting a policeman, cautioned and discharged. Charges against the rest of the 63 were dropped. On 24 August, two students, Mr. P. Le Roux and Mr. G. Budlender, were arrested and charged with organizing an unlawful meeting. Charges were later dropped. Four students were arrested and paid admission of guilt fines for obstructing the police.

In Johannesburg, 80 students were arrested on June 5 and 6. Three were released without being charged, charges against 14 were withdrawn, and 63 paid admission of guilt fines for marching unlawfully. On 9 June, 71 people were arrested, including two journalists and a photographer. Charges against 32 were dropped. The 39 charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act were all acquitted.

In Pietermaritzburg, 19 students were arrested during protests, charges against three were dismissed, and subsequently charges against 16 under the Riotous Assemblies Act were withdrawn.

In Durban, six students were arrested for illegally putting up posters. Four paid admission of guilt fines and two were discharged.

In Grahamstown, 321 students and staff members of Rhodes University were arrested on 6 June during a protest march. Of these, 312 paid fines for breach of municipal by-laws. A lecturer, two former students, and six staff members who pleaded not guilty were all acquitted.

Charges of assault or wrongful arrest have been laid by several students against the police or the Minister.

In acquitting students, some judges affirmed the right of persons to protest. Senior members of the Government subsequently made speeches on the subject. At Kraaifontein, in October, Mr. Marais Viljoen, Minister of Labour, referred to UCT and Wits students as "terrorists" and said the Government would not hesitate to repeat action such as baton charges. In a statement to the Cape Times, the Minister said all student demonstrations should be stopped, whether peaceful or not. These views were strongly supported by Senator Owen Horwood, Minister of Indian Affairs. Mr. Kruger, Deputy Minister of Police, warned that the police would not hesitate to act against demonstrating students despite recent acquittals by the courts.

The Commission of Enquiry into NUSAS and other organizations concentrated during the year on NUSAS and subpoenaed many witnesses. In August, the Minister of National Education, Senator van der Spuy, said the Government expected useful guidance from the interim report of the Commission. He also said the Commission would show that South Africa could expect attacks in its schools as this was one of the areas in which NUSAS was active. The Minister of Police, Mr. S. L. Muller, said South Africa had "not by far" seen the end of student protests and that work of subversive elements might possibly be seen in the weeks ahead. NUSAS continued a defamation suit against Lt. Col. Meyer of the Security
Police, "as there is a need to discuss in open court matters that are now subject to a secret government enquiry.""
NUSAS continued to publish its Newsletter and the educational journal, Funda. The first issue of the Aquarius magazine, Dissent, published to coincide with a Civil Rights Campaign, was banned by the Publications Control Board.'
The Van Wyk de Vries Commission on the universities reported during the year but its report was not made public.
3 Information from appendices to the Report of the President and Deputy President to the 49th Congress, December. 1972.
4 Report of the President and Deputy President to the 49th Congress, December. 1972.
5 Ibid; procedural report of the Parliamentary Select Committee, which was converted into a Commission, was published on 10 August, of Newsletter, vol. 3 no. 29. 15 August.
6 Ibid; on the relation between NUSAS, Aquarius, Nused and Nuswel, see Survey. 1971, p. 292.

STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS
Earlier in the year, Senator Owen Horwood, a member of the commission, claimed in the Senate that an edition of Wits Student, which lampooned the Prime Minister, was part of a communist conspiracy to subvert law and order on university campuses and to undermine the Government. Senator Horwood said ....
"This is a matter of the security and the very way of life of the country and, when it comes to that, the issue of whether university autonomy is being infringed or not becomes irrelevant." Addressing Stellenbosch Rapportryers in June, the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, said that the demonstrations at South African universities were the fore-runners of a softening-up process planned for South Africa aimed, if possible, at a non-parliamentary takeover of the Government, and that legislation would be introduced the following year to eliminate State subsidies to "loafers" at these universities.8
Right-wing terrorism against students and others continued during the year. Death threats were received by various student leaders and also by Mr. Justice Watermeyer, who had granted an interdict restraining the police from intervening in meetings at the University of Cape Town.' The house of a student leader, Mr. G. Budlender, was burnt out as the result of a bomb attack." Forged pamphlets, attacking NUSAS and individuals, were distributed in various centres.11 Two men were arrested in connection with incidents, one of whom was Mr. D. Welthagen, head of the Anti-Terrorist League in Cape Town.2 In June the Sunday Tribune revealed that Mr. E. Eckhardt, a student at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, who held senior posts in NUSAS and other student organizations, had been a police agent for four years. Mr. Eckhardt said that he had become dissatisfied when the security police refused to accept reports which did not confirm their views that NUSAS was a subversive organization. He said he knew of other police agents active in student organizations, including the University Christian Movement.'
At the July congress, NUSAS called upon "the Government and people of New Zealand" to cancel the forthcoming rugby tour by South Africa "until such time as rugby and all other sports in South Africa are controlled by non-racial unions recognized by international bodies, as this is the only way in which teams can be selected on an impartial basis." The Star's correspondent with the S.A. Gazelles team in the Argentine 7 Daily Dispatch, 3 May; the editor of Wits Student, Mr. Mark Douglas-Home, was subsequently deported.

' NUSAS Newsletter, vol. 3 no. 25, 16 June; see also Sunday Tribune, 25 June. 10 Newsletter, vol. 3 no. 32, 25 August; see also Cape Times, 23 June. 11 Specimen pamphlets may be found in an appendix to the President's Report to Congress, July.

12 Report of the President and Deputy President to the 49th Congress, Durban. 13 Sunday Tribune, 18 June; Newsletter, vol. 3 no. 25, June. 14 Resolution 129, July Congress; Vaderland, 17 July.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
cabled that NUSAS had had telegram contact with "a left-wing Argentine student organization" in an attempt to disrupt the tour. NUSAS strongly denied the report. A few days later the Cape Argus reported that the telegram had been sent by some other student organization. The identity of this other organization has not been revealed.

AFRIKAANSE STUDENTEBOND
In April, a meeting of student leaders from eight centres affiliated to the ASB recommended radical transformations of ASB structure and policy. The meeting was held after surveys of student opinion at several centres revealed widespread dissatisfaction with the ASB. Mr. Gert Meyer, president of the SRC at the University of Pretoria, said that many students felt the ASB had become a political "echo" of the Government. The meeting recommended that the ASB change its name, stop dogmatically following the political line of the National Party, and become involved in practical projects, especially in the Bantustans.

At the ASB Congress in July, SRCs were given greater representation on the executive, and responsibility for "homeland development, community service, student services and contact with non-Whites" was assigned to particular centres. Little change was evident in political matters, however. The president of the ASB, Mr. L. Wessels, attacked NUSAS and the Congress adopted a motion which said the spirit of the "revolution" overseas had raised its head in recent student demonstrations in South Africa. It was also announced at the Congress that the ASB would seek guarantors to assist in its "struggle" against NUSAS, SASO, and the University Christian Movement. The Stellenbosch SRC, which is not affiliated to the ASB, accepted a report from an observer which condemned the Congress as "right-wing" and was highly critical of specific proceedings. The SRC also accepted a report from its observer at the Congress of the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (FAK) which said the chairman of the Congress
had been biased and that discussions had been led in predetermined directions.' The ASB and the FAK together organized a "Youth Congress, 72", involving many youth organizations, on the theme "Bastion of the South." The Congress was attended by about 600 students and pupils.' The ASB also co-operated with SABRA in producing a booklet on urban Africans.7

15 Report of the President and Deputy President to the 49th Congress, December. I Rapport, 9 April; Sunday Times, 19 March and 9 April; Vaderland 4 April. 2 Rapport, 2 July.
1 Cape Times, 1 July; Rand Daily Mail, 1 July.
4 Vaderland, 3 July.
Vaderland, 4 August.
C Vaderland, 14 and 29 June.

396

STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS
The University of Pretoria SRC and its counterpart at the University of Lesotho were involved in angry exchanges when the latter protested against Pretoria's inclusion in an international scheme organized by Bergen University, Norway, to promote closer contact between universities. The Lesotho SRC demanded that "one of the liberal universities or a Black university in South Africa" replace Pretoria in the scheme.' A meeting of English- and Afrikaans-speaking student leaders took place at Stellenbosch in July. Heated clashes were reported on political subjects, such as student protests.' Mr. Lieb Loots, president of the Randse Afrikaanse Universiteit SRC, was obliged to withdraw a statement attacking NUSAS, released by himself and three other heads of Afrikaans SRCs, when it was revealed that it was based on falsified documents.10

There was also strong disagreement at the meeting over the role of university principals in student and national politics.11 In June, five rectors of Afrikaans universities and the Rector of the University of Port Elizabeth issued a statement supporting Government and police action against student demonstrators. The statement concluded that "the demonstrations are aimed at a radical revolution of the social and political order in our country. We and our universities will oppose this with all our might."

The SRC at the University of Port Elizabeth passed a resolution criticising the Rector, Prof. E. M. Marais, for associating himself with the statement. The motion said that "the SRC feels that this sectional action hinders the effective functioning of a bilingual institution."2 The Dean of Students, Mr. Nic Wiehahn, denied reports that he had threatened the SRC in an attempt to keep the resolution secret. He said he had merely reminded them of recent tension between the university authorities and students and had pointed out that the authorities had power to expel students.13 Earlier in the year the editor of the student newspaper (Upen), Mr. Gavin Akers, had been acquitted of disciplinary charges brought against him by the university authorities following criticism of restrictions imposed on students at the university. In June, Prof. Marais informed the SRC that all future publications of Upen had been banned.4
During the year, the Stellenbosch SRC was criticized by the Prime Minister, the National Party and its own newspaper, Die Matie, for its "verligte" attitudes, particularly in regard to attempts to organize an integrated intervarsity rugby match with U.C.T. and to meet Black and English-speaking student leaders.  
8 Daily Dispatch, 30 August.  
9 Daily Dispatch, 2 August; Vaderland, 18 July; Cape Times, 18 July. It Star, 19 July.  
IL Daily Dispatch, 2 August.  
1" Sunday Times, 30 July.  
13 Rapport, 30 July.  
14 Daily Dispatch, 13 June.  
1 Cape Times, 1 April; Vaderland, 20 June.  
397  
SCHOLARSHIPS  
STATE BURSARIES  
The Minister of Indian Affairs stated in the Assembly that his Department had awarded R443 843 in non-repayable bursaries to Indian students during 1971. Of these, 1 894 were school pupils, 783 were students at teacher training institutions, 225 were university students and 135 were students in other categories. One loan bursary of R150 was awarded to a university student.  
The Minister of Bantu Education said that during 1971, R89 414 had been paid to African students as non-repayable bursaries and R78 670 in the form of loan bursaries. Recipients of non-repayable bursaries comprised 396 school pupils, 365 students at teacher training institutions, 100 university students and 14 other students. The loan bursaries were paid to 653 university students. The Minister also said that the Department of Health provided bursaries to enable Africans to take specialized courses. The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said in the Assembly that 34 African university students had been granted bursaries during 1971 on condition that they studied specified subjects and agreed thereafter to enter the service of his Department, a Territorial Authority or the Transkeian Government. A total of 51 African officials of his Department had been granted paid leave to enable them to improve their qualifications by study at a university.  
The Minister of Coloured Affairs said that during 1971, R389 470 had been awarded to Coloured students in the form of non-repayable bursaries and R540 as loan bursaries. Recipients of non-repayable bursaries comprised 194 university students and 1 448 students at teacher training institutions. The loan bursaries were paid to three university students. No school pupils received outright grants or loan bursaries.  
At the time of student protests on black campuses, several university and teacher training college authorities made it clear that students who participate in such protests could lose State bursaries.  
BURSARIES AWARDED TO AFRICANS BY LOCAL AUTHORITIES  
The Minister of Bantu Education stated in the Assembly that
SCHOLARSHIPS
the Department only made "final recommendations" to local authorities in connection with the award of bursaries. Local authorities were not asked how many applications were received or how many bursaries were eventually awarded. The three universities for Africans had reported, however, that during 1971, 56 students received bursaries to the value of R10851 from local authorities.

EDUCATION INFORMATION CENTRE
The EIC operates at the head office of the Institute of Race Relations and administrative costs are paid by the Bantu Welfare Trust. The following information is from the Secretary's Report for the period January to December, 1971, inclusive; figures for 1972 are estimates, but have been adjusted in the light of more recent information.

The fourth Register of bursary funds which assist Black students was published in August 1971, and distributed to 950 universities, schools, churches, welfare and other organizations. Registers cannot be sent to individual students. In total, 72 prematric bursary funds and 103 post-matric funds are listed, and the EIC invites participation in future Registers.

During 1971, 1 017 students in all parts of the country were assisted by the Centre with advice. The slight drop from the numbers advised during 1970 is perhaps attributable to the increased circulation of information through other bodies by means of the Register. The EIC also gave advice to four major industrial concerns on the provision of vocational training. Advice and practical assistance is also given to new bursary funds.

From December 1971, the Southern Transvaal Region of the Institute of Race Relations assumed responsibility for assisting students to find vacation employment. The EIC continued to assist those seeking permanent employment. Of 487 applications received, jobs could be found for only 63, despite great efforts by the EIC, including appeals by letter to 300 commercial and industrial firms. Only 29 out of 65 matriculants or graduates could be assisted. The EIC describes the situation as desperate. A questionnaire sent to applicants revealed that the higher an applicant's educational qualifications, the greater his frustration in trying to find suitable employment. There is similar difficulty in finding vacation employment for students.

During 1971, the EIC assisted 37 students out of its Contingency Fund, to which the Polaroid Trust and Johannesburg Rotary Clubs made contributions. Three Black students were assisted with post-graduate nursing courses out of the Bridgeman Grant, administered by the EIC. The Bantu Welfare Trust conf
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

Continues to provide money for Donaldson Bursaries, administered by the EIC. During 1972, an estimated 79 students, out of 91 who applied, will benefit from bursaries for pre-matric vocational courses. Bursaries for post-matric courses, including degree courses in pharmacy, agriculture, land surveying, engineering, and dentistry, will benefit an estimated 24 students out of 422 who applied.

ISAACSON FOUNDATION BURSARY FUND

The IFBF is administered by the Institute of Race Relations. Grants are made to African students who hold the Junior Certificate and who wish to matriculate, and to students taking degree courses in fields other than medicine. Students resident within a 40-mile radius of Johannesburg are eligible. The following information is taken from the Secretary's Report for the year ended 30 June 1972.

During the period 1955-1971, the Fund disbursed R199 299 to 411 university students, 958 pupils, and 65 students for miscellaneous vocational training. For 1972, a total further expenditure of R22 754 was estimated, of which R12 262 was allocated to aid 67 university students, including 43 new awards out of 994 applications, and about R8,492 to 95 school pupils, including 56 new awards out of 297 applications.

The Fund also administers bursaries for individuals or organizations and gives emergency assistance to students and pupils out of special funds. During 1971, eight persons were assisted to the sum of R250 out of the IFB Fund itself, and R2 401 was given to 29 students out of a Contingency Fund maintained by the Bantu Welfare Trust. The Bantu Welfare Trust also makes an annual grant to the IFBF of R2 000 for the sponsorship of bursars.

FUNDS OF REGIONAL OFFICES OF THE INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

Money hitherto held by the Cape Western Region in its Bursary Fund has been transferred to an Educational Trust, with a capital reserve of R2 000 and R3 800 on current account. Eleven outstanding students were awarded bursaries in 1972, seven high school pupils and four trainee teachers.'

The Natal Region's Race Relations Educational Trust received 500 applications for assistance, 100 from continuing bursary-holders. Only 100 out of the 400 new applicants could be assisted and these required first class passes.'

In addition to grants made through ASSET, the Border Region assisted 12 students.

7 Newsletter 1, Cape Western Region, 1972.
Natal Mercury, 9 February.
Daily Dispatch, 8 March.

SCHOLARSHIPS

ASSET BURSARIES AND GRANTS
In May, Pepsi-Cola Africa (Pty.) Ltd. joined the American South African Study and Educational Trust (ASSET) on the same footing as the Polaroid Foundation Inc., undertaking to contribute R37 000 per annum, reviewable after eight months. Plans were still being finalized, he said, for an internal company programme of educational aid to children of Pepsi's 800 Black employees in South Africa.1 Commenting editorially, the Rand Daily Mail of 5 May said: "Sufficient money should be coming from Government to make such donations unnecessary. But the Government still lags far behind in providing for Non-White education, especially for Africans. Private enterprise, both individual and commercial companies, have to fill the enormous void that will exist until the Government assumes its full responsibilities to all the children of our nation."

During 1972, ASSET assisted 331 scholars and students throughout the country to the sum of R27 280. A total of R3 664 was spent on grants to two literary projects and other projects."

RHODES SCHOLARSHIPS
In June, Mr. Rex Welsh, South African secretary, attended a meeting of the Rhodes Trustees in Oxford at which the structure of the South African awards was changed. Of the nine South African scholarships, four will henceforth be awarded to candidates from South Africa-at-large, including Lesotho and Botswana and South West Africa, one is allotted to Natal in terms of the will and four remain allocated to schools named in the will. The move follows sustained agitation by Rhodes scholars in Oxford since 1970, when 85 of the 140 scholars then in residence petitioned the Trustees.2 Particular objection was raised to the four school scholarships. The will requires that no candidate should be qualified or disqualified on account of race or religious opinions and the schools concerned are now open to Whites only, as was not the case in Rhodes's time. The Rhodes Trustees have accepted that the school awards conflict with the will and lawyers are investigating an amendment through Act of Parliament." The protesting scholars point out that no Black South African has been awarded a scholarship in seventy years of the Trust's existence and -that "the falling standards of apartheid (in Black education) and the rising standards of Oxford" combine to perpetuate this situation." They also want the Trust to suspend

16 Cape Times, 2 May.
I Report on Payments made for Asset for 1972, as at October, 1972, Bursary Department,
S.A.I.R.R.
12 Rand Daily Mail, 16 June.
13 Star, 14 June.
4 Star, 9 March.
401

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
the Rhodesian awards. Only one Black scholar was chosen from Southern Africa for 1972 and Zambia, although part of the territory designated in the will, has been virtually excluded for selection purposes.5
SOME OTHER BURSARIES AND FUNDS
Between 1966 and 1971, the Rand Bursary Fund, which is run by African teachers and sponsored by the Rand Daily Mail, made grants totalling R65 538.83 and loans totalling R16 401.24, to 3 005 high school students, 204 trainee teachers and 43 university students.8
The Transvaal Association of Coloured Teachers made grants of R250 each to 42 high school pupils and four university students out of funds contributed by Coloured teachers in the Transvaal.7
It was reported in October that the Presbyterian Church had raised R87 982 towards its goal of a R100 000 Educational Fund to mark its 75th anniversary. A notable feature was the contributions from African congregations, which averaged R200 a congregation, a very high rate relative to African earnings.8
The South African Council of Churches has established a fund specifically for bursaries to Black students in rural areas of South and South West Africa.9
Although only 250 bursaries were available, 5 000 applications were received for 1972.20 The average monthly cash income of applicants during 1971 was R33.66 for a family of 8.3 members, while the average cost of boarding school for a pupil from rural areas was R100 per annum.1
In Durban, the Daily News LEARN Fund was launched in association with the Umhlanga Round Table, with an initial target of R25 000.22 At the University of the Witwatersrand, a Wits Education Fund was launched to assist African matric-level pupils and letters of appeal sent to South African and overseas university students.
Phalaborwa copper mine, in the international Rio Tinto Zinc group, established three sets of bursaries for Africans in addition to those already provided for Whites in the area. They comprise two open bursaries for advanced study in scientific subjects, three similar bursaries for employees, former employees and their families, and R5 000 for bursaries for secondary education.24
The National Union of Students' Education Department (NUSED) reported that from 1965 to 1972 inclusive, a total of
15 Star. 29 February.
is Secretary's Report, 1970-71, Annexure IV.
17 Star. 9 March; Rand Daily Mail, 17 May.
18 Christian Leader, October.
19 World, 18 July.
20 Rand Daily Mail, 8 December, 1971.
21 Rand Daily Mail, 1 February.
22 Daily News, 24 May.
23 Sunday Times, 2 July.
24 Rand Daily Mail, 27 April.
402
SCHOLARSHIPS
R25 455 had been granted to 127 Black medical students through its Medical Scholarships Programme. In 1972, 35 students were assisted to the sum of R6 220. In order to ensure the continuance of the programme, regardless of what
might happen to NUSED itself, it had been decided at NUSED'S congress in July to establish a trust fund, to be known as the South African Medical Scholarships Trust. The programme had been extended during 1971 to include students at any South African university and not only at NUSAS-affiliated centres, and also to include dentistry and pharmacy students. The trustees have been given discretion to grant up to 50 per cent of allocations on a loan basis.

The South African Sugar Association will increase its bursary fund for African students by R10 000 next year, bringing the total to R35 000. The R10 000 will provide bursaries for students in the Transkei, for post-Junior Certificate courses with special emphasis on mathematics and science.

25 NUSED. Medical Scholarships Programme 1972-1974, a roneod report. 26 Rand Daily Mail, 27 November.

403

HEALTH
DOCTORS

According to the Minister of National Education, there is in South Africa:
1 White doctor for every 400 Whites
1 Indian doctor for every 900 Indians
1 Coloured doctor for every 6 200 Coloured people
1 African doctor for every 44 400 Africans.

It is clear that the shortage of Coloured and African doctors remains critical. According to Professor Phillip Tobias of the University of the Witwatersrand's medical school, medical education for Africans in South Africa has not only failed to keep pace with population growth, but has fallen behind. Until the end of 1971, South Africa had been producing African medical doctors for 25 years. The University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) trained 103 until it was prevented by law from admitting Black students (except in specified circumstances). The Black medical school of the University of Natal trained 149 making a total of 252.

In 1946-56, when Wits alone was graduating African doctors, the average annual output was 6.3; in 1957-66, when both Wits and Natal were graduating them, the average annual output was 13.2; in 1967-71, when Natal alone was graduating them, the average annual output was 10.2. Expressed relative to population, the number of African doctors produced annually per one million Africans rose from 0.75 per million in 1950 to 1.2 per million in 1960, but then dropped to 0.65 per million in 1970. Professor Tobias has quoted 6 000 as the number of African doctors needed to serve the African population.

In 1969 South Africa produced 98 doctors per one million Whites in the population (compared with 92 two, years earlier), 59 per one million Asians (compared with 55), 6 per one million Coloured people (compared with 9), and 0.5 per one million Africans (compared with 0.9). Fewer than two per cent of all the doctors produced in South Africa each year are Africans.

Since the war, 129 Indians, 34 Chinese, and 15 Coloured doctors also graduated at Wits. From 1955 to mid-1972, 133 Coloured and 108 Indian doctors graduated at
the University of Cape Town. Since its inception in 1957, the University of
Natal's

1 Cape Times, 27 May.
2 Address published in Sash, November.

HEALTH
Black medical school graduated (in addition to the Africans mentioned above)
207 Indian and 29 Coloured doctors.'
In 1972 there were 3 196 applications for admission as firstyear students to the
medical schools in South Africa; of these 830 were accepted. The number
of applications to the University of Natal Medical School was 390, while the number
accepted was 113.' The number of Africans in first-year at the University of
Natal's medical school was 33.5
According to the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, there
are 70 African doctors in the Reserves.' In the Transkei, there are reportedly 15
African doctors.7
Racial discrimination in doctors' salary scales has long been a grievance in South
Africa. African doctors employed by the State earn 70 per cent of what their
White counterparts earn, and Coloured and Indian doctors 80 per cent.'
The actual salaries of medical personnel employed by the State are as follows:
White Coloured African
R R R
Professor/Chief Specialist (fixed) ... 12000 8 400 7 800
Government Medical Officer (maximum) .................... 8 100 6600 60009
In October, the Johannesburg City Council announced that it would pay White
and Black part-time doctors equally.1"

NURSES
According to the South African Nursing Association, the ratio of practising
registered nurses to population at the end of 1970 was:'
White .................... 1 to 256
Indian and Coloured ............ 1 to 1 202
African .................... 1 to 1 581
All South Africa's nurses write the same examinations, but, like those of doctors,
nurses' salaries take race into account. African nurses in provincial employ earn
45 per cent of what White
3 Figures supplied to the writer by the universities concerned.
4 Assembly Hansard 14, cols. 997-8.
6 Figures supplied by the University.
6 Letter to the Institute of Race Relations, 7 September.
7 Daily Dispatch, 5 August.
8 Minister of the Interior. Assembly Hansard 17, col. 8580.
1 Star. 31 October.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

nurses earn, and Coloured and Indian nurses 61 per cent. Actual maximum annual salaries are:

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<tr>
<td>Sister</td>
<td>3450</td>
<td>2040</td>
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<tr>
<td>Student Nurse</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physiotherapist/Radiographer</td>
<td>3450</td>
<td>1920</td>
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In August, Dr. H. A. Grove, Director of Hospital Services in the Transvaal, ordered private White hospitals to stop using Black nurses, failing which he would force them to close. Government policy was very clear—Black nurses were not allowed to nurse White patients. Black provincial hospitals faced a drain and the threat of collapse because White private hospitals were recruiting the staff whom they had trained.

Mr. David Epstein, M.P.C., United Party spokesman on hospitals, replied that the private hospitals could not be blamed for recruiting staff—“they were just "trying to fight the tremendous staff shortage". According to Mr. Epstein, 1100 hospital beds in the Transvaal were standing empty because of the acute nursing shortage. The only solution was for the Government to allow African nurses to nurse White patients.

After he had issued his ban, Dr. Grove met representatives of the South African Association of Private Hospitals. A joint statement was made to the effect that the conditions of employment of Black nurses in White hospitals had been clarified to the satisfaction of both parties. Guidelines which hospitals reportedly were subsequently following were based on the Government's ruling that no African nurse could nurse a White patient—i.e. they could not give injections, take temperatures, apply dressings, assist at the operating table or at the delivery of babies, or bath patients. African nurses could, however, take patients their tea, make their beds, tidy bedside tables, freshen flowers, etc.

Earlier in the year, it had been reported at the eighth congress of the S.A. Nursing Association's African nurses in Umtata that poor salaries and working conditions were "slowly killing" nursing as an attractive profession for Africans at provincial hospitals. In the past year at least 30 nurses from Baragwanath Hospital—most of them senior theatre staff, and some of them with 20 years' service there—had left to take jobs in private White nursing homes. However, these jobs were evidently usually of a

2 Minister of the Interior, Star, 2 June.
3 Assembly Hansard 3, cols. 235-8.
4 Sunday Times, 20 August.
HEALTH

menial nature. It is not clear to what extent trained African nurses were actually nursing in the private hospitals prior to Dr. Grove's ultimatum. Sister Irene McFadzean resigned from the staff of the Johannesburg General Hospital in protest against Dr. Grove's action, and formed a Nurses' Action Group to fight for equal rights and salaries for all nurses and to expose exploitation in the nursing service. Sister McFadzean said the nursing profession was being degraded by the use of trained African nurses as maids and cleaners." Her group aimed to enlighten the public about the desperate situation in all provincial hospitals because of the shortage of staff. "The most pressing issue and the greatest cause of the enormous problem is the imbalance of salary scales between Black and White nurses." Several branches of the S.A. Nursing Association pressed earlier in the year for non-discriminatory salaries. In October, an extraordinary meeting of the 2000member Witwatersrand branch of the S.A. Nursing Association called for an immediate narrowing of the Black-White salary gap, and protested against the private White hospitals' employment of Black nurses as "maids and cleaners". The Pretoria branch of the Association resolved to refuse further increases from the province until Black salaries had been raised.

DENTISTS

In 1966-71, a total of 221 Whites and six Asians graduated in dentistry. A dental faculty for Coloured students is to be established in 1973 at the University of the Western Cape in cooperation with the University of Stellenbosch.

CHEMISTS AND DRUGGISTS

Maximum salaries of chemists and druggists in state employ are:
- Whites ....................... R5 400
- Coloured people and Indians ..... R3 360
- Africans ....................... R2 520

HEALTH IN LENASIA

It was reported in May that the medical facilities in Lenasia the Indian township outside Johannesburg were "grossly and painfully inadequate". With a population of 40 000 to 50 000,

10 Star, 21 August; Rand Daily Mail, 16 September. 11 Sunday Times, 27 August; Rand Daily Mail, 16 September. 12 Rand Daily Mail, 11 September. 13 Is [bid, 1 February; 22 June.
14 Ibid. 5 October.
15 Assembly Hansard 17. col. 1121.
16 Natal Mercury, 31 May.
17 Assembly Hansard 6. cols. 529-30.
Lenasia had only 14 doctors and no hospital. The only facilities in Lenasia were the part-time outpatients department of Coronation Hospital (with one doctor and one nurse) and City Health Department and Johannesburg Indian Social Welfare Association clinics. Travel from Lenasia to Coronation Hospital itself took two hours and required a change of two trains or two buses. Representations for a hospital in Lenasia have been going on for at least eight years. It was announced in August that one is to be built."

**HOSPITAL FEES**

Hospital charges vary according to income. White outpatient charges vary from a minimum of 50 cents to a maximum of R3 per visit, Black outpatients from 20 cents to R1,50, any drugs prescribed being provided without further charge. For inpatients the charges also vary, the maximum for Whites being R6 per day, and for Blacks R2,50, with the important difference that for Blacks no account is taken of the size of the patient's family, while for Whites a net income is computed according to, the size of the family. Blacks pay the maximum of R2,50 per day on incomes over R1 500 per annum, irrespective of the number of dependants.

For example, if the total annual income of a White husband and wife with three children is R2 400, the computed income would be R2 400 divided by six - i.e. R400 - and there would be no charge for hospitalization beyond the admission fee of R1. Black fees, however, are based on the total family income without any computation, that is, irrespective of the number of dependants. If the total income of a Black husband and wife with three children is R2 400, the income on which fees are assessed is R2 400, and the fee for a 15-day stay in hospital is R37.50."

**CLOSURE OF HOSPITALS**

The Government has restricted further hospital development for Africans in "White areas". In May, the Black section of the Edenvale hospital was closed down by the Transvaal Provincial Administration and its 320 patients transferred to the new Tembisa Hospital, 27 km. away. Mr. David Epstein said the Government had openly admitted that the closure was for apartheid reasons.20 Africans have to travel up to 54 km. from Johannesburg's northern suburbs to reach the Tembisa hospital. According to The Star, there was no direct rail or bus link between these suburbs and Tembisa when the hospital opened. Ambulance fees from some

18 Memorandum by the Witwatersrand Clinical Study Circle to the Hon. the Administrator of the Transvaal regarding the vital need of a hospital in Lenasia, Johannesburg, May; The Leader, 14 July; Star, 25 August.

19 Figures supplied to the writer by Mr. David Epstein, MPC, opposition spokesman on hospital matters, and by Dr. Ellen Hellmann.

20 Rand Daily Mail, 25 April.
HEALTH

areas were to be increased, and the effect of the Edenvale closure would be that thousands of domestic servants north of Johannesburg up to Alexandra and Sandton would be "without access to medical treatment".

HEALTH SERVICES IN THE HOMELANDS

As reported above, the Ministry of Bantu Administration says there are 70 trained African doctors in the homelands. In addition, there are four chemists and druggists and 3,017 nurses. There are no African dentists or veterinarians.

There are 86 hospitals, 84 of them mission hospitals, and 20,832 hospital beds for Africans in the homelands. This gives a figure of one bed per every 343 Africans in the homelands compared with overall figures for South Africa of one bed per 95 Whites and one bed per 184 Blacks.

There are 462 clinic centres in the homelands. Government policy prevents the further establishment of clinics for Africans in "White" urban areas, laying down that such clinics must be located in the African townships.

For the financial year 1972-73 Parliament voted R34,108,000 to the Department of Bantu Administration and Development on revenue account for health services and hospitalization in the homelands, and R6,000,000 on loan account for hospital buildings.

HOSPITAL APARTHEID

It was reported in March that a Coloured doctor at Oudtshoorn was not permitted to treat his Coloured patients in the local hospital because their ward was staffed by Whites. The doctor had to refer his patients to a White doctor for treatment or surgery in hospital. The ruling was a national one, according to the superintendent of the hospital.

In August, it was reported that a Coloured doctor's application to treat his own patients at the Eben Dbnges Hospital had been refused, without reasons being given. In September, a Coloured doctor at the Oudtshoorn hospital was unable to perform an emergency Caesarean operation on one of his patients because the theatre staff were White. The operation was performed two hours later, after a White doctor had been summoned. The patient died three days later.

3. Assembly Hansard 2, col. 86. The Ministry has informed the Institute of Race Relations that the figure of 9 African doctors given in this Hansard is a printing error and that the correct figure is 70.
4. 23 Rand Daily Mail, 6 January.
6. 2 Calculated by the writer from 1970 census figures and the Hospital and Nursing Yearbook. z' Assembly Hansard 14, cols. 1029-30.
7. 27 Natal Mercury, 15 August.
8. -8 Cape Times, 20 March.
9. 29 Ibid, 26 August.
10. "(I Sunday Times, 10 September.
11. 409
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
In October it was reported that senior town officials in Estcourt, Natal, attributed the deaths of a man and a child to the shortage of doctors and the closure of the Black outpatients' department of the Estcourt Provincial Hospital. The Black outpatients' section had been closed in July and Blacks now had to get a letter from a White doctor before they could be admitted to the hospital. A "desperately sick man" had died while waiting for an admission letter in a White doctor's surgery while the doctor was on his rounds. A little girl had died after drinking paraffin and being sent away from the hospital to get an admission letter.1

MALNUTRITION
The Government provided R200 000 for protective food in the financial year 1972-73. However, only 171 of the 800-odd local authorities make use of the skimmed milk distribution scheme.32
According to Professor H. C. Seftel, ad hominem professor of African diseases in the University of the Witwatersrand, Black "bachelor" life in hostels, compounds, and "locations in the sky" is a breeding ground for malnutrition such as is found in few other parts of the world. The reason is that men drink, but do not eat properly. Wives are not there to cook, hostel cooking facilities are generally poor, and beerhalls are nearby. The result is a diet with plenty of calories but no vitamins, leading to beri-beri and pellagra. There is a difference between hostel and compound dwellers and men in Soweto, who eat with their families.33 Eighty per cent of all beri-beri sufferers in Johannesburg are hostel dwellers.34

81 Ibid, 8 October.
32 Assembly Hansard 15. Health vote.
33 Rand Daily Mail 26 August.
34 Ibid. 27 September.

WELFARE
Social services for the different race groups are provided by separate departments of state: Social Welfare and Pensions (Whites), Bantu Administration and Development and homelands authorities, Indian Affairs, and the Coloured Persons' Representative Council.

WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS
There are 2 173 welfare organizations in South Africa registered in terms of the National Welfare Act, 1965. Of these, 768 received assistance, totalling R7 657 100, from the Department of Social Welfare and Pensions in the financial year 1971/72.1

SOCIAL PENSIONS
According to figures given in Parliament in 1972, the following numbers of people were in receipt of pensions from the State: Old age Blind Disability War veterans
Whites .......... 1 102 966 894 21 853 144 472
Coloured people ...... 65 285 1 654 24 795 4 841 3 Indians .......... 10 440 178 886 7 153'
Africans:
Paid by the Government 209 476 6446 58 260
Paid by Homelands 163 864 7345 42168
Africans are not eligible for war veterans' pensions as such. However, a handful of African ex-servicemen who are in need but do not qualify for old age pensions received ex-gratia payments from the State. There were 213 of these.6
The average amounts paid were as follows:

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<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>36,81 15,64 9,03 5,38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured people</td>
<td>36,93 18,31 5,35 6,50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>36,14 16,81 5,21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>36,93 18,31 5,35 6,50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As from 1 October 1972, social pensions were increased by varying amounts for each race group:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race Group</th>
<th>Amount of Increase</th>
<th>Maximum Pension per Month</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>R3</td>
<td>R4112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured people</td>
<td>R2,50</td>
<td>R20,5013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>R2,50</td>
<td>R19,5014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>RO,75</td>
<td>R6,5015</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

War veterans' pensions consist of the basic old age pension plus a supplementary allowance of R5 per month for Indians and Coloured people and R10 per month for Whites.

Questioned in Parliament, the Minister of Social Welfare and Pensions said that his department was responsible only for the payment of pensions to Whites, and could reduce the Black/White pension gap "only by reducing the pensions and grants payable to Whites. Such a step is not contemplated".17

MAINTENANCE GRANTS
These are payable under the Children's Act in the event of the death, old age, disability, widowhood, absence, etc., of a family's breadwinner.

Whites: The basic grants payable are a parent's grant of R41 per month and R1 per month in respect of each of the first three children and thereafter R9 per month per child. In addition, an additional R10 per month is payable if the beneficiary is a widow, widower, single, divorced, or deserted person, and a further amount of R6 per month is payable in respect of each dependent child six years old and over.

Africans: The minimum maintenance grant payable is 50 cents per month and the maximum R10 per month, plus additional amounts varying between R3 and R6,25 per month depending on circumstances. African mothers, unlike others, must work to be eligible for a grant.

Coloured people: The maximum maintenance grant payable is R29,25 per month. This grant is reduced by R6 per annum for each R6 or part thereof by which the income exceeds R96 per annum.

Indians: The maximum grant payable in the case of widows and unmarried mothers is R29,25 per month. This is reduced on the same basis as is the grant for Coloured people. In the case of married grantees, the maximum amount payable is R19,25 per month. This is also reduced progressively if the income exceeds R192 per annum.

THE AGED

Africans: South Africa has six settlements for elderly and infirm Africans run by churches or missions, and one run by a Bantu authority. They accommodate a total of 1,254 Africans.

Indians: There are two State-aided old-age homes for Indians, accommodating 59 people.

Coloured people: There are one State and 12 State-aided old-age homes for Coloured people, accommodating a total of 992 people.

Whites: There are eight State and 183 State-aided old age homes, accommodating 9,952 people.

The State subsidies payable to registered welfare organizations in respect of elderly people accommodated in these homes are as follows:
Indians: R2,50 per month per "ordinary case", and R8,50 per month per "infirm case" provided that the elderly person's income from all sources does not exceed R31 per month. Coloured people: R3 per month per "ordinary case", and R14,50 per month per "infirm case". Whites: R4 per month per "normal" aged person in the sub-economic income group; R23,50 per month per "infirm" aged person in the sub-economic income group; R33,50 per month per infirm aged person in the sub-economic income group provided that sufficient qualified nursing staff is available. Africans: No fixed subsidies are paid, contributions based on the financial position of the homes being determined annually.

"COMMUTED CHILDREN"
According to figures given in Parliament, State subsidies payable to welfare organizations in respect of "committed children" were as follows:
Whites: R24 per month per normal child, and R28 per month per physically or mentally disabled or deviate child.
Coloured people: R1 1,40 per month per normal child, and R13,40 per month per disabled or deviate child. Indians: R11,40 per month per normal child, and R13,40 per month per disabled or deviate child. Africans: R6 per month per normal child, and R7 per month per disabled or deviate child.

PLACES OF SAFETY AND DETENTION
There are in the Republic five places of safety and detention for African children, five for Coloured children, six for White children, and one for Indian children. They accommodated, in 1972, 831 Africans, 475 Coloured children, 276 Whites, and 74 Indians.

The places of safety and detention are designed to cater for the reception of children below the age of 18 who are "in need of care" - abandoned and orphaned children, habitual truants, uncontrollable children, defective children, etc. They usually serve as transit places for children awaiting trial or posting to other institutions.

BIRTH CONTROL
According to The Star, birth control is fast becoming a way of life among urban African women. In the past five years, fifteen per cent fewer African children were reported to have been born in urban areas than in the previous five.

Attendance at the clinics run by the Transvaal Planning Association for all races
increased from 71 686 in 1970 to 90 381 in 1971; for Africans only from 56 754 to 69 632.11 This does not include clinics conducted by local authorities in African townships.

SOCIAL RELIEF
In the latest year for which figures are available, the Department of Bantu Administration and Development spent R41 700 on the distribution of food to needy Africans, and R6 243 on the distribution of blankets, clothing, and similar articles to them.38 Figures of expenditure by Bantu authorities were said to be "not readily available."9

The maintenance grants or rations that may be paid to Africans who have been removed to Sada, Dimbaza, and other resettlement areas are described on page 206.

31 Assembly Hansard 4, col. 358.
32 Assembly Hansard 3, cols. 273-4.
33 Ibid.
34 Assembly Hansards: 7, cols. 557-9; 7, cols. 562-3; 9, cols. 734-5. 35 Rand Daily Mail. 23 March.
36 Star, 12 February.
37 Chairman's report at the Annual General Meeting of the Association, 14 May 1972. 38 Assembly Hansard 6, cols. 491-3.
39 Ibid.

SOCIAL WELFARE

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION
As reported in last year's Survey, "many awards under the Workmen's Compensation Act are not claimed (particularly in the case of Africans). In 1972 several lists of names of untraced beneficiaries-running into tens of thousands-were published in Government Gazettes. Moneys unclaimed from the Workmen's Compensation Commissioner's Accident Fund rose from R1 733 477 in 1969 to R2 016 686 in 1970 to R2 212 880 in 1971." African trade unionists commented that the main reason why Africans did not claim their awards was that most of them had no contact with trade unions and depended solely on their employers. Many employers were sympathetic, but others did not take trouble to ensure that their workers received money due to them. The records maintained were often inadequate. Families of workers who died were often ignorant of their rights to receive benefits.2

40 Survey of Race Relations, p. 313.
41 Assembly Hansard 13, cols. 970-I.
42 Sunday Times, 14 May.
415

SPORT

GOVERNMENT POLICY
The Government's sports policy of "multi-nationalism" was detailed in last year's Survey.1 There were no changes in this policy in 1972. Following privately-held
mixed tennis trials in March, the Prime Minister said that racially mixed trials would not be permitted again, as "open internationals” would serve the purpose.’ The new Minister of Sport, Dr. P. G. J. Koornhof, said in September that there would be no mixed rugby trials, and added: "At club level, provincial and national level . . . there will be no mixed sport of any nature at all." Dr. Koornhof also said that he would not allow social mixing to take place after racially mixed international sports meetings. Social events would have to be confined to the various races’ "own areas".3 The question of whether racially mixed sport is legal or not was raised again in 1972. With one or two minor exceptions, there is nothing illegal about racially mixed sport, provided the venue is private." In January the Government refused a permit for a mixed cricket match in Cape Town which was to have been played on a ground open to the public.5 However, following a mixed cricket match played on a private ground in Johannesburg in March, the Minister of Community Development (whose department is responsible for the issuing of permits) said that to the best of his knowledge the match was legal." THE INTERNATIONAL STATE OF PLAY

According to a draft report published in July by the United Nations' special committee on apartheid, the past year was marked by "growing opposition to South Africa's racialism in sports, notably in Australia and New Zealand". The Government had devised the "multi-national formula" to counter isolation but the opponents of racist sports had recognised it as designed to deceive world opinion and had intensified their campaign against sporting ties with South Africa.7 In October, the Minister of Sport said South Africa's isolation was being exaggerated. Since the beginning of the year, 65 overseas sportsmen or sports teams had taken part in 38 types of

1 pp. 314-6.
2 Ibid; Rand Daily Mail, 13 May.
3 Star, 7 September.
4 See the legal opinion obtained by the NUSAS circular P. 19/72, 8 March.
5 Star, 29 January.
6 Die Vaderland, 14 March: Star, 3 May.
7 Star, 4 July.

SPORT

sport in the Republic. South Africans had made 122 visits to other countries to take part in 32 types of sport. These figures related only to amateur sport. The total number of visits overseas by S.A. sportsmen and visits by sportsmen to the Republic during the year was a record, the Minister said.’ The Star reported that S.A. delegations to international sports bodies had found a "softening of feeling towards South Africa" in Europe. A major reason for this was undoubtedly the presence of a growing number of Black officials in the delegations.’ DISSENT AMONG BLACK SPORTSMEN

Reference was made in last year's Survey to dissent among Black sportsmen. For at least a decade, African, Indian, and Coloured sportsmen have been organized in
two types of unions radically different from and strongly opposed to one another. The "non-racial" unions are those which are in principle committed to admitting all South Africans irrespective of race, but which, through practical and other difficulties, have only Black members. However, these include Africans, Indians, and Coloured people, although one group usually predominates. By contrast, membership of the other type of Black union is usually confined to one official race group. Furthermore, the non-racial unions refuse to affiliate to White national controlling bodies on the grounds that this would amount to acceptance of subservient status. The other Black unions are usually affiliated to the White bodies and cooperate in the implementation of the Government's policy of multi-nationalism in sport. The non-racial associations have rejected the "open internationals",1° because they feel they are being used by White bodies as window-dressing exercises to deceive the outside world. They point out that they are not invited to participate unless they affiliate to the White controlling bodies. The major sports where these divisions exist are soccer, rugby, athletics, tennis, and cricket.

It is difficult to gauge the extent of support among Blacks for the various sports organizations, but it appears that the non-racial bodies are gaining at the expense of their rivals. The non-racial movement has the support of the Coloured Labour Party and the Natal Indian Congress.

Relations between the various non-racial bodies and their White counterparts are often bedevilled by deep mistrust. The administrators of the non-racial unions maintain that White approaches to them are motivated mainly by a desire to rescue White South African sport from international isolation. They regard multi-nationalism as just another name for apartheid.

4 Rand Daily Mail, 31 October.
9 Star, 26 July.
417

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

Their refusal to co-operate with this policy is based on their conviction that the concessions which the Government has made towards mixed sport would not have been made but for the international boycott. They also see the boycott as the main catalyst in the changing attitude of the growing number of White sportsmen who are prepared to play mixed sport - on an international level at any rate."

In mid-year, the Ad Hoc Committee of National Non-Racial Sports Organizations (on behalf of the S.A. Amateur Swimming Federation, the S.A. Soccer Federation, the S.A. Table Tennis Board, the S.A. Amateur Athletic and Cycling Board of Control, the S.A. Amateur Weightlifting and Bodybuilding Federation, the S.A. Rugby Union, and the Southern African Lawn Tennis Union) submitted a memorandum to the International Olympic Committee which attacked the White controlling bodies' attempts to get Black unions to affiliate to them as a "superficial move" designed to deceive the international organizations. Black officials co-operating with the White controlling bodies were "stooges and agents of apartheid". Despite such affiliation, the controlling bodies' membership
remained all-White and there was "no mixed play". These bodies also attempted to undermine the non-racial unions by financing splinter organizations. The memorandum called for the exclusion of South Africa from international sport as the only means of ridding S.A. sport of racial discrimination. If the all-White associations, supported by the international federations, exerted pressure, the Government would yield in order to save South Africa from total isolation.12

STUDENTS AND NON-RACIAL SPORT

In addition to the non-racial unions, students have been attempting to promote non-racial sport. In September NUSAS organized a meeting of students from White English-speaking and Black campuses at which an interim committee was established to promote non-racial sport.13

The 1972 "intervarsity" rugby match between the Universities of the Witwatersrand and Pretoria was cancelled after Wits had unsuccessfully tried to get permission to have integrated seating at Ellis Park and Pretoria had refused to play the match on private property where students of all races could attend.14

THE OLYMPIC GAMES

As reported in last year's Survey, three Blacks were appointed as delegates to the White S.A. Olympic and National Games Association. Two of these, Messrs. Fred Thabe, and George Thabe, and two White officials represented the S.A. Olympic Council at the meeting of the International Olympic Committee at the Olympic Games in Munich in August. A total of 41 delegates represented various S.A. sports associations at meetings in Munich, making use of brochures in five European languages and of a film on the "open internationals" held in South Africa.15 Their efforts were opposed by the Ad Hoc Non-Racial Committee, which distributed widely the memorandum referred to above.16 Following the expulsion of Rhodesia from the Olympic Games, it was considered inopportune for the S.A. delegation to apply for readmission.17

THE SOUTH AFRICAN GAMES

The S.A. Games will be held in Pretoria in March and April 1973. Representatives of 31 international sports federation and 500 overseas sportsmen will be invited, at a cost to South Africa of R900 000.18 The Games will have "open international" status and will therefore be multi-racial. South Africans will compete regardless of colour, except that in the team sports (soccer, hockey, etc.) they will represent their respective race groups. Spectators will be segregated.19

The Games will comprise competitions in 31 sports. According to Mr. Rudolf Opperman, president of the S.A. Olympic and National Games Association, South Africa is suspended in respect of five Olympic sports (boxing, wrestling, cycling,
weightlifting, and soccer) and special dispensation from the respective international bodies is required for overseas teams to compete. There is no such problem with the other 26 sports.20

RUGBY

An England touring side visited South Africa in May. Both the S.A. Rugby Board and the (Coloured) S.A. Rugby Federation fielded separate teams against them, but the non-racial S.A. Rugby Union (SARU) refused to do so, on the grounds that the matches against England were "all part of the attempt to keep South African White rugby in international competition"; they were not a step towards eventual sports integration in South Africa, but a "confirmation of the Government's policy of segregated sport".

The Coloured Labour Party called for a boycott of the "apartheid matches" against England. Police broke up a demonstration

15 Rand Daily Mail, 17 August.
16 Star, 19 August.
17 Rand Daily Mail, 26 August.
Is Ibid, 22 June.
19 To the Point, 1 July.
20 Rand Daily Mail, 2 August.
2 RR. 55/72.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

against the England vs. Coloured XV (the Proteas) match,3 which was reportedly the first international rugby match in which Blacks played against Whites on S.A. soil." The Sunday Times reported that the showing of the Proteas and of the African team against England "gave the lie to the oft-repeated claim in South Africa that no Blacks are ready for a trial against the top local White players." Both the Federation and the African Board lost substantial support to the non-racial SARU. The most powerful union in each body defected to SARU, giving as the reason that "they disapprove of the multi-national policy because it maintains racial divisions."

In August the political correspondent of Die Transvaler said that "with an eye to the (New Zealand) tour, attention must be given to the claim of Coloured players to be invited to trials. In top rugby circles there is strong pressure for such a step."

Behind the scenes in the international rugby world it was being said that South Africa's rugby isolation would be complete should Coloured players not be considered for the Springbok side."

A few days later, however, the newly-appointed Minister of Sport, Dr. P. G. J. Koornhof, rejected mixed trials. The Government's sports policy remained unchanged, he said.' Within the ensuing fortnight, the Prime Minister, the Minister of Economic Affairs, the Minister of Labour, and the Minister of Transport also rejected mixed trials.9

At the same time, it was revealed that the (White) S.A. Rugby Board had asked the Government for permission to include Coloured players, on merit, in the
Springbok touring side, and that the Government had refused. In a telephone conversation with Dr. Danie Craven, president of the Board, the leaders of HART (Halt All Racist Tours) and CARE (Citizens' Association for Racial Equality) in New Zealand agreed to drop all plans to disrupt the tour if Dr. Craven could persuade the Government to give Coloured players a fair chance to make the team. This he was unable to do. HART and CARE announced that they would continue with plans to disrupt the tour.

The New Zealand Federation of Labour said it opposed the tour, while brewery and hotel workers' unions said they would blacklist hotels accommodating the Springboks. As opposition to the tour mounted, it was reported that the New Zealand police force was taking "massive precautions" to protect the tour. The organizers of the 1974 Commonwealth Games, to be held in Christchurch, reportedly fear a boycott by African, Asian and Caribbean states if the tour takes place. The newly-elected Prime Minister of New Zealand, Mr. Norman Kirk, said his Government would totally dissociate itself from the tour, but would not interfere with it.

A memorandum published in June by the S.A. Institute of Race Relations pointed out that the Government had agreed that the country could be represented by mixed teams selected on merit for the Olympics, Canada Cup Golf, and Davis and Federation Cup tennis. These concessions were made because S.A. participation was made conditional upon teams being selected on a non-racial basis. Should the New Zealand tour be made conditional upon mixed trials being held, pressure for such trials within the country was likely to increase and further Government concessions should not be ruled out.

It was reported in July that the S.A. Rugby Federation was negotiating for a Proteas' tour to Trinidad and Tobago. However, the Prime Minister of this country, Dr. Eric Williams, said that his Government would not permit a visit by any Coloured S.A. rugby team because it "refuses to condone apartheid either directly or indirectly." In September, Mr. Loriston said that the Coloured team, the Proteas, would make an eight-match tour of Australia and a two-match tour of New Zealand in 1973.

It was reported in November that an all-African rugby team would tour England at the end of the year. However, the president of the African Board, Mr. Grant...
Khomo, said that the tour had been postponed for a year because there were no sponsors to finance it.°

The first-ever rugby tours of South Africa by the national teams of Italy and Holland are to take place in 1973.21

CRICKET

Policy differences between rugby organizations are paralleled in cricket. The African body, the S.A. African Cricket Association, co-operates with the (White) S.A. Cricket Association in the implementation of multi-nationalism, maintaining that integrated cricket can only come about gradually. But the nonracial South African Cricket Board of Control refuses to play multi-national sport. At a meeting with the other two cricket

14 Rand Daily Mail, 21 June; Star, 4 September. 'Star, 27 November.
16 RR. 55/72.
17 Cape Times, 8 July.
18 Sunday Times, 17 September.
19 Rand Daily Mail, 8 November.
20 Star, 15 November.
21 Cape Times, 21 June.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

associations in May, its president, Mr. Hassan Howa, proposed that all overseas tours be suspended for three years and that this time be spent in reaching a goal of selecting on merit at all levels. This approach was rejected by the other two bodies, who instead constituted a joint committee. Mr. Howa's board refused to join this committee on the grounds that its plan would mean that a visiting cricket team played separate matches against White, African, Indian, and Coloured sides. If multi-national tournaments were to appease the world and permit the White body to resume overseas tours, Black hopes of integrated cricket would disappear.2

Towards the end of 1971, Mr. Colin Cowdrey, the England cricketer, visited South Africa with a view to arranging a tour, but stipulated that this would have to be supported by the S.A. Cricket Board of Control as well as by the African Association. Mr. Howa, however, would not support the proposed tour even if the visiting side were multi-racial - on the grounds that separate matches against the different race groups in South Africa would be a perpetuation of apartheid.23

The England cricketer, Mr. Basil D'Oliveira, was reported to have been prepared initially to play in the Cowdrey team, but soon after returning to South Africa at the beginning of the year he apparently changed his mind. Mr. D'Oliveira had a hostile reception because of his support for the Cowdrey tour.', According to the Rand Daily Mail, he returned to find that Mr. Howa spoke for 25 000 cricketers and that he himself had been "completely out of touch with the feelings of non-White cricketers in South Africa." Mr. D'Oliveira himself said that he had accepted Mr. Howa's viewpoint "largely because of the solid allor-nothing front of our cricketers . . 5
It was announced in June that a Wilfred Isaacs XI would tour England in 1973. Mr. Isaacs said that the Government had approved his proposal to take an African schoolmaster on the tour.

**Soccer**

Soccer is far and away the most popular sport among Africans. Soweto alone has 1,000 amateur and 15 professional teams, and matches draw enormous crowds, for whom the facilities are very inadequate. If the African players were freed from their narrow confines, South Africa could probably become a major world soccer power within a few years.2

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**Sport**

Black soccer administration is divided between three unions (one each for Africans, Indians, and Coloured people) which are affiliated to the (White) Football Association of South Africa (FASA), and several non-racial bodies affiliated to the non-racial S.A. Soccer Federation (SASF). Black clubs are under strong pressure from FASA to affiliate to one of the three separate unions in accordance with the policy of “multi-nationalism”, but the Federation attempts to persuade them to affiliate to it with a view to creating a single powerful non-racial union encompassing all Black soccer players. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi is the patron of the Federation.4 It appeared from numerous press reports that the Federation is gaining more and more support.

Federation affiliates in Johannesburg have been refused the use of municipal facilities unless they leave the Federation and join one of the separate unions. The City Council's policy was strongly criticised and is reportedly under review.7 In March, FASA gained a 70 per cent vote from its members in favour of multi-racial soccer at international level.7 However, the Government refused FASA permission to hold multi-racial trials for the selection of national teams.8 A proposed multi-racial match in Swaziland between Durban City and Kaiser Chiefs (a leading Soweto team) was cancelled after Government intervention.9 In April, a Coloured player who had played in a White team without his official race classification being revealed was removed from the team when it did become publicly known.9

The S.A. Soccer Federation, the Coloured Labour Party, the Natal Indian Congress, and various other bodies resolved to boycott (White) National Football League matches because Blacks are not allowed to play in them and because Africans are seldom allowed to watch them while other Blacks attending are subjected to segregation.1
FASA was suspended from the Federation of International Football Associations (FIFA) in 1964.12 Two White and one Black delegate represented FASA to the FIFA congress in Paris in August.3 The S.A. Soccer Federation applied to FIFA for membership in place of FASA, which it said had attempted to undermine Black unity by the policy of divide and rule and by requesting the Government and municipalities to bar the use of public fields by non-racial bodies.4

3 Post, 23 July.
4 The Leader, 14 July.
5 Rand Daily Mail, 13 April.
6 Ibid, 21 October.
7 Cape Times, 13 March; Post, 19 March.
8 Daily Dispatch, 23 May.
9 Ibid, 24 April.
11 The Leader, 28 April, 5 August; Post, 7 May; Cape Times, 17 June. 12 Sunday Tribune, 5 March.
13 Star, 25 July.
14 The Leader, 7 July.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

FASA received a special dispensation from FIFA for foreign soccer teams to participate in the S.A. Games in 1973. FASA then announced that at least two overseas teams would be invited to the Games to play separately against an African, a White, an Indian, and a Coloured team." Amateur soccer is an Olympic sport and therefore qualifies for "open international" status if at least two overseas teams take part." The four "ethnic" S.A. teams will also compete against one another.17

ATHLETICS

Black South Africans were excluded by the (White) S.A. Amateur Athletics Union from competing in the Comrades’ Marathon, claimed as the world's premier road race.1 The Goldtop Marathon, however, which is arranged by a local Natal club, was multi-racial.2 In June, a White and an African competed in marathon races in Europe as nominees of the SAAAU.3 In August, two Africans were included in an otherwise White South West African athletics team which competed in Rhodesia.4

At the congress of the International Amateur Athletics Federation in Munich in August, the SAAAU was given (by 225 votes to 155) a further two-year period in which to make progress towards removing race-track apartheid. The previous period had been extended in Stockholm in 1970 when S.A. teams were banned from competing abroad. The IAAF still allows South Africans to compete overseas as individuals and foreign athletics to run in South Africa, which, it was reported, "virtually assured the success" of the S.A. Games. The S.A. Modern Pentathlon Federation (which is open to all irrespective of race) retained (by 22 votes to 8) its membership of the international body in September.7
GOLF
Black South Africans were able to play against Whites on White golf courses in four "open international" tournaments on the 1971/72 circuit. The Minister of Sport has given "open international" status to the same four tournaments for 1972/73: the PGA Championships (Johannesburg, November), the S.A. Open (Durban, January-February), the S.A. Amateur (Johannesburg, February), and the International Classic (Port Elizabeth, February).'
15 Star, 24 August.
16 Ibid, 6 June; Post, 9 July.
17 Star, 21 June, 24 August; Post, 9 July.
I The Leader, 21 April.
2 Ibid, 14 July; Post, 16 July.
3 Windhoek Advertiser, 16 May.
5 Star, 31 August.
6 Rand Daily Mail, 31 August.
7 Star, 20 September.
I Ibid, 25 September.

SPORT
In August, the Transvaal Professional Golf Players' Association said that none of its members would play in the open internationals unless they got proper permanent facilities. The Black golfers were only allowed the use of club facilities during the open international tournaments. "But once these are over they lose their identity and must go around begging once more to play on proper courses and depending on the sympathy of White golf clubs. The impression created during and after the 1971-72 multi-national (i.e. open international) golf events was that Black golfers were being used as passports for White golfers to participate in overseas competitions without being harassed by demonstrators."2 Later in the month the Association agreed to play in the 1972/73 tournaments after discussions with White golfing administrators, at which the Black players were assured of facilities. Approaches would be made to White clubs to make their courses available to Black golfers on certain days when they would be closed to White members.'
In September, the president of the S.A. Golf Union, Mr. Basil Keartland, was reported to have said that a S.A. team to play in Rhodesia in 1973 would be chosen on merit, but that no Black golfers were anywhere near good enough to make the side so that it would in effect be all-White.4 Black golfing organizations, however, rejected the view that no Black golfers were good enough to make the team. Mr. Keartland subsequently denied having mentioned merit selection and confirmed that he had given the Government an assurance that the team would be all-White.6
A S.A. team participated in the Eisenhower Trophy in the Argentine in October.7

TENNIS
In 1972, for the first time, Blacks played official matches at Ellis Park, Johannesburg. In March, the Federation Cup was played after racially mixed trials
to select South Africa's team had been held at a private venue from which all but the tennis players and officials were excluded. In March and April seven Black S.A. players participated in the open international tennis championships. There was criticism of both events, however, because the selectors had not considered Black players who are members of the non-racial Southern African Lawn Tennis Union, which has refused to affiliate to the White tennis union on the grounds that this would make it subservient to the White body. The Black national tennis champion was thus excluded from both events."
2 Rand Daily Mail, 12 August.
3 Ibid, 17 August.
4 Ibid. 27 September.
I Ibid, 28 September.
6 Sunday Times, 1 October.
7 Rand Daily Mail, 7 October.
8 RR. 55/72.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

The Secretary of the non-racial union said that the mixed trials were merely a show-piece so that the (White) S.A. Lawn Tennis Union (SALTU) could claim that the S.A. team had been selected on merit. "We want non-racial tennis at all levels, and not just an isolated mixed trial to save White S.A. tennis from the doldrums."9

In January, a seven-nation special committee of the Davis Cup nations re-admitted South Africa to the Davis Cup.10 As pointed out in last year's Survey, the Government agreed to allow SALTU to send a multi-racial team to the Davis Cup. Subsequently, the non-racial union sent a memorandum to the special committee pointing out that Black players were only permitted to play against White in South Africa on rare occasions such as the open internationals. For the rest of the year they were confined to their own courts."1 In April, the special committee rescinded its earlier decision, and expelled South Africa from the 1973 Davis Cup. In July, however, a meeting in Helsinki of the International Lawn Tennis Union readmitted South Africa. SALTU announced that its team would enter the South American zone, instead of the European zone as in the past, where it faced the danger of withdrawals by eastern European countries opposed to apartheid. In terms of new regulations, any country which enters the Davis Cup and then withdraws because of South Africa's presence will be subject to "strong disciplinary action."1" In October, the Argentine announced that South Africans would not be admitted to the country should it be chosen as the venue of the South American zone.1"

SWIMMING

During 1972 the non-racial S.A. Amateur Swimming Federation suggested to the White S.A. Amateur Swimming Union that a single national controlling body be formed to "give all swimmers an opportunity to represent South Africa on merit". The proposal was rejected. Instead, the non-racial union was offered affiliation to the White one, which it refused as this would make it "subservient". The non-racial union then applied to the International Swimming Federation (FINA) for
affiliation in place of the White body.' FINA will send a commission to South Africa in 1973 to investigate the position of race and swimming in this country.'

OTHER SPORTS
Members of the (Black) Western Province Badminton Union
9 Sunday Times, 12 December 1971.
10 Rand Daily Mail, 15 January.
11 The Leader, 14 April.
12 Star, 12 July.
13 Ibid, 30 October.
1 Post, 11 June; The Leader, 21 July.
2 Ibid, 25 August.
3 Rand Daily Mail. 19 October.
426

SPORT
were forbidden by their chairman to attend matches played by a visiting Danish team because "by doing so they would be supporting racial sport". It was reported in February that the Government had banned White spectators from watching Black boxing tournaments; and in May Black spectators were prevented from watching the fight between the South African and the world lightweight boxing champions. The Government did, however, give permission for Blacks to box against Whites at multi-national and international level at the S.A. Games.7 A South African canoeing team competed in Britain in August, not under Springbok colours, but in the guise of members of a British club.8 Black drivers were allowed by the Government to compete in a national rally in the Valley of a Thousand Hills in February, but in July 18 Coloured drivers were refused permission by the Government to compete in the national Moonlight Rally in the Cape.19

A (White) S.A. squash team was due to play matches in Britain and Ireland in December.1 Demonstrations against them were planned, but the S.A. Squash Association said that the team would be selected on merit and would be all-White because there were no Black squash players in South Africa. In April, Black lifesavers handed back pennants they had won in a surf lifesaving championship because they objected to being called "South African non-white champions" rather than simply "South African champions."14 Members of the S.A. trampoline team competing in the world championships in Stuttgart in September were banned from a British competition by a London borough council because they "represented a racialist team."15

The third men's world bowls championships will be held in Johannesburg in 1976.16 Britain agreed to send a judo team to South Africa in 1973, having received an assurance that Blacks could be members of it.7 The 1973 world squash championships will be held in South Africa in 1973.18 The first world surf life-saving championships will be held in South Africa in 1974, but the president of the Surf Life-Saving Association of S.A. was unable to say whether the Government would allow the S.A. team to be chosen on merit.19

A Cape Times, 17 August.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
The parachuting commission of the Federation Aeronautique Internationale
passed a resolution in Paris in February which will evidently have the effect of
allowing South Africa to compete in future world parachuting championships."°
A move to expel the S.A. Amateur Rowing Union from the International Rowing
Federation was defeated in Munich in August.21 An application by the (White)
S.A. Amateur Weightlifting Union for the lifting of its suspension was rejected by
the International Weightlifting Federation.2 The IWF also rejected by 26 votes to
17 a proposal that the suspension be lifted for two weeks to allow overseas teams
to compete in the S.A. Games.3

SPONSORSHIP
According to a memorandum published in September by the Ad Hoc Non-Racial
Committee, representing Black sportsmen in ten major kinds of sport, foreign and
domestic companies, the Department of Sport, and other bodies have since 1965
contributed or promised to contribute R2 708 900 to White and only R102 150 to
Black sport in South Africa. The memorandum named, with the amounts they
paid out, large motor firms, oil companies, tobacco companies, insurance
companies and building societies, breweries, tyre manufacturers, property
developers, liquor firms, and soft-drink manufacturers. The memorandum pointed
out that a great many of the consumer articles sold by these firms had a greater
sale among Blacks than among Whites, and that business houses seemed to have
no compunction in making most of their profits from Blacks but sponsoring White
sport to a greater extent."
RECREATION
BEACH APARTHEID
The Sea-shore Amendment Act, No. 38 of 1972, empowers the Minister of Agriculture to delegate to the executive committee of a province control over any part of the sea or sea-shore. In turn, executive committees may confer control on local authorities. The effect is that provincial and local authorities may enforce apartheid on beaches by applying to them the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, 1953. Breach of the Act involves a fine of up to R200 or imprisonment for up to 12 months or both.

APARTHEID IN ENTERTAINMENT
The question whether multi-racial entertainment is legal is a vexed one. Often people are under the impression that racially mixed entertainments and social gatherings are always illegal, when this is not so. In many cases, permits are applied for (and even refused) when they are not needed in the first place. The S.A. Institute of Race Relations has attempted to clarify the question by publishing A Guide to Multi-Racial Contact in South Africa.
According to figures given in Parliament in 1972, in 1970 the Department of Community Development received 81 applications for White actors to appear before Black audiences; 70 were granted and 11 refused. In 1971 there were 112 applications, 97 being granted and 15 refused. In 1970, the Department received 23 applications for Black actors to appear before White audiences: 21 were granted and 2 refused. In 1971 there were 34 applications, 29 being granted and 5 refused.1
At the end of 1971, Blacks were permitted to attend an international pop festival at the Green Point Stadium in Cape Town, although the seating was segregated.2 At the same time, however, the authorities stopped a White pop group from playing before a Black audience in Verulam, Natal.3 In February, a pop festival on the Durban campus of the University of Natal was held on a uni-racial basis after the Department of Community Development refused a permit for it to be multi-racial.4
In Cape Town, at the end of 1971, a permit was granted for Blacks to see the pantomime Cinderella, with a White cast, but a similar permit was refused for the pantomime Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs.5 In Johannesburg, Blacks were prevented from watching the Black show Phiri at the University Great Hall because the permit allowed only for White audiences. Blacks had to see the show in the townships.6 Blacks were permitted to see an ice-show at the Wembley Stadium in Johannesburg at performances set aside for Black audiences.7 However, the Government refused
to allow the Spanish dancer, Luisillo, to appear before Coloured audiences in Cape Town. Luisillo's entry permit into South Africa evidently stipulated that he appear before Whites only.'

Dame Margot Fonteyn
The celebrated ballerina, Dame Margot Fonteyn, danced in Cape Town in April. The Government refused to relax the ban on Blacks at the Nico Malan Opera House for her performances,’ which were staged for Whites at the Opera House and for Coloured people at another theatre. The Coloured Labour Party organized a boycott of the special performances for Coloured people.”0 The Coloured philosopher and poet, Mr. Adam Small, condemned these as "patronising" and "disgusting in the extreme”. I’ In the event, as a result of the boycott, only 552 of the 2 000 available seats were sold, many Whites disguising themselves as Blacks to get into the theatre.12

Miss Eartha Kitt
The Black American entertainer, Miss Eartha Kitt, visited South Africa in May, performing before segregated White and Indian and Coloured audiences. Africans were not permitted to see her, and were reportedly "seething with anger" over both their exclusion and Miss Kitt's acquiescence therein.’3 The Coloured Labour Party called for a boycott by Indians and Coloured people because of the exclusion of Africans and because the performances were segregated. A leaflet handed out read: "The fault, Black man, lies with you. You are discriminated against because you support apartheid and second-class facilities by attending the Eartha Kitt Show.”14
At the end of her tour, Miss Kitt was ordered out of a dodgem car by an Indian attendant at an amusement park in Durban because the cars were for Whites only.5

5 Star, 8 December, 1971.
6 Rand Daily Mail, 7 January.
7 Ibid, 17 January.
9 ibid, 6 November.
Star, 17 February.
10 Cape Times, 17 March.
11 Star, 16 March.
12 Ibid. 27 April.
13 World, 3 May; Post, 14 May.
14 The Leader, 8 May.
15 Daily Dispatch, 20 May.
430

RECREATION
JOHANNESBURG INTERNATIONAL TRIENNALE OF THE ARTS
The S.A. Association of Arts cancelled an international arts festival it was planning for 1974 when the Government refused permission for the festival to be multi-racial - evidently because of the multi-racial social activities concerned: a communal restaurant and mixed entertainment.'
NON-RACIAL THEATRE
A national non-racial drama festival was held in Durban in July, and the formation of a national non-racial theatre union discussed.  
1 Rand Daily Mail, 27 November. 17 Post, 2 July.

432
SOUTH WEST AFRICA (NAMIBIA)
THE OVAMBO STRIKE'
The contract labour system
An account was given on pages 338-40 of last year's Survey of the open letter addressed to the S.A. Prime Minister by two (African) leaders of the largest churches in South West Africa, and of their subsequent meeting with the Prime Minister, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, and the Commissioner General of the Native People of South West Africa (Mr. Jan M. de Wet). Briefly, the church leaders maintained that South Africa, in its attempts to develop their territory, had failed to take cognisance of human rights as declared by the United Nations in 1948.

Towards the end of the year, certain church leaders apparently had further talks with the Commissioner General, during which they drew attention to mounting resentment of the contract labour system. Mr. de Wet is said then to have made a public statement denying any allegations that this system was "a form of slavery". It was a purely voluntary arrangement, he said. Men who objected to it did not have to enter into contracts.

This statement, apparently, triggered off unrest. The economies of Owambo and other parts of the territory's Northern Sector are based mainly on subsistence farming. In order to obtain cash for buying consumer goods and paying taxes, most of the men have to work as migrant labourers in the South. Until recently, the only way in which they could obtain such work was by entering into labour contracts through the S.W.A. Native Labour Association (SWANLA), which had headquarters at Grootfontein, and to which would-be employers sent requisitions for labour, indicating the type of work, period of the contract (generally 12 to 18 months), and wages offered. After a medical examination, recruits were classified according to their physical condition and age, then given the choice of vacancies deemed by the officials to be suitable. The minimum wages stipulated by SWANLA were extremely low (many employers did, in fact, pay more). Once having entered into a contract, a man committed a criminal offence if he broke it without reasonable cause. He could not change his job, and had to return home for at least a month. The report that follows is based on a large number of reports, hence, in most cases, individual references are not given.

2 They ranged from R3.75 a month for a "piccanin" to about R8.69 a month for a physically fit miner, plus free food, accommodation, and medical treatment if required.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA
on completion of the contract. Unless in exceptional circumstances, his family could not visit him during his period of service. In the larger urban areas, most of
the contract labourers were required to live in municipal compounds: John Kane-Berman described conditions in two of these compounds in a paper entitled "Contract Labour in South West Africa," published by the Institute of Race Relations in April.3

The devastating effects on family life of the contract labour system were described by Miss Rauha Voipio, who had been a missionary in S.W.A. for 25 years and had made a special study of this matter. With the kind permission of the publishers, John Kane-Berman included in his paper an English translation of part of her booklet.

Events during the strike

It was widely reported that, during the early part of December 1971, more than 3,000 Ovambo workers at the compound in Walvis Bay held a series of evening meetings to protest against the whole contract labour system, and elected a committee which, on about 10 December, presented a series of demands to the employers. They wanted an end to the system, freedom to travel and to take up employment where they wished, and higher pay. If these demands were not met, they wished to return home, and would go on strike from 14 December if arrangements for their repatriation had not been made by then.

Government officials, and a group of headmen brought from Ovambo, met the workers to discuss their grievances. Additional police were brought to the area. Some of the men did agree to return to work; but 800 or more were repatriated to Ovambo by rail and road.

On Sunday, 12 December, a mass meeting of nearly 6,000 Ovambos was held in the compound at Katutura, the African township of Windhoek. There had, for some time, been dissatisfaction about overcrowding, dirt, and poor food in this compound, and a move to build guard towers around it was forcibly resisted. On 13 December, about 5,500 men stayed away from work. Next day, police surrounded the compound and sealed it off. Officials met representatives of the strikers, stating that Ovambo tribal leaders were to hold discussions with SWANLA during February. The men could choose between returning to work and awaiting the results of the discussions, or being sent back home. Most of them chose the latter alternative, and, from 16 December, were repatriated in a series of special trains. Many governmental and municipal services and industrial and commercial concerns were crippled. White students and schoolboys, then on holiday, were asked to carry out essential services, being offered a White labourer's pay of R109 a month (as against an average of, perhaps, R20 paid to Africans, plus free food and quarters costing the employers about R10,75 to R12 a month).
Within the next few days the strike had spread to the Klein Aub copper mine near Rehoboth, the Tsumeb copper and other mines (the largest employers of contract labour), a number of other widely scattered mining concerns, and other industries. It was estimated that, by mid-January, there were some 13,000 Ovambo on strike in more than 20 centres. About eight mines were forced to close temporarily or move into marginal production. Farmers were not badly affected, nor were the Consolidated Diamond Mines at Oranjemund, where pay and working conditions are reported to be better.

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said in the Assembly on 18 February that 10,495 strikers had by then been transported back to the Northern Sector of the territory. Further recruiting via SWANLA at Grootfontein was halted.

Various commentators pointed out that the strike appeared to have spread well-nigh spontaneously. The only proof found of any organization were some handwritten leaflets. Yet, within a few days, thousands of men, at extremely widely-dispersed centres, had followed the pattern first manifested at Walvis Bay. Those who returned home did so peaceably: in spite of the presence of many policemen, including reinforcements from the Republic, there appeared to be no intimidation at the points of embarkation. The Chief Deputy Commissioner of Police was reported to have stated that strikers told the police they had no quarrel with their employers, but only with the contract labour system. The resentment of this system was clearly very widespread and deeply felt.

Strenuous efforts were made by employers and officials to obtain replacement labour from other homelands in S.W.A. or elsewhere; but it was reported that, by mid-January, fewer than a thousand had been recruited.

Discussions of the situation
At the end of December 1971, government and municipal officials and representatives of the major employers in South West Africa flew to Pretoria for discussions with the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development and senior members of his staff.

Meanwhile, in Owambo, an ad hoc Workers' Committee was elected, with representatives from the various regions, under the chairmanship of Mr. Johannes Nangutuualu. This committee drew up a pamphlet setting out the strikers' grievances and demands, which formed the basis for a series of resolutions passed at a mass meeting of some 3,500 Ovambos held at OlunoOndangwa on 10 January. John Kane-Berman incorporated the full text in his memorandum, RR.30/1972. Briefly, the strikers called for freedom of
movement and selection of jobs, and much improved wages. They complained of the break-up of family life and of conditions in the compounds. It was decided that the men would go back to the lands and raise as big a food-crop as possible. A meeting of the Ovambo Legislative Council held on 14 January condemned the contract labour system, and called for the abolition of SWANLA and for higher wages for migrant workers. At this meeting Chief Filemon Elifas was elected Chief Councillor to succeed Chief Ushona Shiimi, who died towards the end of 1971.

A conference at Grootfontein, originally scheduled for February, was held, instead, on 19 and 20 January. First, the Minister of Bantu Administration and his Deputy met representatives of SWANLA and the major employers of contract labour, and agreed upon a new scheme for the recruitment of workers. This plan was then discussed by the Minister with the executive councils of the two African governments involved. The Chief Councillor of Ovambo and the Acting Chief Councillor of Kavango both ratified the agreement. It was reported that Mr. Nangutuuala, who had been invited to Grootfontein, also accepted the new agreement and announced over Radio Ovambo that it met most of the strikers' demands.

The revised labour contract
In the paper quoted earlier, John Kane-Berman included copies of the previous and the new labour contracts. SWANLA was abolished, and replaced by employment offices to be run by the homeland authorities. On the new contract form the words "employer" and "employee" were substituted for "master" and "servant". Workers would no longer be classified into various grades, but merely required to pass a medical examination. The period of service would be as agreed upon by the two contracting parties. Besides stipulating basic wage rates, the revised form made provision for other pecuniary benefits. Previously, a recruit had to agree to work "at all fair and reasonable hours". In terms of the new agreement, normal working hours were stipulated, hours worked in excess of this to be regarded as overtime. The employer would no longer be required to provide a recruit with a shirt, pair of shorts, and a blanket, and was empowered to deduct the cost of the initial train and/or bus fare from the worker's pay, in weekly or monthly instalments. He would be responsible for paying for the return trip only if the worker had completed the agreed period of service. A recruit would be able to enter the service of a group of employers instead of that of a single person only. Provision was made for either party to give a stipulated period of notice, but if the worker did so, he must first repay any recoverable advances, unless these were waived. When the contract was terminated, the worker would be free to enter into the employment of the same or
another employer without first having to return home, but subject to employment bureaux regulations. The employee could be permitted to take unpaid leave during his period of service, and paid leave might be granted, on agreed terms, at the end of the period.

As before, the employer was bound to provide free accommodation, wholesome food, and medical attention. The employer, instead of the Administration, would bear the costs of any necessary hospitalization.

Previously, a group of recruits could be attested on a single form. In future, there would be a separate contract form for each recruit, and he would be given a copy of it.

The Ovambo who had not been on strike and had remained in the Southern Sector of the territory were enabled to enter into these revised contracts.

With the assistance of the Divisional Inspector of Labour, employers in various sectors of the economy, including farming, formed associations which decided upon uniform wage rates and working conditions, in order to eliminate competition for labour through individual bargaining.

The first of the new recruiting offices opened in Ovambo on 12 January, with others following in that territory and in Kavango. On 18 February the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said in the Assembly1 that more than 6 000 Ovambos had signed the new contracts and gone to work in the Southern Sector. A senior Ovambos Councillor, Pastor Cornelius Njoba, was quoted11 as having stated on 3 May that about 15 000 men had by then been recruited.

There were, initially, a few manifestations of dissatisfaction. Workers returning to the Katutura compound found that it had not been repaired or cleaned since the disturbances in December (the cleaners had been on strike), and they were reported2 to

10 Hansard 3 col. 262.
1 Star, 3 May.
12 Daily Dispatch, 10 February.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA

have smashed 4 000 of the 6 260 beds and broken some windows. Arrangements for temporary accommodation were made while the compound was repaired.

There was a strike at fishery plants at Walvis Bay over the question of night shifts, and one among municipal workers at Otjiwarango, who demanded more pay. An increase was granted, but eleven men who were still dissatisfied were sent back to Ovambo.

Some employers complained that men were breaking their new contracts and deserting to look for better-paid jobs. Employment bureaux regulations were then more strictly enforced.

Employment bureaux regulations

Regulations for the establishment of employment bureaux in the Territory of South West Africa were gazetted on 30 March as Proclamation 83 of 1972, to apply in areas outside the homelands. Employers in proclaimed areas must register as such at a bureau, and must notify all vacancies. They may engage
African workers through the bureaux only, and approved accommodation must be available. African men in the "White" areas who are over the age of 16 years (except for full-time students), and who are unemployed, must register, too, as must women workseekers.

An employment officer may refuse to sanction the employment of an African if, inter alia, he is satisfied that the African has not received permission to leave his homeland to seek work, or is for any reason not permitted to be in the area concerned, or has not been released from an existing contract of service. A Native Commissioner may order an African and his family to be sent to his homeland or last place of residence or any other specified place if the African is refused employment, or is deemed to be unlawfully in the area, or has unlawfully broken an employment agreement, or if his contract of service is for any reason cancelled by the employment officer, or if on three consecutive occasions he refuses without lawful cause to take up suitable employment offered to him. If the employment officer cannot offer suitable employment, the African concerned may be ordered to leave a proclaimed area unless he qualifies to remain there in terms of provisions similar to those of "Section 10" in the Republic. Should a Native Commissioner order that an African be removed from an area, he may specify that the costs be met from money belonging to the man concerned.

A worker who is dissatisfied with his employment may complain to an employment officer, who will refer him to the Native Commissioner for an investigation of his complaint. If this is considered to be justified, the Native Commissioner may cancel the contract of service and allow the African to apply through the bureau for other employment.

The maximum penalty for a breach of the regulations is a R100 fine or imprisonment for six months.

The Owambo Legislative Council Labour Enactment (No. 6 of 1972) was gazetted as Government Notice R1417 of 18 August. Its provisions are much the same as those of the Bantu Labour Regulations in the Republic. The fees payable by employers outside Owambo are set out in detail. An initial contract for work in the Southern Sector may be extended, but the total period may not exceed 24 months for a married man or 30 months for a single man. The worker must then return to Owambo, but may go back to his previous employer, if both parties so wish, in terms of the "call-in" card system. Women may work outside Owambo only if they are married and are to be employed in the district where their husbands work. A worker receives a copy of his agreement of employment.

Wage rates

The Divisional Inspector of Labour in Windhoek is reported to have said in August that, since the strike, African wage rates had increased by 66 to 100 per cent. However, Mr. Kane-Berman stated in March that these rates were still very low. Cash wages (excluding the value of free food, accommodation, etc.) averaged about R24,70 a month in the fishing industry, and R15,43 rising with experience to R23,18 in building construction. The general average at the
Consolidated Diamond Mines was about R50, but other mining companies paid considerably less.

DISTURBANCES IN OWAMBO

The events

On 1 February the Minister of Police told the Assembly that the police had obtained information that "agitators" planned to murder chiefs and headmen, attack Whites, and burn kraals and official buildings. He described various acts of violence, which had, apparently, taken place near the Angolan border in the area of the large Ukwanyama tribe, which straddles the frontier.

No full account of the events has been published, for clergy, ministers, Press reporters, and others were refused permission to enter Owambo. Some information was, however, given in Parliament, at an inquest and at two trials, and was reported by people resident in the area.

It seems that, during January and early February, gangs armed with such weapons as pangas, bows and arrows, hunting knives, and axes attacked the kraals of several headmen and of a senior Legislative Councillor, burning huts and several shops. One man, said to be a witchdoctor, was murdered. A sub-headman was seriously injured, his wife killed, and his shop looted. Three White policemen were stoned when they went to the aid of a stock inspector who was being attacked. Many kilometers (reports ranged from 112 to 220 km.) of the border fence between S.W.A. and Angola were cut and flattened. Railway vehicles, said to have been transporting newly-recruited workers, were stoned: for a time the service in the extreme north was suspended. White women and children were evacuated for some days from the border town of Oshikango.

Parties of policemen, on patrol or investigating crimes, stated that they were attacked by armed gangs on four or more occasions. In various skirmishes, seven Ovambo were shot dead by the police, one died of wounds, and at least three others were wounded. A number of men were arrested, and weapons seized. Police reinforcements were sent to northern Owambo, police helicopters patrolled the border fence, and units of the Defence Force were used, according to the Minister of Police, to help to protect the international boundary and to provide additional transport. It was stated that Portuguese forces were moved to their side of the border, where kinsmen of the tribe on the South West African side had been destroying huts and stock pens.

An inquest into the deaths of the eight Africans who had been killed by the police was held in the magistrate's court at Ondangwa on 15 May. Subsequently, the Attorney-General in Windhoek confirmed the magistrate's finding that the men had been shot by the police in the execution of their duties.

Emergency regulations

13 See 1968 Survey, pages 159 et seq.
14 Financial Mail, 25 August.
15 Hansard 1 cols. 108-111.
438
Regulations for the Administration of the District of Ovamboland were gazetted in terms of Proclamation 17 of 4 February as amended by Proclamation 26 of 14 February. Some of these came into effect immediately. With certain exceptions (e.g. church services, meetings of statutory bodies or called by heads of kraals to discuss domestic matters, sports gatherings, entertainments, etc.) all meetings, gatherings, and assemblies were prohibited unless they had been authorized in writing by the Native Commissioner, who might lay down conditions. Individual persons might be prohibited from attending gatherings that were legally held. It became an offence to say or do anything which was likely to have the effect of undermining the authority of the State, the Ovambo Government, officials of these bodies, or a chief or headman. It was rendered an offence, too, to make an intimidating statement, to boycott a meeting called by an official, chief, or headman, and to fail to obey any lawful order given by a chief or headman, or to treat him with disrespect. The Minister of Justice was empowered to prohibit any person from entering, being in, or leaving Owambo or any part of it.

No interdicts might be issued for the stay of orders given or decisions made under the regulations, nor might civil or criminal actions be instituted against the State, Ovambo Government, or an official in respect of any action taken by them in carrying out the regulations. Persons suspected of committing any offence, or intending to do so, or having information relating to an offence, might be arrested without warrant and detained for questioning until the authorities were satisfied that they had fully and truthfully answered all relevant questions put to them. Unless with special permission, detained persons might not consult with legal advisers. The maximum penalties for offences under the regulations were laid down as R600 or three years or both. Other parts of the regulations could be brought into force should the Minister so decide, relating to the entry into and departure from stated areas, and the possession of dangerous weapons. Persons detained under the emergency regulations
In reply to a question in the Assembly on 11 April, the Minister of Police indicated that 213 persons had thus far been detained under the emergency regulations for Owambo. Of these, 130 had been released, after periods ranging from one to 53 days. There were 83 still in detention, having been held for periods between five and 62 days. Questioned again on 26 May, the Minister said that another 54 persons had been detained, apparently making 267 in all. Ten of those being held on 11 April had been released. Some people were still in detention; but 88 had been charged with various offences and 53 convicted. The cases against 9 had been withdrawn. Other cases had not yet been concluded. Charge of alleged intimidation
Fourteen men were arrested during the first few days of the strike. Two were, apparently, released, but on 20 April eleven Ovambo and one Coloured man appeared in court in Windhoek on charges of intimidating workers at Katutura and causing them to stay away from work. In the course of his judgment, the magistrate said that, as a result of the strike, most employers had realized that they had been underpaying their workers. The Coloured man and three Ovambos were acquitted. The remaining eight Ovambos were found guilty, and sentenced to R25 (or 25 days), together with two months' jail suspended for three years.1

A case resulting from the disturbances
Nine men, who had been arrested in Owambo in February,
16 Hansard 10 col. 768,
17 Hansard 16 cols. 1093-5.
Is Rand Daily Mail, 31 December 1971 and 8 June.
440

SOUTH WEST AFRICA
appeared in court in Windhoek on 9 August, on various charges relating to the murder of a man, the murder of a sub-headman's wife, attempted murder of the sub-headman, and theft from his shop. Advocate Brian O'Linn, for the defence, argued that the indictments were confusing and unspecific, and that certain information divulged in them prejudiced the defence.
On 22 September the State withdrew all charges against three of the men. A fourth, Mr. Sakius Kakoto, faced one charge of murder, and was to be tried separately. The original charge sheet against the remaining five was withdrawn but another substituted, alleging that they had committed all of the four crimes mentioned.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS' SECURITY COUNCIL
IN FEBRUARY
At a meeting held in Addis Ababa on 4 February, the United Nations' Security Council passed a resolution reaffirming that Namibia was the direct responsibility of the United Nations, and that South Africa's presence there was illegal and detrimental to the interests of the people of the territory. All member-states were called upon to observe strictly the arms embargo against South Africa. It was resolved that, should South Africa refuse to withdraw, the Security Council should meet again to discuss possible action under Article 7 of the United Nations' Charter, which relates to threats to peace. The voting was reported' to be 13 in favour and none against, with Britain and France abstaining.
But there was a new development. A second resolution was passed, instructing the Secretary General, in consultation with delegates from Argentina, Somalia, and Yugoslavia, to "initiate as soon as possible contact with all parties concerned", with a view to establishing conditions to enable the people of Namibia, freely and with strict regard to the principles of human equality, to exercise their right to self-determination and independence. The Secretary General was asked to report back by 31 July. Fourteen of the fifteen members supported the resolution: China announced its non-participation in the vote.
Mr. Vorster is reported to have said in the Assembly that if the Secretary General, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, wanted to come to discuss self-determination with the S.A. Government and others, he would find the Government a willing participant in the discussions because this was, after all, Government policy. If he wanted to come to act as the mouthpiece for extremists he would still be welcome, but he would be wasting his time.

VISIT OF DR. WALDHEIM, AND THE OUTCOME
Dr. Waldheim arrived in Cape Town on 6 March on an ex-
I Rand Daily Mail, and Star, 5 February; Sunday Times, 12 March.
2 Star, 4 February.
441

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
ploratory visit. After preliminary talks with the Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and others, he made a three-day tour of S.W.A. During this visit he had private discussions with deputations and individuals representing a large variety of population and political groups and of different shades of opinion, and was handed a number of memoranda.
At a farewell dinner given in his honour, Dr. Waldheim is reported to have said that he was looking forward to continued contact with South Africa with a view to solving the problems facing this country and the United Nations. Mr. Vorster said that various ideas had been put forward which would be the subject of further discussion.'

Dr. Waldheim said, later, that the main stumbling-block to a solution was one of the interpretation of the terms "self-determination and independence". The United Nations could accept only self-determination for the whole territory, whereas the S.A. Government had put forward an interpretation which meant self-determination for the different population groups in the territory. Efforts were being made to clarify various points through diplomatic channels. Shortly afterwards, South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Hilgard Muller, visited New York for further talks with Dr. Waldheim.
In his report to the Security Council in July, Dr. Waldheim described the views that had been expressed to him during his visit, dividing them into three broad categories: those who wanted a united and independent territory; those who wanted self-governing homelands and, in some cases, an eventual federal union; and those (White members of the territory's Executive Committee) who thought that a federal system would lead to tribal conflict, and advocated slow political progress. (The views of individual groups are described later.)

His further discussions through diplomatic channels, Dr. Waldheim said, had explored the question of the appointment of a special representative of the Secretary General to study in greater depth all questions relating to the attainment of self-determination and independence. He believed that it would be worth-while to continue discussions through such a personal representative, appointed in consultation with South Africa and the other parties concerned. The S.A. Government had offered to co-operate by providing such a representative with
facilities to visit South Africa and South West Africa, and to meet all sections of the population.

Dr. Waldheim said he had expressed concern to the S.A. Government over moves (described later) to grant self-government to certain groups, expressing the hope that no measures would be taken which could adversely affect the search for a solution. In a
3 Star, 10 March.
4 Rand Daily Mail, 11 and 12 April.
5 Rand Daily Mail, 20 July; Star, 21 and 25 July.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA
statement made in reply, 'Mr. Vorster said that the moves were not a new departure, but part of a process by which the peoples concerned were being prepared to exercise, at the appropriate time, their right of self-determination. The final choice would lie with them.
At Dr. Waldheim's request, the Security Council voted to extend the mandate granted to him on 4 February, and to authorize him to appoint a special representative to assist him. He was asked to submit a further report by 15 November. The voting was 14 to nil, with China again declaring non-participation.
VISIT OF DR. ESCHER
After negotiations between the parties concerned, Dr. A. M. Escher of Switzerland was appointed as Dr. Waldheim's personal representative in this matter. Various overseas bodies, including movements-in-exile, then requested interviews with Dr. Escher, and sent him memoranda.
He arrived in South Africa on 8 October, accompanied by assistants from Togo, India, and France. After talks with the Prime Minister and others, the party then made an extensive tour of S.W.A., holding private meetings with a wide cross-section of the people. Views reportedly expressed to him are described later.
After this tour, Dr. Escher had talks over five days with Mr. Vorster, Dr. Muller, and other senior Government representatives. Asked by the Press to comment, Mr. Vorster said that any decisions that might have been made were subject to the approval of the Secretary General. Dr. Escher was reported as having said, "A wide field of basic issues has been covered, and I feel that progress has been achieved". He returned to New York on 3 November.
ELEVEN-NATION COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA
In its latest annual report, the 11-nation Council for Namibia, set up by the General Assembly in 1967, stated that the situation in the territory had deteriorated. Measures taken by the S.A. Government to grant self-government to various groups would further destroy the prospect of national unity.
It was mentioned on page 337 of last year's Survey that the then Secretary General, U Thant, had proposed the creation of a special fund of at least R2 450 000 for the administration of Namibia when South Africa withdrew, to be used mainly to train indigenous people to take over the administration. The Council for Namibia reported that thus far, only R23 800 had been received, from Finland,
Japan, Indonesia, and Iran. It was planned to use the money in training 22 expatriate Namibians in various trades and academic fields, in Kenya and Zambia. On 20 July, quoted in The Star, 25 July. I Star, 4 November.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

BANTU LAWS AMENDMENT ACT, NO. 23 OF 1972

While the Ovambo labour dispute was in progress, and the discussions with United Nations' representatives taking place, there were various constitutional developments in South West Africa, and it is useful to discuss these, and the attitudes of the people, at this stage. Economic developments are described later. The Bantu Laws Amendment Act, passed early in 1972 by the S.A. Government, substituted the word "Native" for "Bantu", wherever contained in laws in force in South West Africa. It substituted the term Owambo for Ovamboland, and Kavango for Okavangoland. The Act provided for considerably increased powers to be granted to legislative councils in the territory, inter alia the protection of life, persons, and property, the constitution of tribes, registration of births, marriages, and deaths, land settlement, the establishment of townships (with the prior approval of the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development) and their administration, control of road traffic and of intoxicating liquor, the conservation of game, fish, and flora, and the administration of deceased estates.

OWAMBO

The creation of the Ovamboland Legislative Council was described on pages 307 et seq of the 1968 Survey. Each of the seven tribes in the area sent six representatives to the Legislative Council, appointing one of them to the Executive Council. They were elected through tribal councils in the traditional manner; but it is of interest that only about half of them were chiefs or senior headmen. The Legislative Council as a whole elected the Chief Councillor from among the executive members. Seven departments were created: Authority Affairs and Finance, Education and Culture, Agriculture, Justice, Community Affairs, Works, and Economic Affairs. During 1972, the Council asked the S.A. Government for increased status and powers: a constitutional committee was set up to formulate proposals for this. In a Press statement published on 27 June the Chief Councillor, Chief Filemon Elifas, said that self-government on the Transkeian pattern had been promised. There would be a Cabinet of Ministers in place of the Executive Council, and Owambo would have its own flag and national anthem. Some of the members of the Legislative Council would be elected by popular vote. The S.A. Government would probably introduce the necessary legislation in 1973. The capital was to be Ongwediva. Senior Headman Fillipus Kaluvi was appointed the chief 1 Star, 28 August.
SOUTH WEST AFRICA

representative of Ovambo in White areas, with assistants in the larger towns. During its 1972 Session the Legislative Council passed enactments dealing, inter alia, with finance, the registration of members of the nation and issuing of identification documents, trading and licensing, and the branding of livestock. There is, apparently, a feeling among certain members that the land question has not been satisfactorily settled. The brother of the Chief Councillor, Headman Immanuel Elifas, is reported2 to have said, at a meeting of the constitutional committee, that the S.A. Government had "cheated" the Ovambo out of traditional hunting grounds in the Etosha Pan area. He is stated to have added, "Any person who speaks against the Government is immediately victimised and intimidated by officials and by government supporters".

In the statement quoted earlier, the Chief Councillor said that his Executive Council had made it clear to Dr. Waldheim that they did not see themselves as part of a unitary state known as Namibia. They wanted to remain Ovambo, in their own country. (The Ovambo number about 342 000, constituting nearly 46 per cent of the total population of the territory.)

It is not known to what extent the Executive Council's views are shared by the people. Bishop Leonard Auala of the 300 000member Evangelical Lutheran Ovambo-Kavango Church told Dr. Escher that the Blacks opposed fragmentation, wanting independence for the territory as a whole. The strikers' leader, Mr. Johannes Nangutuuala, and five others, were detained for five days by the Chief Councillor after they had signed a document opposing the homelands policy.' Mr. Nangutuuala heads an embryonic Democratic Co-operative Development Party, which believes in a unitary S.W.A. Under the emergency regulations, his party has been prevented from holding meetings to gain supporters.

The leader of Swapo (the S.W.A. People's Organization) is Sam Nujoma, living in exile. It is reported that, at a meeting in Brussels, he and other exiled leaders announced that they would intensify guerrilla attacks on the northern boundaries of the territory. Members of the organization within the territory have not associated themselves with this campaign. They are said' to be mainly Ovambos, although led by a Herero, Mr. David Meroro. The deputy president, Mr. Nathaniel Maxhulili, was the first person in S.W.A. to be served with a banning order under the Suppression of Communism Act, imposed in July, shortly before he was to

2 Rand Daily Mail, and Star, 14 October.
3 Bantu, February.
4 Star, 16 October and 17 November.
5 Rand Daily Mail, 10 October.
6 Star, 26 June.
Star, 24 February; Rand Daily Mail, 17 October.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

have addressed a meeting of African workers in Walvis Bay.' A Press report9 states that the Ovambo Legislative Council asked the S.A. Government to ban
Swapo in its area, maintaining that it had played a role in the unrest early in 1972; and that similar requests were made by the Kavango Legislative Council and the Damara Council of Headmen.

KAVANGO
Kavango, too, is during 1973 to be granted the Transkeian type of self-government, with a Cabinet, a partially elected Legislative Council, and its own flag and anthem. Proclamation 232 of 15 September provided for the establishment of departments of Authority Affairs and Finance, Works, Education and Culture, Justice and Community Affairs, and Agriculture. The constitution of the existing Legislative Council was described on page 285 of the 1970 Survey: it closely resembles the current one in Owambo. During 1972 it passed enactments regulating its financial affairs and conditions of employment in its service, and imposing an income tax on citizens whose taxable income exceeds R600 a year, also a general tax of R2 a year on men over the age of 18 years who are not full-time students or incapacitated, indigent, etc.

In a memorandum to Dr. Escher the Chief Councillor, Chief Linus Shashipopo, said that his Legislative Council supported separate development, and rejected the idea of a federal independent government. If the Whites withdrew, there would be inter-tribal wars, he feared. His people number about 56 000.

EASTERN CAPRIVI
In terms of Proclamation 6 of 2 February, Eastern Caprivi was granted a first-stage Legislative Council, with a seat at Ngweze near Katima Mulilo. Each of the two tribal authorities in the area would designate its chief and not more than 13 other persons as members. The Executive Council would consist of the two chiefs and one member designated by each tribal authority. The Chief Councillor would be elected by the Legislative Council as a whole from amongst the members of the Executive: Chief Maiba Moraliswami was subsequently chosen. He supports the policy of separate development.

Proclamation 35 of 25 February created four departments (each, as in Owambo and Kavango, headed for the time being by a seconded White director): these are Authority Affairs and Finance, Agriculture and Works, Education and Culture, and Justice and Community Affairs.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA
According to Press reports, an opposition group called the Caprivian National Union emerged, but has been suppressed. Its leader, Mr. Branden Simbwaye, has been restricted to a farm in Damaraland.

DAMARALAND
There are, roughly, 65 000 Damaras. The homeland allocated to them is to the south of the Kaokoveld, near the coast, with a capital at Korixas (formerly called Welwitschia). This land, as originally demarcated, was of little economic value, useless for much except keeping limited numbers of sheep and goats. Otherwise,
the only local employment was on two tin mines. (There are tourist attractions, which could be developed.) According to the 1970 census, only about 7,700 of the Damara were living in this homeland. '

The Damara have no traditional chiefs. Headmen have been elected by those resident in the homeland, and a Council of Headmen formed, led by Senior Headman Justus Garoeb. During August, representatives were granted an interview with the Prime Minister to discuss the land question. It was reported that the Government offered to exchange a barren strip of Damara land near the coast for 231 developed cattle and karakul farms, bought from Whites, further inland. One report stated that, by the end of August, a large number of Damara from other parts of the territory had voluntarily moved to these farms. Press reports have been confusing, however, for it was stated, a month later," that the Prime Minister had rejected a request for more land (possibly in addition to the 231 farms mentioned). The Government offered first-stage self government to the Damara, and clearly expected acceptance, for by September buildings for a Legislative Council, offices and official residences, a hospital, and extensions to an educational complex were being constructed at the capital. However, the Council of Headmen told the Commissioner-General that they were unwilling to request or accept a Legislative Council, since this would imply that they were satisfied about the question of land. They agreed, however, that meetings should be held at various centres at which the Commissioner-General would explain Government policy and enable the people to decide their attitude to it. '

Headman Garoeb is stated to have told Dr. Escher that, provided the land issue was settled, his Council would accept self-government, possibly as an interim step to the creation of a federal legislature in which all groups would have representation.

11 Star, 20 September and 12 October.
12 Financial Mail, 4 August.
Is Sunday Express, 16 July; Star, 31 August.
14 Star, 27 September.
15 Star, 26, 27 and 29 September.
16 Rand Daily Mail, 18 October; Star, 2 November.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
Damara living outside the homeland have established a so called Tribal Executive, which is led by Mr. Oscar Kharuchab, and is said to favour independence for the territory as a whole under United Nations' supervision. '

NAMALAND
The Nama belong to the Khoisan group of peoples, and numbered 32,853 in 1970. Their economy is mainly a subsistence one based on animal husbandry with communal grazing; but many live and work in White areas. The homeland allocated to them is in the southern, central, part of the territory, inland from Lüderitz. In the Assembly on 26 May the Minister of Coloured Affairs said that
their area had been consolidated and enlarged: Only 3 properties with a combined area of about 27 000 hectares had still to be bought from Whites and incorporated. An outlying part of the reserve would become a White area. The Namaland Consolidation and Administration Act, No. 79 of 1972, defined Namaland, and laid down that existing laws in so far as they related to the area would be administered by the Ministry of Coloured Affairs. Remaining assets of the S.A. Bantu Trust in Namaland would be vested in the Minister of Coloured Affairs in trust for the people of the area. The Minister would be deemed to be the owner of all land over which prospecting and mining rights were granted. No person other than a Nama might be granted such rights. Prospecting and mining fees and royalties would be paid to the Minister for appropriation as he might deem fit.

VOICE OF THE PEOPLE
The Voice of the People is an organization led by Mr. K. H. Conradie, and is said to have support from elements of the Damara and Nama groups. A delegation was granted an interview with the Prime Minister during September. According to various reports, they said that they opposed apartheid and the homelands policy, and called for increased human rights in a number of fields, but they strongly condemned violence as a solution.
In their discussions with Dr. Escher, delegates appear to have concentrated on attacking Swapo and its claim overseas to represent the people of the territory. The organization is said to be held in suspicion by the anti-apartheid groups.9

HERERO PEOPLE
The Herero people, numbering about 50 000, appear to be split into various groups, the strongest being the National Unity
17 Star, 18 September.
18 Hansard 16 col. 8198. Also Senate Hansard 12 col. 4287. 19 Star, 24 July, 18 and 20 September, 4 October; Sunday Times, 15 October.
448

SOUTH WEST AFRICA
Democratic Organization (NUDO), led by Chief Clemens Kapuuo, who heads the Herero Chief's Council. (As described on page 341 of last year's Survey, he was elected to this position in 1970.) He has, for some years, been one of the most outspoken of the territory's indigenous leaders.
Opposed to him is the Rev. B. G. Karuaera's Association for the Preservation of the Tjamuaha/Maharero Royal House, members of which oppose Mr. Kapuuo's claim to the paramount chieftaincy. They are, apparently, allied with the pro-Government Mbandero group of Herero in the east of the territory.
Some of the Hereros are said to be supporters of the more radical Swanu (S.W.A. National Union), the original leaders of which are living in exile and oppose Swapo. The local leader is Mr. Gerson Veii.
According to reports, the Chief's Council told Dr. Escher that they favoured independence for the territory, and South Africa's immediate withdrawal. The Mbandero group, too, was against separate ethnic homelands.20

REHOBOTH BASTERS
At Advisory Board (Basterraad) elections held in 1971, the Rehoboth Baster Volksparty won all seven seats. This party has, for years, been wanting to sever all ties with South Africa and to establish an independent state; but despite repeated discussions no agreement on constitutional provisions has been reached. It was reported that the Basterraad asked Dr. Escher for the immediate introduction of a federal form of government under the auspices of the United Nations.

The opposition group among the 16,500 Basters is the Bastervereniging (Union), which favours the S.A. Government's policies, and rejects outside interference.

NATIONAL CONVENTION OF FREEDOM PARTIES

A convention was called at Rehoboth in November 1971 to discuss the future of S.W.A. and the form of government that delegates would like to see. In the chair was Mr. J. S. A. Diergaardt of the Baster Volksparty. Those present included members of NUDO, the Volksparty, Swapo and Swanu. Chief Hendrik Witbooi of the Nama attended the opening proceedings, but then withdrew. A central committee was elected to draft a constitution for an independent Namibia; but later concentrated, instead, on drawing up a petition to Dr. Waldheim.

Representatives met both Dr. Waldheim and Dr. Escher. They are stated to have pressed for South Africa's immediate withdrawal, the preservation of the territory as one identity, an end to racial segregation, the release of political prisoners, and the abolition of the labour recruitment system.22

COLOURED PEOPLE

The existing S.W.A. Coloured Council is composed of eleven members appointed by the S.A. Government to represent various regions. In terms of Proclamation 200 of 18 August, however, as from a date to be determined by the State President, the Council will consist of six elected members and five persons nominated by the Government. A general registration of Coloured voters has been commenced.3

The Federal Party is reported to have told Dr. Escher that it supported the policy of separate development, for if a unitary state were established the small Coloured community might become swamped by other ethnic groups. It disapproved of outside interference.

Mr. A. J. F. Kloppers has been campaigning for an alliance of "moderate" parties, provisionally called the S.W.A. NonEuropean Unity Movement (Swaneum), as a rival to the National Convention. Some members are said to want a separate homeland for the Coloured group.24

REPORT TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL BY DR. WALDHEIM

The text of Dr. Waldheim's report to the Security Council was made public on 17 November. He had found Dr. Escher's report of the views expressed to him very useful, he said. In spite of the fact that many issues still remained to be clarified,
the results of the mission contained a number of elements which the Council
might wish to pursue. He hoped that the information contained in the report would
provide a useful basis for the Council to consider in deciding on the future course
of action.
Dr. Waldheim then disclosed an agreed statement of the substance of the
discussions between Dr. Escher and Mr. Vorster. Dr. Escher had asked the Prime
Minister for a clarification of his Government's policy of self-determination and
independence with regard to Namibia. Mr. Vorster was of the opinion that an
appropriate stage had not been reached for a detailed discussion of the
interpretation of these terms: this could be done with better results once the
necessary conditions had been established and the inhabitants had had more
administrative and political experience.
Dr. Escher then asked whether Mr. Vorster could discuss practical steps leading to
the exercise of self-determination. The Prime Minister believed that an essential
element was experience
22 Star, 24 February, 18 September, 13 October; Sunday Times, 15 October. 23
Government Notice 607 of 14 AprU.
24 Star, 12 October; Rand Daily Mail, 14 October; Sunday Times, 15 October.
450
SOUTH WEST AFRICA
in self-government, which, in the circumstances, could best be achieved on a
regional basis.
Dr. Escher reported, "This seemed to me acceptable in principle provided that the
necessary conditions for the exercise of self-determination were fulfilled, and at
the same time an authority for the whole territory would be established.
"The Prime Minister said he would be prepared to establish an advisory council
drawn from representatives of the various regions, regional governments, or
authorities, and he would assume overall responsibility for the territory as a whole
- i.e. distinct from the ministries now responsible for different sectors.
"I also enquired whether the Government would consider the abolition of
restrictive legislation, including the existing limitations on the freedom of
movement and freedom of speech, including the right to hold
meetings.
"The Prime Minister stated that to a large extent curbs on freedom of movement
were necessitated by the need to exercise influx control, which was in the interest
of all inhabitants in the territory. He would examine the possibility of removing
restrictions without impairing influx control.
"The Prime Minister further indicated that he was in agreement that there should
be political activity including freedom of speech and the holding of meetings."
Dr. Escher continued, "The Prime Minister stated that . . . once there would be a
fully representative view among the inhabitants, both South Africa and the UN
would have to take cognisance of that view. He could not agree to force the
inhabitants to adopt a system of government they did not want...
"I informed the Prime Minister of the impressions I had gained during my visit to
Namibia . . . It was my general impression, for which the Prime Minister felt there
was insufficient basis, but which I maintained, that the majority of the non-White
population of Namibia supported the establishment of a united, independent Namibia. They expected the assistance of the UN in bringing it about. On the other hand, certain sections of the non-Whites and the majority of the White population supported the 'homelands' policy and approved continued rule by South Africa . . .

"The Prime Minister reaffirmed the willingness and desire of his Government to continue contacts initiated by the Secretary General with a view to exploring all possible avenues for an agreed solution acceptable to the inhabitants of the territory. He felt, however, that it would be unrealistic to expect agreement on the various issues involved in a matter of days or weeks. He stressed in taking decisions concerning the territory, he had to take the views of his own people into account."

In his conclusions, Dr. Escher stated that he believed some progress had been achieved, and that contacts between the

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
Secretary General and the S.A. Government, as well as the other parties concerned, should be continued.

On 6 December, a resolution introduced by Argentina was adopted by 13 votes to none, with Russia abstaining and China continuing her policy of "non-participation" in votes on the question.

The resolution authorised Dr. Waldheim to continue "his valuable efforts" to seek a solution, asking him to report back to the Council not later than 30 April 1973.

It asserted that any solution must be based on the rights of the people to self-determination, national independence, and the preservation of territorial integrity.

It rejected "any interpretation, measure, or policy" to the contrary. South Africa was called upon to co-operate fully with the Secretary General "to bring about a peaceful transfer of power" in the territory.

PURCHASE OF LAND FOR ADDITIONS TO THE HOMELANDS
In the Assembly on 22 February, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration stated that the State had purchased from Whites 427 farms or portions of farms, and 72 erven in towns and villages, to be added to the homelands. The total area acquired was 3 227 754 hectares, and the cost to the State had been R 26 554 785.

(Certain small outlying reserves have been acquired too, for White occupation.)

OFFICIAL BUDGETS OF EXPENDITURE
According to the official Estimates of Expenditure to be defrayed from the S.W.A. Account in the 1972-3 financial year, the following were among the amounts budgeted:

Bantu Administration and Development:
Health services
Contribution to administration of Native Affairs
Miscellaneous
Contribution to services provided by Native Authorities .... .... .... .... .... ....
Contribution to services provided by the S.A.
Bantu Trust .... .... .... .... .... ....
Bantu Education ....... ....... ....... ....... .......
Public Works (schools for Coloured pupils) ....... Coloured Relations and
Rehoboth Affairs .......
R
2788000
527 500
500
2820 000
8191000 3 686 000 536 000 5710000
24 259 000
1 Hansard 4 col. 299.
2 R.P. 411972, Votes 10, 11, 17 and 25.
452

SOUTH WEST AFRICA
In addition, it was estimated that Native Authorities would spend Ri 149 000, and
the S.A. Bantu Trust R3 600 000, from their own sources of revenue. The
Republic's Department of Bantu Administration and Development3 was to pay
the salaries of 296 officials seconded to S.W.A. and Eastern Caprivi.
The cost of the services to be provided by other S.A. Departments of State was
not specifically mentioned; but the Report of the Controller and Auditor-General
for 1970-14 gave certain figures in respect of Owambo and Kavango only:
Agricultural Technical Services .........
Audit ...... ...... ...... ...... ...... ......
Police ...... ...... ...... ...... ...... ......
Water Affairs ........................
R
285 569
11 505 790 220 2066454
Expenditure by State-established corporations is mentioned later.
The Appropriation Acts of the two then-established Legislative Councils for
1972-3 were:
Owambo
Authority Affairs and Fin
Community Affairs ....
Works ....
Education and Culture
Economic Affairs ...
Justice ............
Agriculture ....
inec ....
Authority Affairs and Finance .... Justice and Community Affairs Works ....
......
......
Education and Culture .... Agriculture ....
1079.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

DEVELOPMENT WORK

Work is proceeding on the Kunene hydro-electric project. Water from the Kunene River is already flowing into the canal system in Owanbo from the pumping station at Caluque inside Angola.'

In an address given to the Kavango Legislative Council in February' the Hon. J. de Klerk, President of the Senate, said that there were small irrigation schemes in this area, which were being extended. Vegetables and lucerne were being produced. It was announced by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development in April8 that suitable White farmers were to be invited to act as agents for the Department in Kavango, in developing farms there and training Africans in the work. They would probably be appointed for ten years, with an option to renew their contracts for another five years.

An agricultural college has been established in Owanbo.

A clause of the Mines, Works, and Minerals in South West Africa Amendment Act, No. 47 of 1972, provided that an owner of a prospecting claim or mining area in any Native Reserve or in the Rehoboth Gebiet or on any land reserved for occupation by Coloured persons may not dispose of this claim or property unless with the permission of the Minister concerned, who may impose conditions.

Replying to a question in the Assembly on 4 February,9 the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that the Bantu Investment Corporation had granted 23 loans to African general dealers, transport concerns, ploughing contractors, and bottle store owners, to a total value of R108 650. It had built 17 business premises for letting to Africans. Concerns established by the Corporation itself in various homelands were:

Trading
8 wholesalers
8 garages and service stations
1 liquor wholesale business
1 savings bank

Industrial
1 furniture factory
1 bakery
2 butcheries
1 cool drink factory

a number of building construction units.
Together, these concerns were employing 131 Whites and 2306 Africans. According to the report of the Bantu Investment Corporation for the year ended 31 March 1971, there were then two furniture factories making school desks, office furniture, etc. During the year, five retail concerns and a bus service, previously managed by the Corporation, had been transferred to Africans. On 1 September The Star reported that the Corporation’s savings bank had R650000 in fixed deposits in its eleven branches (under African managers) after only three years in existence. In Ovambo, a light steel industry and polony factory had recently been established, and plans were in hand for a meat canning factory and a tourist resort at the Ruacana Falls. The Corporation was training bricklayers, plasterers, carpenters, electricians, plumbers, panel beaters, motor mechanics, painters, and other artisans.

The report of the Department of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs for the year ended 31 March 1971 stated that the Rehoboth Investment and Development Corporation had developed a breeding and demonstration farm on land acquired from Whites. Other such land, 61000 hectares in extent, had been divided into 26 economic farming units, which would be allocated to Baster applicants. There would be a probationary period of a year, followed by a five-year lease with option to purchase. Loans had been granted to 40 farmers, and there were subsidies available for water supplies, boundary and camp fences, and the combating of soil erosion.

EDUCATION

Educational statistics for S.W.A. are included in the chapter of this Survey dealing with education.

Three legislative measures were passed dealing with the education of the ethnic groups falling under the Republic’s Department of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs: the Basters of Rehoboth Education Act, No. 85 of 1972, the Coloured Persons in South West Africa Education Act, No. 63 of 1972, and the Nama in South West Africa Education Act, No. 86 of 1972. The terms of each were similar.

The education of all three groups is to be controlled by the Department of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs. (The Minister of Coloured Affairs said1 that this change of control had, in effect, taken place after the South West Africa Affairs Act was passed in 1969. He would, under the new measure, be able later to transfer control to the people’s own constitutional institutions.)

The Minister was given wide powers to establish, and (after consultation with those concerned) disestablish or take over the

10 R.P. 2511972, page 11. 11 Assembly, 14 April, Hansard 10 cols. 5031-4.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

control of educational institutions; to appoint, promote, transfer, and discharge
members of staff; to control courses of training, examinations, and fees payable;
to establish school boards and committees; and to make regulations under the Act.
Compulsory education may be introduced.
Private schools or classes catering for more than fourteen pupils must be
registered with the Department and comply with prescribed requirements, and
may qualify for subsidies or loans.
Teachers may not publicly criticise the Department except at a meeting of an
association recognized by the Minister; may not hold public office without the
Minister's consent, and will be deemed to have resigned if they seek election to a
legislative body. Staff associations may be recognized (the Minister said that a
Coloured Persons' Educational Association had already achieved recognition).

12 If the Minister takes over the control of a State-aided school, the agreement of
the governing body must be obtained.

INDEX

A
Abe Bailey Institute of Inter-Racial Studies-21, 57 Action South and Southern
Africa-61 Africa Institute of S.A.-58 African Explosives and Chemical Industries,
Ltd.-349
homelands-see Homelands and names of individual areas
Independent Churches-31, 44 ff
-liberation movements-see Guerrillas
local government-160
National Congress-in-exile--108
People's Democratic Union of S.A. (Apdusa)-96
States, relations with-120 Africans, attitudes in S.A.-32
(Also see Bantu, Black consciousness, chapter on South West Africa)
Afrikaanse Studentebond-396 Afrikaner Broederbond-4 Afro-Malagasy and
Mauritian Organization (OCAM)-126 Aged Persons-see Elderly Agriculture-see
Farming
Aid centres-1 62 Alexandra Township hostels-146 Anglican Church-see Church
of the Province Anglo-American Corporation and De Beers Groups Chairman's
Fund-348,
349
Apdusa-see African People's Apprentices-200, 266 f, 379, 380, 382 ASSET
bursaries-400, 401 Association for the Education and Cultural Advancement of
the African
People (Asseca)-28, 30 Athletis-424
Attorneys-72, 330 Auala, Rt. Rev. L.-445
Banishment of Africans-75 Banned persons, publication of statements prohibited-74 Banning 'of persons-16, 31, 40, 72, 74 if, 339, 445
.,., publications-31, 80
Bantu Affairs Administration Boards-152
beer-see Liquor
Education Account Abolition Act, 20/1972-344
adult-358
bursaries-see Bursaries
double sessions-350
examination results-353
financing of-344
"homogeneous" schools and school boards-354

458
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
Bantu Education media of instruction-351
per caput expenditure-347
pupils-350
schools-347
oil, teachers-354
teachers, training of-357
technical and vocational-307, 323, 375 f
textbooks-352
universities-see Universities
Investment Corporation-194 et seq, 208, 454
Labour (Settlement of Disputes) machinery-341
Laws Amendment Act, 23/1972-176, 177, 210, 211, 444
Mining Corporation-193
Transport Services Amendment Act, 11/1972-156
Welfare Trust-349, 399, 400
(Also see Africans)
Basotho Qwaqwa area-174 Basson, Mr. J. du P., M.P.--6, 7, 8 Beaches, apartheid
on-429 Behrman, Miss Eve-103 Biko, Mr. Steve-26, 30 Birth certificates,
Africans-162
control-414
Black consciousness-21, 24, 25 if, 31, 386 if
People's Convention-27, 76
Sash-59 if, 75, 161, 164, 165, 220
spots-167, 175
Bloemfontein, h'ousing-141 Boerehaat campaign-2, 7 Bophutha Tswana,
boundaries-37, 174 constitution-183 political parties-38 (Also see Homelands)
Border industrial areas-277, 278 0 Botswana, relations with-120 Boxing-427
Brazil, relations with-120 Britain, relations with-113, 127, 222 Brits-282
Broederbo-nd-see Afrikaner
Building industry, employment in-298 Bureau for State Security-70
INDEX

459
Church/State relations-40 Churches-40 et seq
,, employment in service of-330 It overseas, attitudes to S.A.-50
(Also see under names of individual churches, and Inter-Church Aid)
Ciskei, boundaries-35
consolidation of-169
constitution-180 (Also see Homelands) Citizenship, loss of-76 Coloured
community, attitudes of-14
It, in South West Africa-450, 455
Development Corporation-213
education-360
It, compulsory, gradual introduction of-362 double sessions-362,,
, examination results--363
financing of-360 per caput costs-361 pupils--361, 362, 363 standards of education
achieved-359 teachers-356, 357, 364 ff, 402 teachers, training of-365 technical
and vocational-378 university-see Universities
local government-159
Persons' Representative Council-14, 16, 18, 19, 20
rural areas--214
Commerce and finance, employment in-194, 302 fl Commission of Enquiry into
Certain Organizations-52, 394 Community Development Amendment Act,
93/1972-128 Congregational Church-see United
Contract labour in South West Africa-432, 435, 437 Contributions in Respect of Bantu Labour Act, 29/1972-152
Cooper, Mr. Saths-27, 29, 76 Cost of living-230 et seq Council of Churches-see
S.A., and World Cousins, Mr. Benjamin-103 Cricket-421
Crime, comment on-86 Criminal statistics-85, 87
D
Damaraland-447 De Beer, Mr. David-41, 74, 77 Decentralization of industry-see
Employment Defence expenditure and equipment-67, 111, 116, 117
,, Force, employment in-313
,,,, 1 possible Black members-68 Democratic Party, Transkei-35 Dentists-385,
407 Deportation orders-76 Desai, Mrs.A.-100 Desmond, Rev. Father Cosmas-75,
132 Detention under security laws, Ovambo--440
,,,,,, Republic-94 et seq, 98, 100, 102
Dialogue with African states-121, 124, 125
Diggs, Congressman Charles-77, 118, 224

460 A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
Dimbasa-205, 206 Dock workers-see Stevedores
Doctors-404, 409
Domestic servants-323 Durban, group areas and housing-129, 139, 144, 151

Dutch Reformed Churches-45, 46, 205

E
East London, group areas and housing-133, 138, 150
Eastern Caprivi-see Caprivi
Economic situation-215 Edenvale hospital-408 Education Information Centre-
Economists-323

Elders, homes for-413
Elderly people, homes for-413

Eglin, Mr. Colin-11, 12, 79

Education Information Centre-399

Economic situation-215 Edenvale hospital-408 Education Information Centre-

Elderly people, homes for-413

also see Bantu, Coloured, Indian, White

Eglin, Mr. Colin-11, 12, 79

Elderly people, homes for-413

also see Bantu, Coloured, Indian, White

Employment-215

9, apprentices-see Apprentices

9P border industries-277, 278

9, construction-298

9, decentralized areas for African employment-276

9, go Coloured and Indian employment-285

dockworkers-see Stevedores

9, domestic servants-323
economically active persons-247

government service-309

Economy-215

Elders, homes for-413

also see Bantu, Coloured, Indian, White

Eglin, Mr. Colin-11, 12, 79

Elderly people, homes for-413

also see Bantu, Coloured, Indian, White

Employment-215

9, apprentices-see Apprentices

9P border industries-277, 278

9, construction-298

dockworkers-see Stevedores

9, domestic servants-323
economically active persons-247

government service-309

in African homelands-see Homelands

government service-309

9P industrial conciliation machinery for Africans-202, 334, 341

9, in border industrial areas-280

labour bureaux for Africans-249

local authorities-315

manpower and labour shortages-258

manufacturing industry-269 et seq

mining-289

miscellaneous types-328

Physical Planning Act-276

Police Force-310

Posts and Telegraphs-322

9, Prisons Service-312

$ provincial service-315

Railways and Harbours Administration-317

reservation of work-253 training of workers-264

unemployment-216, 252
INDEX
Entertainment, apartheid in-429 Esher, Dr. A. M.-443 et seq, 450 Essak, Mr. Y.-
100 Essop, Mr. M. S.-99 et seq
F
Farming and farm labour-286
in 99., 9 use of prison labour-89
91 in African homelands-189
,, It South West African homelands-454
Federal Coloured People's Party-14, 15, 17, 18, 20 ifrench-Beytagh, the Very
Rev. G. A.-95 Films--80, 82
Foreign affairs-111 et seq
attitudes of churches overseas-50
Africans-252
investment in South Africa-51, 77, 119, 218 ff France, relations with-113, 127
Freedom fighters-see Guerrillas Front for the Liberation of Mozambique
(Frelimo)-109
G
Games-see Olympic, and S.A.
Gatherings, prohibition of-73 Gazankulu, boundaries-37
consolidation of-173, 174 (Also see Homelands) General Law Amendment Act,
102/1972-70, 72, 153, 178 Gerdener, Mr. T. J. A.-3, 61 Germany, relations with-
114 Germiston-136
Golf-424
Graaff, Sir De Villiers, M.P.-3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 52 Grahamstown-138, 141, 150
Group areas-128 et seq
Amendment Act, 83/1972-133, 159
families displaced and resettled-128, 133, 137
property values and compensation-132 Guerrilla fighters-107, 108 fl
91 ,, support for-49
H
Habelgaarn, Rev. A. W.-43. 49 Hayes, Rev. Stephen--40, 41, 74, 77 Health--404
et seq
services and hospitals in the homelands-178, 409 Herero people-448 Herstigte
Nasionale Party-I, 5, 13 Hiemstra, Mr. Justice V. G.-87, 88 Homelands, African-
166 et seq area of-166
attitudes of leaders-32 et seq Bantu Investment Corporation-see Bantu
commercial development-194, 196 ff
461
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
Homelands African consolidation of-169 contributions by urban local authorities
to development

INDEX
463 Influx control-see Pass laws Institute of Race Relations-25, 52, 54 if, 89, 130, 140, 142, 154, 156, 164, 204, 212, 325, 350, 399, 400, 429, 433 Inter-Church Aid-43, 196, 205 Inter-Denominational African Ministers' Association-27 International Labour Organization-339, 340 Isaacson Foundation Bursary Fund--400 Ivory Coast, relations with-125 J
Jacobsen, Mr. Q. C. B.-103 Japan, relations with-115 Japanese children, education of-371 Job reservation-see Employment Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Co. Ltd.-349 group areas and housing-134, 142, 146 Lenasia health services-407 Soweto, crime in-87 Joseph, Mrs. Helen-74 K Ka'puuo, Chief Clemens-449 Kavango constitutional developments-446 Koka, Mr. D'rake-28, 29, 31, 46, 76, 336 KwaZulu boundaries-36 consolidation of-171, onstitution-181 (Also see Buthelezi, and Homelands) L Labour bureaux-249, in South West Africa-435, 436, 437 contracts-see Contract, and Pass Laws manpower, etc.-see Employment Party-14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 27, 220 Ladysmith-133, 140, 175, 283 Land and Labour Party-13 Lebowa, consolidation of-173 onstitution-184 (Also see Homelands) Legal aid-92 Legodi, Mr. E.-104 Leon, Mr. S. L.-15, 18, 27, 220 Lesotho, relations with-120 Liberals, White: altitude of Black consciousness groups-26 Limehill-175, 205 Liquor profits from sales to Afrians-144 Local authorities (urban), contributions to development of homelands 144, 155, employees of-315 membership of International Union-134 powers being ceded to Bantu Administration Boards-152 government for Africans, Coloured, and Indians in urban areas-159

464
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972

INDEX
Organization of African Unity-107, 121, 126 Ovambo strike-432 Owambo., disturbances and trials-348, 440
" emergency regulations-439
9 Legislative Council-435, 444
P
Paarl, group areas-137 Pass laws-161 et seq., " aid centres-162 c. contract labour in S.A.-91, 250
9 . . . "-, " S.W.A.-432, 435, 437 employers, role of-164
influx control-143
persons with no right to live anywhere-165
prosecutions under-161
section 10 rights-162
South West Africa-432, 435, 437
womenr-161
Passports-76
Pensions-see Social Physical Planning Act, effects of see Employment
Pietermaritzburg, housing-129 Pilane, Chief T. R.-38 Pityana, Mr. B.-25, 30
Polaroid Corporation-228, 350, 399 Police, conduct of-91
Force, employment in-310 Population, age groups-64, 238
growth rates-63
of homelands-168
Port registration-65
Port Elizabeth, group areas and housing-129, 133, 138, 144, 150 Portugal, relations with-il5, 123 Portuguese territories, guerrilla fighters-109 Potgieter Commission's report-69 Presbyterian Church-42, 45, 49, 50, 402 Press-see
Publications
Pretoria, group areas and housing-129, 13.3, 142, 144, 146, 148 Prison labour used on farms-89
warders-91
Prisons, conditions in and functions of-86, 88
in Transkei-178
on farms-89
,, ration scales-89
Service, employment in-312
(Also see Crime, Detention)
Productivity and Wage Association-235 Progressive Party-10 f, 13, 26, 79
(See Mrs. Suzman for attitudes expressed in Parliament)
"Protocol guide"-176 Publications, banning of-31, 80 et seq
,, Press, freedom of-82
,, registration of newspapers-72
R
Race classification-see Population
465

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
Radio-82
Railway services for African, Coloured, and Indian urban commuters-158 Rajab,
Mr. A. M.-23, 27 Rand Bursary Fund-402 Rations for destitute in the homelands-
205 Red Cross-205 Rehoboth area and people-449, 454, 455 Reservation of work-
see Employment Reserves, African-see Homelands Resettlement townships for
Africans-203
,, , pensions paid-see Social rations issued-205 Restriction orders on persons-see
Banning Rhodes scholarships-401 Rhodesia, guerrilla fighters-108 109 if
relations with South Africa-124 Richards Bay-284 Roman Catholic Church-42, 45
if, 50 Roodepoort-1 33 Rooks, Mr. E. G.-16 Rugby-419
Rupert, Dr. Anton-189 Russell, the Rev. David-206, 207
S
Sada-204
Scandinavia, relations with-115 Scholarships-see Bursaries
Schwarz, Mr. Harry, M.P.C.-7 Scorpio-78, 395 Seashore Amendment Act,
38/1972-429 Second Bantu Laws Amendment Act, 30/1972-162 Security
Council-see United Nations
,, Intelligence and State Security Act, 64/1972-70
,, laws, detentions and imprisonments under-94
services, Commission on--69
Vote for-65
Sinclair, Mrs. Jean--60, 207
(Also see Black Sash)
Soccer-422
Social Democratic Party-16 Social pensions-411
5t for destitute in the homelands-206
9 maintenance grants-206, 412, 414 Sono, Mr. T.-29, 387, 388 S.A. Bureau of
Racial Affairs-55
Confederation of Labour-239, 255 et seq, 263, 335, 337, 340
Congress of Trade Unions-339, 340
Council of Churches-42 f, 49, 205, 220, 402
Games-419
Indian Council-see Indian
Institute of International Affairs--63
Personnel Management-237 Race Relations-see Institute
Students' Organization-25, 27, 29 f, 386 ff
Voluntary Service--61
South Ndebele homeland-174 South West Africa-432 et seq

INDEX
467
South West Africa agriculture in homelands-454
,, development work-452, 454
9, education--455
guerrilla activity-108
Smining-454
National Union-449
national units-see individual names of each
Non-European Unity Movement--450
People's Organization-445, 448, 449
political groups (other)-see individual names United Nations debates-see United
Nations Southern Africa Technology Development Group--196 Spot-416
attitudes of Black sportsmen--417
Government policy for inter-racial sport-416
overseas attitudes to Government's policy-416
sponsorship of-428
Spro-Cas-27, 44 fi, 45, 76, 218, 330, 333 Stevedores-244, 325 Steyn, Mr. Justice
J. H.-86, 87, 90 Steyn, Mr. S. J. Marais, M.P.-8. Strikes by Africans-331, 342
(Also see under the various categories of employment concerned)
Student organizations-386
(Also see under the names of the various organizations)
Students' voluntary service--61
,, wages commissions-243 et seq
Suppression of Communism Amendment Act, 2/1972-72 Suzman, Mrs. Helen,
M.P.-ll, 12, 23, 52, 130, 156, 157, 158, 170, 213, 335 Swartz, Mr. Tom-14, 15,
17, 18, 19 Swazi people in S.A.-37, 174 Swaziland, relations with-120
Swimming--426
T
Taxation-209, 345 Taylor, Mrs. C. D., M.P.-6, 17, 385 TEACH Fund-348
Television-84
Tennis--425
Terrorism Act, trials under-94 et seq
United Nations debate on international situation-106 Theatre-429
Timol, the late Mr. A.-98, 100 et seq Tiro, Mr. 0. R.-387 Trade Union Council of S.A.-239, 246 et seq, 255 et seq, 263, 327, 334, 336, 338, 340 Trade Unionism-332 for Africans-335 Transkei, administration-178, 179 ,, boundaries-34 emergency regulations-75, 97 Government, powers of-177 local government-179 Townships Board-179 (Also see Matanzima, and Homelands) Transport services between homelands and towns for migrants-140 Transport, bus services for Africans in homelands-207

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1972
Transport, bus services for Africans in urban areas-156 9P by rail for African, Coloured, and Indian urban commuters-158 employment in-317, 331 Services for Coloured Persons and Indians Act, 27/1972-158 Travel documents-76, 119 Treurnicht, Dr. A., M.P.-5 U Unemployment-216, 252 United Congregational Church-42, 50 Nations proceedings, international terrorism-106 PP .South Africa's policies-III, 416 South West Africa--441, 443, 450 Par'ty-1, 5 iff 8 if, 13, 23, 130, 156, 157, 158, 170, 178, 212, 335 United States, relations with-1 16, 223 (Also see Foreign Investment) Universities, degrees and diplomas awarded-384 2t employment on staff of-328 enrolment at each-383 finance and unit costs-383 student affairs-386 et seq University Christian Movement-3i, 52 of Durban-Westville-385 Natal-59, 404 Pretoria--61 ,, Rand Afrikaans--63 Rhodes-58 Stellenbosch--61, 385 the Western Cape-385 the Witwatersrand--61, 404 Urban administration-152 Bantu Councils-160 Training Project-341 V Venda area and people-173 Visas-77, 119 Voice of the People---448 Vorster, the Rt. Hon. B. J., M.P.-3, 14, 32, 33, 34, 52, 106. 112, 395, 441, 443, 450 W Wage levels-233 (Also see Employment) ,, regulating machinery-242 Waldheim, Dr. Kurt-106, 441 et seq, 450
Also see under names of homelands in S.W.A.

Welfare--411
White people's education-371 et seq
" P5 , examination results-372
" is , financing of-344
PP P9 , parallel-medium schools-373
" , pupils and schools-372 9, standards achieved-359 9P , statistical data, paucity of-371

INDEX
White people's education teachers-356, 357, 372 technical and vocational-381
universities-see Universities
R , Youth Preparedness-373 Winter, the Rt Rev. Colin O'B.--41, 77
Witwatersrand, housing-129, 144
(Also see under names of individual towns)
9, Youth Voluntary Service-350
X
Xhosa Development Corporation-195, et seq, 204, 205
Z
Zambia, relations with-124 Zenzele African Women's organization-205 Zulu, the Rt. Rev. A.-49, 220

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