ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS
Very grateful thanks are expressed to the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, which again
made a handsome grant to the Race Relations Research and Library Trust. The
Trustees of this Trust decided to allocate the major portion of the grant towards
the costs of producing this issue of the Survey of Race Relations.
The writers of this Survey are once more enormously indebted to Mrs. Ann
Honeywill, who undertook the onerous task of proof-reading with her usual
competence and cheerfulness, and to Mrs. Renata Walker and Mrs. Connie
Matthews who again kept Press cuttings, checked material, and did the typing.
Members of the Institute's library staff gave much valued help.
Grateful thanks are given, too, to Members of Parliament of various parties,
government and municipal officials, officials of the various Bantu Affairs
Administration Boards, and others who contributed information, especially Mr.
W. J. P. Carr and Mrs. Ina Perlman.
The writers are appreciative of the co-operation again given by the staff of the
printing firm, The Natal Witness (Pty) Ltd.
NOTE
This Survey is stated to be for the year 1976. As it was wished to have it
published early in the new year, however, it was impossible to include mention of
events that took place during the last few weeks of the year. This will be done either in the subsequent edition or in fact-papers published during the course of 1977.
All dates mentioned refer to the year 1976 unless otherwise stated.

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

CONTENTS
POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS: THE WHITE POPULATION GROUP
The National Party
United Party
Progressive Reform Party
Proposals for a united Opposition
POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS: THE COLOURED POPULATION GROUP
Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group (Theron Commission)
Funds allocated to the Coloured Representative Council
Coloured political parties
Discussions with the Prime Minister in August, and the outcome
Opening of 1976 Session of the CRC
Meeting with the Prime Minister in September
Continuation of the CRC’s Session
POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS: INDIANS
Powers of the SA ‘Indian Council
Participation in an Inter-Cabinet Council
Formation of political groups within the SA Indian Council
MEETING OF THE INTER-CABINET COUNCIL
POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS: AFRICANS
Black consciousness movements
Groups resulting from the disturbances in South Africa
Homeland leaders
Black Unity Front
S.A. INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS
WOMEN FOR PEACE
POLULATION OF SOUTH AFRICA
Estimated size of the population
Vital statistics
Population registration
Registration of births of Africans
Immorality
Use of the term "kaffir" deemed an insult
MEASURES FOR SECURITY AND THE CONTROL OF PERSONS
Expenditure on security, defence, police, and prisons
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

THE SOWETO RIOTS AND SUBSEQUENT UNREST
Background to the language question ................. 51
Events leading up to 16 June ......................... 53
The June riots ........................................ 57
Reaction to the June riots ............................ 58
Continuation of unrest ................................ 62
Further work stoppages in the Johannesburg area .......... 67
Unrest in the Western Cape, August to September ......... 71
Events of October and November ........................ 76
The Cillie Commission ................................. 82
ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE, POLICE, AND PRISONS
Contraventions of the law ............................. 88
Criminal statistics .................................. 88
Capital punishment ................................. 90
Corporal punishment ................................. 91
Crime in areas of high population density ............... 91
Comment on crime in South Africa ..................... 92
Use of prison labour ................................. 93
Education of prisoners .............................. 93
Photographs and sketches of prisoners .................. 93
Conduct of the police ................................ 93
Conduct of prison warders ............................ 95
Penal Reform ...................................... 95
Legal Aid .......................................... 95
Civil defence ....................................... 96
Private security action ................................ 97
"M akgotla" ......................................... 98
Black magistrates ................................... 99
Police informers ..................................... 99
Right-wing intimidatory action ................................. 100
ADMINISTRATION OF SECURITY LEGISLATION
Restriction orders on persons and escapes from SA ................. 102
Removal orders in the Transkei ................................... 105
Banishment of African ............................................ 106
Warnings against involvement .................................... 106
Prohibition of gatherings ......................................... 106
Travel documents ................................................... 107
Imprisonment and trials under the security laws, 1975 .............. 109
Detentions and charges under the Terrorism Act during the first
six months of 1976 .............................................. 110
Detentions in terms of the Internal Security Act ..................... 111
Persons known to be in detention in terms of security legislation
as at 30 November .............................................. 113
Categories of people detained .................................... 114
Reactions to the detentions ........................................ 119
Detentions in the Transkei ......................................... 119
Deaths in detention ................................................. 121
Trials under security legislation:
Appeals against 1975 sentences (127), Molokeng and others (128), Members of
Saso and the BPC (130), Molobi (132), Pheto (133), Tshabalala (133), Bloem
(134), Hamilton, Wyners, and Ramrock (135), Grahamstown trial (135), Second
Grahamstown trial (138), Rabkins and Cronin (138), Nusas leaders (139), Variava
and Khuzwayo (141), "Turfloop" mem-
CONTENTS
Statistics for 1975 ................................................. 147
Matters relating to the Publications Directorate ...................... 148
Concern amongst writers and artists ............................... 149
Censorship by local authorities .................................... 149
Control of the Press ............................................... 150
GROUP AREAS AND HOUSING FOR THE WHITE,
COLOURED AND ASIAN PEOPLE
Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Act, No. 92 of 1976 ..
Persons disqualified in terms of the Group Areas Act ............ 160
Estimated shortage of housing .................................... 162
Dwelling units provided in 1975 .................................. 163
Some comments on the shortage of housing ........................ 164
Income levels for subsidised housing ............................. 165
Effects of the Group Areas Act on Indian traders ................. 165
Indian manufacturing concerns ................................. 167
Notes on group areas and housing in certain areas:
Johannesburg (167), Other Witwatersrand areas (170), Pretoria (170), Other Transvaal towns (171), Western Cape (171), Other Cape areas (173), Durban (173), Other Natal areas (174), Orange Free State (175).

Local government in group areas:
Coloured ........................................... 175
Indians ............................................. 176
TRANSPORT SERVICES .......................... 178

URBAN AFRICAN ADMINISTRATION
Government policy ................................... 181
Bantu Affairs Administration Boards .............. 181
Urban Bantu Councils ................................ 183
Homeland citizenship for urban Africans .......... 184
Traders and professional persons in urban areas 185
Home ownership in urban areas on leasehold stands 186
Housing provided ................................... 189

Some notes on urban African administration:
West Rand (189), East Rand (192), Central Transvaal (192), Eastern Transvaal (193), Western Transvaal (193), Northern Transvaal (193), Southern OFS (194), Central OFS (194), Northern OFS (195), Northern Cape (195), Diamond Fields (196), Karoo (196), Cape Peninsula (197), Cape Midlands and Eastern Cape (198), Port Natal (198), Drakensberg (199).

Townships within homelands .......................... 200

AMENITIES FOR BLACK PEOPLE IN WHITE AREAS
Hotels ........................................... 201
Holiday resorts ..................................... 202
Bantu Beer and Liquor. ............................ 202
Theatres .......................................... 203
"Petty apartheid":
Committees to improve relations ................... 204
Action by government departments and local authorities ...... 204

vi A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
THE PASS LAWS
Prosecutions ...................................... 207
Aid centres ........................................ 209
Production of reference books on demand ........... 210
Rehabilitation institutions ......................... 210
Foreign Africans .................................. 210
Migrant labour .................................... 211
Black Sash Advice Offices ......................... 211
GENERAL MATTERS
Taxation .......................................... 213
Legal status of African women ...................... 214
Training centres for Coloured cadets ............... 215
Coloured Development Corporation ............... 216
Rural Coloured areas ........................................... 217
Indian brides.......................................................... 218
Chinese people ....................................................... 218

THE AFRICAN HOMELANDS:
AREA AND EXPENDITURE
Area of the homelands ............................................. 220
Black spots and "badly situated" areas ...................... 221
Expenditure on the acquisition of land ...................... 223
Expenditure in the homelands .................................. 224

THE TRANSKEI
Transkei Constitution Amendment Act, No. 3 of 1976 .......... 228
Status of the Transkei Act, No. 100 of 1976 ................... 229
Implications for urban Africans of citizenship provisions ...... 233
Republic of Transkei Constitution Act ................. 234
Further legislation passed by the SA Government in connection with homeland independence, and agreements between the governments involved .... 237
Party political developments in the Transkei, and detentions ...... 242
The elections.......................................................... 243
Status of persons of Transkeian origin in the Republic of SA at the time of independence ....................... 244
Recognition of an independent Transkei ....................... 245
Exodus from Glen Grey and Herschel ......................... 245

SOME NOTES ON OTHER HOMELANDS
Views on future independence ................................. 247
The Ciskei .......................................................... 247
KwaZulu ............................................................... 248
BophuthaTswana .................................................. 249
Lebowa ................................................................. 251
Venda................................................................. 253
Gazankulu ......................................................... 254
Qwaqwa.............................................................. 254
Swazi ................................................................. 255
Ndebele ............................................................... 255

PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE HOMELANDS
Farming ............................................................. 256
Mining ................................................................. 257
Commerce and industry ........................................ 259

CONTENTS vii
EMPLOYMENT
The economic situation .......................................... 266
Foreign investment in the SA economy ......................... 268
Cost of living ....................................................... 274
Minimum living standards ...................................... 275
Income levels and wages ......................................... 276
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economically active persons and unemployment</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment insurance</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour bureaux and contract labour</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reservation of work</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manpower and labour shortages</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apprentices</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment in the manufacturing industry</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The decentralisation of industries</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Physical Planning Act</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Border industrial areas</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment in agriculture</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance and commerce</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service of public authorities</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railways, Harbours and Airways Administration</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posts and Telegraphs</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Workers</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade unions</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strikes and work stoppages</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Works and liaison committees</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workmen's Compensation</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheltered employment</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCATION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMPARATIVE STATISTICS AND GENERAL MATTERS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National expenditure</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per capita costs</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher: pupil ratio</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupils and schools</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moves towards integration in schools</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BANTU SCHOOL EDUCATION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disturbances</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenditure on Bantu school education</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gradual introduction of compulsory education</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupils</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium of instruction</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological services and career guidance</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textbooks</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Examination results</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special education</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student teachers</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult education</td>
<td>338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCHOOL EDUCATION FOR COLOURED PUPILS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenditure</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
Double sessions and the platoon system
Examination results
Teachers
Student teachers
A dult education
SCHOOL EDUCATION FOR INDIANS
Finance
Control
Schools and double sessions
Pupils
Examination results
Teachers
Student teachers
A dult education
SCHOOL EDUCATION FOR WHITE PUPILS
Finance
Three term system in Transvaal schools
Pupils
Curricula
Teachers
South African Teachers’ Council for Whites, Act, No. 116 of 1976
STUDENT ORGANISATIONS
National Union of South African Students
South African Students’ Organisation
Afrikaanse Studentebond
South African Federation of English Students
SOME BURSARY (SCHOLARSHIP) FUNDS

HEALTH
General hospitals in the common area of South Africa ... Mental hospitals ... ...
... 355
... 359
... 362
... 363
... 364
... 373
... 374
... 374
... 375
... 376
... 379

CONTENTS
Health services in the homelands ......................... 380
Nutritional matters ........................................ 381
Tuberculosis ................................................. 381
Medical practitioners ..................................... 382
Medical University of Southern Africa Act, No. 78 of 1976 ..... 384
D entistry ....................................................... 385
N urses ......................................................... 386
P harm acists .................................................. 388
Family planning ............................................. 388
Medical aid scheme for Coloured people ..................... 389

SOCIAL WELFARE
Children ....................................................... 390
Private schemes .............................................. 390
Homes for elderly Africans .................................. 390
Social pensions .............................................. 391
Departmental Inquiry into pension schemes ................. 392
Some social work associations .............................. 393

SPORT
Government policy .......................................... 394
Developments relating to rugby and cricket .................. 395
Finance and administration ................................ 396
Bantu Sport and Recreation Fund ........................... 397

INTERNATIONAL MATTERS
United Nations:
Financial contributions by South Africa .................. 398
General Assembly, December 1975 ........................ 398
Security Council meetings .................................. 399
General Assembly, November ............................... 399
Organisation of African Unity ............................... 400
Intensified guerrilla activity, and security action taken by the Rhodesian Government .................................. 440
Government measures designed to lessen race discrimination ...... 442
Divisions within the ANC and the guerrilla movements ........... 444
Escalation of the war on the borders .......................... 445
Initiative taken by Dr. Kissinger, and South Africa’s response ...... 450
Attitudes of White Rhodesians .................................. 450
Meeting of Dr. Kissinger and Mr. Smith .......................... 451
Terms of the settlement, as announced by Mr. Smith ............ 451
Immediate reactions of African leaders ................................ 453
Proposals for an international trust fund .......................... 454
Proposals for an initial conference .............................. 455
Alignment of African nationalist leaders .......................... 455
The Geneva talks........................................... 456
Foreign assistance offered to Mozambique ...................... 457
SOUTH WEST AFRICA/NAMIBIA
Dakar conference on Human Rights in Namibia ................. 458
Decree on natural resources .................................... 458
Security Council debate and resolution in January ............. 459
Opening of the Institute for Namibia ............................ 460
Population of South West Africa ................................ 460
Extent of homelands demarcated in the territory ................. 461
Some notes on the development of homelands .................. 461
Notes on certain political and constitutional developments affecting specific groups:
SWA Coloured Council ........................................ 462
Rehoboth Gebiet.............................................. 463
Namak... ............................................... 465
Nambos ................................................. 465
O a... nd K... on. ........................................ 465
Kavango and Kaokoland ..................................... 466
East Caprivi ............................................. 466
Damaras and Tswanas ........................................ 467
Hereros .................................................. 467
Bushmen .................................................. 468
Whites ................................................. 468

CONTENTS xi
Political groups cutting across party lines:
Swapo ................................................. 468
Swanu ................................................. 470
Namibia National Convention .................................. 470
Okahandje Conference ...................................... 470
Turnhalle Conference:
Membership ........................................ 471
Declaration of Intent ..................................... 471
Possible inclusion of political parties ..................... 471
Committees of the Conference appointed in November 1975 ... 472 Special constitutional committee ......................... 474
Future of Walvis Bay ....................................... 476
Overseas reactions to the Turnhalle proposals ................. 476
Conference proposed by Dr. Kissinger ...................... 477
Security Council meeting, September and October .......... 478
General Assembly, December ............................. 478
Warfare in the north of the territory ...................... 478
Preventive action taken by the SA authorities ............... 481
Trials under security laws ............................... 482

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

LEGISLATION OF 1976

Page
Appeals from the Supreme Court of Transkei Act, 62 of 1976 ...... 239 Bantu Employees' In-Service Training Act, 86 of 1976 .......... 359
Bantu Laws Amendment Act, 4 of 1976 ................... 202, 215, 238
Electoral Laws Amendment Act, 98 of 1976 ............... 237
Land Bank Amendment Act, 109 of 1976 .................. 223
Medical University of South Africa Act, 78 of 1976 .......... 368, 384 Military Pensions Act, 84 of 1976 ......................... 37
Republic of the Transkei Constitution Act .................. 234
Second Attorneys' Amendment Act, 115 of 1976 .......... 239
Second Coloured Persons' Education Amendment Act, 95 of 1976 ... 240 Second Public Service Amendment Act, 64 of 1976 .......... 240
POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS
THE WHITE POPULATION GROUP
THE NATIONAL PARTY

1976 has been one of the most eventful years in South Africa's history. Events on and beyond the country's borders have been of ever-increasing significance. Civil war was raging in Angola at the beginning of the year. South African troops had crossed the border from bases in South West Africa in support of the Unita/FNLA alliance. Very little information was released to the public; but the South African troops clearly penetrated to areas at least 900 km north of the border, where they encountered and fought against Marxist MPLA forces backed by Cubans and armed with highly sophisticated weapons. Mainly as a result of international pressure and lack of support a partial SA withdrawal from the fighting zone began on 21 January. By mid-February the MPLA and Cubans controlled most of the territory, and announced the establishment of the People's Republic of Angola.

For a time the South Africans remained in south Angola to guard the Ruacana hydro-electric scheme, the dam feeding this, and refugee camps in the area; but after the MPLA had agreed to protect the scheme and most of the refugees had been evacuated all the South Africans left Angola, their departure concluding on 27 March. At the request of the peoples concerned, the SA troops were stationed in the northern areas of South West Africa to repulse Swapo attacks from across the border. South Africa took care of many thousands of Angolan refugees, at temporary camps in south Angola, in South West Africa, and, for a time, in the Transvaal. A minority who could satisfy immigration requirements were allowed to remain in the Republic, but most of the refugees were sent to Portugal or elected to go to Brazil. At the time of writing, however, there were still numbers of more recently arrived refugees at camps in Owambo and Kavango.

At the end of March, the Security Council branded South Africa as an aggressor. Guerrilla war escalated sharply in Rhodesia during the year under review. During March, Mozambique closed the joint border. Negotiations between Mr. Smith and Mr. Nkomo broke down. Thereafter, President Kaunda came to the conclusion that

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
peaceful means to solve the problems of Southern Africa had failed and that the only option left was to fight. Both Mozambique and Zambia allowed guerrillas to operate against Rhodesia from their territories.
Mr. Vorster continued his policy of refusing to participate in boycotts or sanctions, or to prescribe to Rhodesia what its policy should be. In a Press statement made in September he said that what he was prepared to do was to help create a climate in which negotiations could take place. He had been prepared to advise and to point out alternatives and to use persuasion. Mr. Vorster told a National Party congress on 13 September that he had reminded Mr. Smith that
majority rule remained the goal in Rhodesia with the proviso that it was evolutionary and responsible. The Rhodesian situation was one of the topics discussed during Mr. Vorster's talks with the American Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, mention of which is made below. The repeatedly-stated American policy for Southern Africa had been independence, majority rule, internationally-backed guarantees for minorities, and economic assistance. In a speech made in August the SA Minister of Foreign Affairs said that his government welcomed the American initiative and was prepared to comply with the request that it should give its full support for a peaceful solution.

A complicating factor in the achievement of such a solution was a split of the Rhodesian ANC into several factions. At the end of January, the UN Security Council unanimously adopted a resolution calling for a South African declaration of intent to accept free elections under UN control for the whole of South West Africa (Namibia) as one political entity. It was demanded that, pending a transfer of power, SA should release political prisoners, and abolish all discriminatory laws and practices. The Council would meet again by 31 August to review SA's compliance with these demands.

The constitutional conference held in the Turnhalle at Windhoek continued during 1976. Committees set up by the conference made recommendations in regard to education, social upliftment, economic development, and social practices. A further committee, appointed to study constitutional matters, made recommendations which were adopted by the conference on 18 August. It was agreed that the territorial integrity of South West Africa should be accepted. A multi-racial interim government would be set up as soon as possible, and full independence granted from 31 December 1978, preceded by national elections which could be watched by international observers. The National Party in SWA accepted these decisions.

A proposal that talks should be held with Swapo provided that it ceased its guerrilla attacks was acceptable to most of POLITICAL AFFAIRS: WHITES

the members of the conference. However, Swapo laid down a number of preconditions, including the release of political prisoners, and the withdrawal of SA and its police and armed forces from the territory. It wanted to have direct discussions with the SA Government, instead of negotiations through the Turnhalle conference. Most of these preconditions were unacceptable to Mr. Vorster.

Various UN members stated that the Turnhalle decisions did not go nearly far enough. The Security Council meeting was postponed from 31 August to 22 September to enable representatives of African states to be present. In the meanwhile, the issues outlined above were among those discussed by Dr. Kissinger and Mr. Vorster.

Dr. Kissinger and Mr. Vorster met for several rounds of discussions: in a Bavarian forest resort during June, in Zurich early in September, and in Pretoria
later that month. Besides the Rhodesian and the South West African questions, internal events in South Africa were discussed. In the interval between the Zurich and Pretoria meetings Mr. Vorster said at a NP meeting that in recent months he had had cause to think deeply over his party's policy and how it would affect the future of South Africa. He was convinced that it was the only way of governing the country. He would never give way on the question of one-man-one-vote. Nor would he call a multi-racial national convention.

Internally in South Africa, 1976 was a year of recession and a high rate of inflation, causing a marked increase in the cost of living. There was a sharp rise in Black unemployment, one of the causes being a move in industry towards labour-saving technology.

Further drastic security measures were introduced, including the Parliamentary Internal Security Commission Act and the Internal Security Amendment Act (which replaced the Suppression of Communism Act). The Status of the Transkei Act was passed, providing for sovereign independence for the Transkei from a date to be determined by the State President. The date decided upon was 26 October. The definition of Transkeian citizenship was a very wide one, and all those so classified lost their South African citizenship. There was much opposition in the country to these provisions. BophuthaTswana, too, asked for independence, but complications may arise over the definition of citizenship: the decision made in the case of the Transkei was rejected by BophuthaTswana leaders. The leaders of the other six selfgoverning homelands said in a joint statement that they had no intention of "opting for so-called independence", as they did not want to abdicate their birthright as South Africans, nor to

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
forfeit their share "of the economy and wealth we have jointly built". A start made in 1975 with the elimination of certain race discriminatory measures in the "common area" of SA (i.e. outside the African homelands) was described on page 3 of last year's Survey. This process has been continued in 1976, (although certain Black leaders have described the changes as being merely of a "cosmetic" nature). They include the following measures.

(a) Apartheid notices in post offices are being eliminated as buildings are erected or altered, but certain separate counters will remain for "practical reasons".
(b) According to the Minister of the Interior,2 the wage gap in government service is to be narrowed from time to time as circumstances permit. If parity in wages is introduced, it will start at the highest levels where equal qualifications for a post are required.
(c) Recommendations by the Theron Commission for improvements in matters affecting the Coloured people are summarised on page 11. The Government rejected direct representation of Coloured people in Parliament and the repeal of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and raciallydiscriminating clauses of the
Immorality Act. It stated that many of the other recommendations were acceptable and some were being implemented, e.g. a speeding up of the provision of housing.

(d) The planned elimination of certain discriminatory measures affecting Coloured people is described on page 17.

(e) The Government has rescinded a decision made in 1975 that Africans who buy or build houses in urban areas (on leasehold stands) must have applied for citizenship of a homeland. Widows and divorcees will be able to own houses. Another decision that was rescinded was that African professional men and traders who are allowed to own consulting rooms, shops, or offices in urban areas must be citizens of a homeland. However, these provisions do not apply in the Cape west of the "Eiselen line" (which runs from the coast a little to the west of Port Elizabeth to the Free State border near Colesburg).

(f) After the grave rioting that began in Soweto in June, sparked off by the language medium issue in post-primary schools, it was decided that the use of both official languages as media would not be enforced.

(g) Most of the African teams walked out of the Olympic Games held in Montreal because of New Zealand's presence at a time when an All Black rugby team was touring SA.

1 Star, 9 September.
2 Rand Daily Mail, 1 March.

POLITICAL AFFAIRS: WHITES

It appeared that SA's sporting isolation would become complete unless the official policy of allowing only "multinational" events was drastically changed. During September, National Party congresses agreed that the question of mixed sport should be left to individual clubs and sports administrators to decide, with a minimum of Government interference.

The decision of the congresses in regard to mixed sport appeared to bear out assertions in the Nationalist Press earlier in the year that most of the electorate was ready to accept a much faster pace in bringing about necessary changes than the Government had been adopting.

The Minister of the Interior, Dr. C. P. Mulder, suggested at the Transvaal Party congress that the term "plural democracy" should be substituted for "separate development". In a speech at the Cape congress the Minister of Defence, Mr. P. W. Botha, announced that a special Cabinet committee had been appointed to investigate possible changes to South Africa's constitutional system. The Westminster model had never really worked in Africa, he maintained.

The serious and tragic rioting that took place throughout the Republic from June onward is described in a subsequent chapter. There had been protests by African school boards and sporadic strikes by African pupils in Soweto, Johannesburg, since February against the enforced use in most of the post-primary schools there of both Afrikaans and English (as well as an African language for certain
subjects) as media of instruction from the Standard V level. Nearly all of those concerned wanted English-medium instruction, with Afrikaans taught as a subject. Large-scale rioting by students began in Soweto on 16 June, and, by August had spread throughout the country, involving Coloured and Indians as well as Africans, and homeland areas as well as cities and towns in the "common area". It became clear that others besides actual students were instigating disturbances, and that the causes of Black frustration and anger went far beyond merely the language-medium question.

Nevertheless, Black "student-power" became a real factor in the South African situation. It was brought forcibly home to White people who had disregarded many warnings that young Blacks were far more impatient, militant, and anti-White than their parents ever were, and that there was an increasing degree of solidarity between young Black people of the various racial and ethnic groups. The youths were able to enforce "stay-at-homes" by adult Black workers. About 700 people were detained by the police under the previous and new security laws, a high proportion of them being members of Black consciousness groups (described later). Hundreds more were held in connection with alleged criminal offences.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

The implications of these events for the future of South Africa are incalculable at the time of writing.

At a meeting in October the Potchefstroom-based Afrikaanse Calvinistiese Beweging (an influential group of Afrikaans religious leaders and academics) resolved that the homelands policy was acceptable to it only if the homelands were meaningfully consolidated and were developed materially and spiritually as reasonable (leefbare) fatherlands. It was decided to send a deputation to the Government to plead for an ending of injustices created by the policy of separate development.

Calls for radical change were made during the year by the Federated Chamber of Industries, the Association of Chambers of Commerce of South Africa, and by prominent individual Afrikaans and English-speaking newspaper editors, businessmen and academics.

UNITED PARTY

The widespread resignations from the UP that took place during 1975, and the formation of the Progressive Reform Party, were reported on pages 5 et seq of last year's Survey.

In a Parliamentary by-election early in May in the formerly safe UP seat of Durban North a PRP candidate defeated the UP by 324 votes, reducing the UP membership of the Assembly to 36 - the smallest number in its parliamentary history of 42 years. Later that month a Cape MPC resigned from the UP to become an independent, while another defected to the NP. The UP caucus and its central head committee both met to discuss the situation. The caucus passed a unanimous vote of confidence in the leadership of the party and its policies. Nevertheless, numerous Press reports indicated that there were still considerable divisions within the party, some of the right-wing MPs having much in common
with the NP. A political commentator had observed earlier1 that the UP was originally created as a heterogenous party to help the country overcome the depression of the 1930's, and then later to fight the war. But it could no longer contain its heterogenous elements.

There had been rumours of a bipartisan NP-UP approach to certain matters pertaining to internal security, as had been the case in 1972 when the UP agreed to serve on the Select Committee which subsequently became the Schlebusch/Le Grange Commission.2 However, during 1976 the UP Members of Parliament solidly opposed, in the strongest possible terms, the introduction of legislation to increase the Government's powers to ban persons and organisations, and to set up a commission consisting of MPs which would, inter alia, have authority to investigate the affairs of organisations. The Party's attitude to these and other legislative measures is described in the pages that follow.

POLITICAL AFFAIRS: WHITES

In his speech at the end of the Budget debate3 (shortly after the end of SA's intervention in Angola), Sir De Villiers Graaff declared strongly that the Government's policy of separate development offered no secure future for SA. He urged the creation of a multi-racial consultative Council of State to advise on a solution of the problems facing the country. Unless the Government faced up to the fact that race discrimination would have to be eased out and dismantled, chaos would result. By continuing with these discriminatory measures the Government was playing into the hands of communists. "If we fail to get it across to Black people that a free enterprise economy offers more than the communist and socialist regimes across our borders", he said, "then we have already lost the battle for survival here in Southern Africa."

(The UP's policy for the political future of SA was outlined on page 2 of the 1974 Survey.)

When opening the Cape provincial congress of the UP in August, Sir De Villiers said4 that he had recently met Mr. Vorster to discuss the unrest in the country and measures that were necessary to avert the possibility of violence, sporadic or continuous, becoming a permanent state of affairs in SA. He had not gained the impression that the Prime Minister proposed any fundamental adaptations of policy. But without rapid and fundamental change, the outlook was bleak. The old order had gone, and things would never be the same again. There should be immediate consultation with all communities on a meaningful and representative basis.

Sir De Villiers described minimum requirements for policy changes which, it was reported, had been decided upon by the UP's constitutional committee. These were:
(a) the removal of statutory discrimination based on race and colour;
(b) acceptance of the principle of the participation of all races
at all levels of government through a constitutional system that shared power and responsibility with all races and protected minority groups;
(c) direct representation of racial groups other than Whites on all bodies affecting their lives and welfare;
(d) freedom of choice of citizenship for Blacks permanently domiciled outside homelands that became independent;
(e) full local government for Blacks in metropolitan township areas;
(f) a positive programme of urban renewal in these townships, to enable the people to lead full family lives, including freehold title and home ownership, better transport, the
3 21 April, Hansard 12 cols. 5067-76.
4 Star, 18 August; Sunday Times, 22 August.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
removal of restrictions on operating businesses, an effective say in education;
(g) elimination of forced social segregation;
(h) equal economic opportunities for all.
Sir De Villiers called for a united opposition to launch a "Save South Africa" campaign. In a Press interview after the meeting he said he believed that the UP could provide a broad enough base for an alternative, moderate, government, but its appeal should be widened if the NP Government were to be dislodged. A broad-based alliance was necessary, cutting across old party lines. The campaign should aim at attracting support, for example, from people who previously voted NP but had become disenchanted, realising that the Government's race relations, economic, and foreign policies were failing.
People whom he had in mind were those who were prepared to accept the minimum requirements for change which he had outlined, and to agree with the concept of federalism - not necessarily according to the pattern proposed earlier by the UP.
For the campaign to be feasible it might be necessary to form a new political party, Sir De Villiers said. He was prepared to bring his supporters into such a party under the leadership of someone else, if this were necessary.
He added5 that Black support for the "Save South Africa" campaign would be sought, but it would have to be within the limits permitted by the Prohibition of Political Interference Act of 1968.6

PROGRESSIVE REFORM PARTY
An account was given on page 9 of last year's Survey of the meeting that was held during September 1975 between leading representatives of the PRP, the homeland governments of KwaZulu, Gazankulu, Lebowa, and Qwaqwa, the (Coloured) Labour Party, and the SA Indian Council. In a declaration signed by all the leaders who were present they called, inter alia, for the holding of a national convention as representative as possible of all South Africans to work out a framework for the future of the country.
A letter was sent to the Prime Minister urging him to call such a convention. The leaders mentioned met again on subsequent occasions. On 4 April the PRP leader, Mr. Colin Eglin, MP, announced that they had decided to take the initiative themselves, and would arrange for a national conference to be held within the next year. The PRP success at the Durban North Parliamentary byelection is mentioned on page 6. Its strength in the House of Assembly was thereby increased to twelve members.

5 Rand Daily Mail, 19 August.

POLITICAL AFFAIRS: WHITES

Asked by the Press to comment on the suggestion for a "Save South Africa" campaign, Mr. Eglin welcomed Sir De Villiers Graaff's statement that he wanted a realignment of opposition forces, but considered that an alliance of verligtes and conservatives would be an "exercise in futility". Mr. Harry Schwarz, MP, said that it would be contrary to the national interests if conservatism were to be the basis of realignment. More was needed than cosmetic change. The PRP was not prepared to relinquish the principles for which it went into the wilderness.

A few weeks later, Mr. Eglin told a Press conference he sensed that White South Africans of all parties were prepared to support a bold verligte lead. He had extended an open invitation to Sir De Villiers to discuss a realignment of the Opposition, but he made it clear that this could not come from the negative basis of anti-Nationalism, but from the heart, on the positive basis of people getting together who felt that they belonged together.

Mr. Eglin added subsequently that his proposed alliance was one between "enlightened citizens" who shared a commitment to rid South Africa of race discrimination; a willingness to share effective power with all South Africans at all levels of government; and a preparedness to meet with Black South Africans to thrash out and agree upon a pattern of peaceful co-existence for the future.

PROPOSALS FOR A UNITED OPPOSITION

On 5 October an informal meeting of leading businessmen and academics was held behind closed doors in Johannesburg. On their behalf, Dr. Frans Cronje issued a Press statement reading, "The meeting decided that in view of the seriousness of the times and the urgent necessity of bringing pressure to bear on the Government to accept more realistic and enlightened policies, an appeal would be made to the leaders of the United Party, the Progressive Reform Party, and the Democratic Party to co-operate to establish a steering committee to examine the feasibility of creating a new (political) party which will be a real alternative government."

Following discussions with and between the three party leaders and others, a steering committee was set up later in October, under the chairmanship of a retired judge, Mr. J. F. "Kowie" Marais, and composed of prominent men who had played no leading part in party politics: Dr. Frank Bradlow, Mr. Max Borkum, Dr. Frans Cronje, Professor J. Danie Kriek, Dr. Frank Robb, Mr. Peter Soal, Dr. Jan Steyn, and Professor S. A. Strauss.
POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

THE COLOURED POPULATION GROUP

COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO MATTERS RELATING TO THE COLOURED POPULATION GROUP

As described on page 16 of the issue of this Survey for 1973, on 23 March of that year the appointment was gazetted of a Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group. The Commission was requested to report within eighteen months. Professor Erika Theron was appointed chairman, the other members being six Coloured men and twelve Whites, with specialised knowledge in various fields and of various shades of political opinion. One of the White members died in 1974 and was not replaced.

The Commission found it impossible to report within the requested period. Its members spent much time touring the country hearing evidence from hundreds of organisations and individuals, conducting surveys and opinion polls, and investigating conditions for themselves.

Questioned in the Assembly during April 1976, the Prime Minister said’ that the Theron Commission had not been appointed to devise a Coloured policy for the Government. He already had a policy. He had wanted the Commission to identify objectively all points of friction and to bring these to his attention in order that they might be dealt with in terms of his policy. Recommendations made would, where necessary, be submitted to National Party congresses for decision.

The Commission's report, written in Afrikaans, was tabled in the House of Assembly on 18 June. It had five parts, divided into 22 chapters, giving factual information and argument, followed by a sixth part consisting of 178 recommendations, and two further parts containing annexures such as provisos to recommendations, tables, etc. At the end of each of the factual chapters was a summary of the contents. In cases where a recommendation was not unanimous the voting of members was recorded. An English translation of the summaries and recommendations was issued later.

At the time of writing, the Cape Western Region of the Institute of Race Relations is preparing a booklet dealing with the Commission's recommendations and reactions to these.

In this Survey, extremely brief mention of a few of the more significant of the recommendations is all that can be attempted in the space available.’ Not all of these recommendations were unanimous, but all received majority support.
1. The Commission recommended that sub-groups of the Coloured group should be dispensed with in race classification. Both descent and acceptance should be criteria for classification.

2. The Mixed Marriages Act and the clause of the Immorality Act prohibiting intercourse between White persons and others should be repealed.

3. Certain areas of towns, especially the commercial and industrial areas, should be open to all races under the Group Areas Act.

4. Gaps between the salaries and wages of White and of Coloured should be removed as a top priority, and promotions for Coloured people into the higher echelons should be speeded up. All incomes should be raised above the minimum subsistence levels.

5. The job reservation clauses in the Industrial Conciliation Act should be repealed. Training centres should be set up for Coloured people to provide intensive crash courses in skilled work. The Industrial Conciliation Act should be amended to allow for the registration of further mixed trade unions.

6. Industry should be decentralised to be nearer to Coloured urban townships and rural villages.

7. Coloured farmers should be enabled to buy land anywhere in the Republic without permit.

8. Compulsory education should be instituted progressively up to the 15th year or Standard 7. Private schools should be allowed to accept Coloured pupils. White teachers should be employed where a shortage of Coloured teachers existed.

9. All universities should be allowed to admit Coloured students.

10. The highest priority should be given to wiping out the housing backlog. Community facilities and amenities should be provided at the same time as houses. In the allocation of houses, squatters should be given priority over people to be moved under group areas proclamations. A more effective police service was urgently needed in new townships.

11. Salaries and conditions of service for White and Coloured doctors and nurses in provincial hospitals should be equalised. 12. A comprehensive family planning scheme was needed. 13. The gap between White and Coloured social pensions should be eliminated.

14. The cultural development of the Coloured people should be

These have been extracted from a summary in English of the recommendations, which was prepared by Dr. O. D. Wollheim.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976 within the same framework as that for Whites. Decisions as to the use of theatres should be made by the owners, not by State Departments.
15. Barriers to inter-racial sport should be removed at national, provincial and regional levels. Mixed events at lower levels should be left to the discretion of clubs and unions.
16. There should be a gradual opening on a selective basis of open spaces, facilities, and beaches for use on an inter-racial basis.
17. Provision should be made for satisfactory forms of direct Coloured representation and decision-making at the various levels of authority and of government. A committee of experts should be appointed to offer more detailed proposals on the organisational and statutory adjustments which would be necessary to achieve this. (The voting on these recommendations was 11 for, 7 against.) It should be accepted that the Westminster type of government might have to be altered to meet the particular requirements of South Africa's plural society.

A White Paper was issued together with the Commission's report, entitled Provisional Comments by the Government on the Recommendations of the Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group. This stated that "Numerous recommendations made by the Commission... are either in accordance with basic Government policy or acceptable to the Government. Some have already been implemented or are in the process of being implemented..."

"The Government is convinced that... recommendations that would amount to the recognition and development of the identity of the various population groups in the Republic being broken down are not conducive to the orderly and evolutionary advancement of the various population groups... For this reason the Government... is not prepared to change its standpoint... in regard to the Immorality Act and the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act...

"Any recommendations to the effect that direct representation be granted to Coloureds in the existing Parliamentary, Provincial, and local institutions is... not acceptable to the Government.

"The Government agrees... that the Westminster-founded system of government does not necessarily have to be followed slavishly in the Republic, and accepts the recommendation that a thorough and authoritative investigation be made of the organisational and statutory adjustments required...in order more effectively to promote the existing political direction so far as the Coloured people are concerned."

It was announced that a further White Paper would be issued 'W.P. S-'76.

POLITICAL AFFAIRS: COLOURED GROUP
after the State Departments concerned had made a thorough study of the Commission's report.
In the course of debates on the report in the Senate and the Assembly the Minister of Coloured Relations referred to certain positive developments which were in line with the Commission's recommendations. The provision of housing and amenities was being greatly expedited. The salaries of Coloured teachers had
been increased. A voluntary cadet training scheme would be introduced in Coloured secondary schools, probably in 1978.

**FUNDSALLOCATED TO THE COLOURED REPRESENTATIVE, COUNCIL**

According to the Report of the Controller and Auditor General on the Accounts of the Administration of Coloured Affairs for the financial year 1973-41, the Coloured Persons’ Representative Council spent a total of R106 407 886 during that year. A breakdown of the expenditure was given.

It was indicated in the Controller and Auditor- General’s general report for 1974-52 that during that year the Coloured Representative Council’s total expenditure had been R132 317 135.

The Theron Commission’s report stated that the funds voted by the State in 1975-6 were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Finance and general</td>
<td>1 964 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local government</td>
<td>22 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>90236 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural settlements</td>
<td>1 679 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social welfare and pensions</td>
<td>64247 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loans account</td>
<td>83 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>158231000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The funds voted for 1976-7 totalled R180 604 000.5

**COLOURED POLITICAL PARTIES**

**Labour Party**

As reported last year, the Labour Party gained a majority of seats in the Coloured Persons’ Representative Council (CRC) in the elections held in 1975.

Some 275 delegates and observers attended a three-day congress which was held at Upington during January.1 The existing executive committee was re-elected, with Mr. Sonny Leon as party leader, Mr. David Curry deputy leader, the Rev. Alan Hendrickse national chairman, Mr. Norman Middleton national vice-chairman, and four others.

Among a number of resolutions passed were the following:

(a) Mr. Leon was given a free hand to continue his association with the Progressive Reform Party to bring about a convention of all national leaders in South Africa.
(b) The congress passed a resolution (opposed by four members) rejecting the Race Relations Committees set up at the instigation of the Department of Coloured Relations.

(c) A call was made on the Government to grant full autonomy to the University of the Western Cape so that it would be able to admit students irrespective of race.

(d) The Government was asked to introduce free and compulsory education for all South Africans.

(e) Black sportsmen were urged not to participate in multinational games. Congress demanded that the Government should refrain from interfering in sport. An appeal was made to all overseas teams not to take part in sporting events in SA until all sports were conducted on a non-racial basis at club, provincial, and national levels.

It was reported in last year's Survey2 that the Government nominated Mr. Leon, as leader of the majority party, to be chairman of the CRC Executive. After consultation with his party executive committee, he accepted the appointment. Early during the proceedings of the CRC during the session held in September 1975 Mr. Leon moved that the Council should stand adjourned; but the Minister of Coloured Relations then prorogued the Council.

The Budget debate had by then not been concluded. In terms of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council Act as amended, the Minister delegated power to Mr. Leon to appropriate moneys for the execution of the Budget, but, backed by his executive committee, Mr. Leon refused to do so. The Government then revoked Mr. Leon's appointment as chairman of the CRC's Executive, replacing him by Mrs. Alathea Jansen, a Government-nominated, independent, member.

During April, Mrs. Jansen called a meeting of the Council to discuss the Prime Minister's suggestion that Parliament and the CRC should establish an inter-Cabinet council as liaison machinery. The Labour Party executive decided that the party would boycott the meeting. Three of the Labour CRC members defied this ruling. One resigned from the party, becoming an independent, while the other two were suspended. This still left the Labour Party with a majority in the Council. 'As described in a subsequent chapter, widespread rioting in South Africa began in June, initially among African students. From early in August the overt unrest spread to young Coloured people, especially in the Western Cape, who also began a wave of rioting and destruction. They joined with Africans in a number of demonstration marches, defying a Government ban on gatherings. The Coloured students identified with Africans, calling for rights for all Black people. The youth emerged as the militant wing of anti-apartheid feeling in the Coloured community. They tended to reject their elders in the Labour Party. In a statement made early in September Mr. Leon is reported4 to have said, "Already these kids
are against anybody who works within the system... The time will come when Coloured leaders will not be able to control their people”.

One of the several hundred people detained by the police during this period was the Rev. Alan Hendrickse, the Labour Party's national chairman, who was arrested on 26 August. The party's executive met immediately, and thereafter issued a statement to the Press. They said, inter alia, that the Government's erosion of democratic processes and its policy of separate development, with separate institutions, had been the cause and breeding ground of dissension and unrest. They laid the blame for the existing crisis “squarely at the feet of the Government”.

The Labour Party leaders called upon the Prime Minister to form immediately a coalition government of all White parties in the SA Parliament, to be followed by a multi-racial national convention “to formulate a new non-racial, democratic constitution for the country”. Mr. Hendrickse and all other detainees and political prisoners should be released in order that all true leaders could participate in the convention.

Mr. Leon had claimed earlier that Coloured disillusionment with the Government had boiled over when the political recommendations made by the Theron Commission had been rejected.

Federal Party
It was mentioned earlier that Mr. Leon of the Labour Party held discussions during September 1975 with leaders of the Progressive Reform Party, four African homeland leaders, and the chairman of the SA Indian Council, at which the holding of a national convention was discussed. The Labour Party congress in January gave Mr. Leon a free hand to continue such discussions.

Commenting on this decision, Mr. W. J. Bergins, leader of Star, 14 and 15 April.

4 Sunday Times, 5 September.
5 e.g. Rand Daily Mail, 27 August, and Sunday Times, 29 August.
6 Rand Daily Mail, 29 July.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
the Federal Party, said’ that his party did not believe in a convention or Black alliance. It believed that through negotiation and dialogue with the Government it could best further the interests of the Coloured people.

The Federal Party, he continued, would not stop fighting the Government over matters which were to the disadvantage of Coloured people and which caused heartbreaks and misery, such as the Group Areas Act, the Separate Amenities Act, the acute shortage of housing, and the many discriminatory regulations which affected their status as humans.

Possible third party
It was reported during April2 that behind-the-scenes lobbying was in progress for the formation of a new party in the CRC, composed of independents and, possibly, disaffected members of the Labour and Federal Parties. Politicians involved in the move were said to include Mr. Morris Fynn, Mr. Solly Essop, and Mr. Jac Rabie. Mr. Fynn told the Press that he considered the Federal Party to be
ineffective, and he disagreed with the Labour Party's refusal to have dialogue with the Government. The proposed new party would use the CRC for consultation and dialogue, but would fight for direct representation in Parliament. At the time of writing, there have been no further developments.

DISCUSSIONS WITH THE PRIME MINISTER IN AUGUST AND THE OUTCOME
On 9 August the Prime Minister and other Cabinet Ministers met Mrs. Jansen and fifteen other members of the CRC, Federal Party members and independents. The Labour Party refused to participate in the discussions, leaders stating that the Government had given no indication of any real change in its policy of separate development.

After the meeting the Prime Minister announced that he was to form a joint Cabinet Council with White, Coloured, and Indian members. A first meeting would be held on 24 September.

The President of the Senate, Senator Marais Viljoen, opened the 1976 session of the CRC on 10 September. Labour Party members boycotted the opening ceremony and staged a demonstration outside the Council buildings, demanding the release of Mr. Hendrickse. Senator Marais Viljoen announced a number of Government decisions which had arisen from the liaison meeting on 9 August.

They aimed at removing what could be described as obsolete practices and usages causing dissatisfaction among

I Rand Daily Mail, 13 January.
2 Ibid, 20 April; Star, 26 April.
1 Star, 10 August.

POLITICAL AFFAIRS: COLOURED GROUP
Coloured people. Some of the more important of the decisions are outlined below:

(a) It had been decided that general industrial areas of towns should have no group character, being open to Coloured and Indian as well as White industrialists.
(b) In the larger towns and cities, Coloured and Indian businessmen would be allowed more freedom to trade outside their own group areas.
(c) Prominent Coloured people would serve on committees to be established to help plan Coloured residential areas, housing, and the handling of the squatter problem.
(d) Proper waiting and consulting room facilities would be provided by the Department of Health at its institutions serving Coloured people.
(e) The Department of Prisons would revise the rank structure and training for Coloured personnel.
(f) Attention would be given to problems arising from the question of separate seating arrangements in courts of law.
(g) At scientific and art conferences there need be no separation in regard to meals, refreshments, and similar facilities.
(h) Exemptions would be granted to allow Coloured people to serve on the executive committees of mixed trade unions in cases where the membership of the relevant trade union justified this. 
(i) Guidelines had been laid down by the Government for the solution of problems caused by separate entrances and facilities in public offices.
(j) There was no legal prohibition on any private patient being treated by a doctor of his own choice in any hospital.
(k) Attention would be given to the provision of eating and overnight rest facilities for Coloured travellers along main and national roads.
(l) Provincial Administrators would be asked to review all institutions under provincial control where points of friction existed or might arise.
(m) The Public Service Commission was investigating the classification of posts in the service with a view to equal treatment for all.
(n) Shortcomings in regard to the powers, activities, and status of the CRC would receive attention. The Council would be given more extensive legislative and executive powers. Members of its Executive would have Cabinet status and would head departments in the administration.

Commenting on these Government decisions', Mr. Leon said that they offered no real political changes, and would benefit only the more affluent sections of the community. Mr. Bergins said that the decision to remove certain discriminatory practices was a step in the right direction, but he hoped that this would be only the beginning of much greater and far more fundamental changes.

OPENING OF 1976 SESSION OF THE CRC

In her progress report, which was tabled in the Council', Mrs. Alathea Jansen stated that the Government had turned down most of the main resolutions adopted by the CRC over the past two years, including a request for the repeal of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act. It had stated that equal pay for Coloured and Whites in similar posts in Government service could not be implemented immediately because of the state of the economy. The wage gap was being narrowed, however.

Before the Council began its official business a joint caucus of all parties met and agreed upon initial strategy. The outcome was unanimous support for a motion introduced by an independent member, Mr. Jac Rabie, at the commencement of proceedings. Mr. Rabie moved that the council should adjourn until 22 September or as soon as possible thereafter. In the meanwhile a joint deputation would:
(a) discuss with the Prime Minister the release of the Rev. Alan Hendrickse and all other detainees; 
(b) discuss the unrest in South Africa with the Prime Minister and the Minister of Coloured Relations. 
The deputation decided upon consisted of Mr. Leon and Mr. David Curry of the Labour Party, Mrs. Jansen, Mr. Bergins and Mr. P. T. Sanders of the Federal Party, and two independents, Mr. Rabie and Mr. P. M. Sonn.

MEETING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER IN SEPTEMBER
The Prime Minister and the Minister of Coloured Relations met this deputation on 21 September. The Coloured leaders are reported to have said that feelings of frustration among their people were being fed by the wide range of discriminatory and inhibiting measures in all spheres of life. They believed that the Government did not have the underlying causes of the riots in perspective. The youth had been roused to anger because they had an acute awareness of their disabilities, and, unlike their parents, they were not prepared to compromise. There would be no hope of permanent peace in South Africa until Blacks were given full political and economic freedom. Deep disappointment was expressed over the Government's rejection of the three key recommendations of the Theron Commission.
The recent detentions were discussed. According to a joint Star, 11 September. 'Rand Daily Mail, 15 September.

POLITICAL AFFAIRS: COLOURED GROUP
statement, the Prime Minister said that all cases would be dealt with in accordance with the provisions of the law. He undertook, without committing himself in any way, to ask the Minister of Justice as soon as possible to have the detention of Mr. Hendrickse reviewed by the committee appointed in terms of the Internal Security Amendment Act.
Mrs. Jansen, the Federal Party representatives and the Independents affirmed their acceptance of the principle of the Inter-Cabinet Council. The Labour Party representatives wished to consult their Party caucus before making a decision. Next day, Mr. Leon informed the Secretary for Coloured Relations that the Labour Party's decision not to participate remained unchanged.6
Mr. Hendrickse was conditionally released in mid-October.

CONTINUATION OF THE CRC'S SESSION
On 29 September the CRC, by majority vote, rejected the Budget as presented by Mrs. Jansen. She was authorized by the Minister to sign it on the Council's behalf.

6 Ibid, 17 and 22 September; Star, 21 and 22 September.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS
INDIANS
POWERS OF THE SA INDIAN COUNCIL
In terms of Government Notice R7 of 2 January, the Minister of Indian Affairs delegated to the SA Indian Council all powers previously vested in him in regard to education and social welfare.
At its meeting later that month the Council created portfolios for these matters, and, in preparation for the assumption of further powers, shadow portfolios of health, housing and community development, group areas and planning, local government, finance and economic affairs, agriculture, labour, and culture, sports and recreation.

PARTICIPATION IN AN INTER-CABINET COUNCIL

The Prime Minister's proposal for the establishment of a White, Coloured, and Indian inter-Cabinet council has been mentioned earlier. This proposal was hotly debated at a meeting of the SA Indian Council in February. It was decided in principle to participate in such a council provided that further details of the suggested functioning of the body were supplied and were acceptable to the SAIC.

The matter was discussed with the Prime Minister when he met the Executive of the SAIC during June. Mr. Vorster is reported to have said that he intended going ahead with the establishment of the council, whether or not the Labour Party majority in the Coloured Representative Council decided to participate. He envisaged four meetings a year.

There was a further debate on this question at an SAIC meeting later in June. It was finally decided, by 21 votes to 5, to give the inter-Cabinet council a twelve-month trial. The view of the dissenters was that a decision should be deferred until a more representative and democratically-elected SAIC came into being.

The chairman of the SAIC's Executive, Mr. J. N. Reddy, said during the debate that it was in the interests of the Indian community to take part in the meetings so that answers could be found to the many problems on which representations had been made without satisfactory results. These included hardships arising from the implementation of the Group Areas Act, including the plight of Indian traders, the removal of restrictions placed by White trade unions on the training of Indian youths, and the ban on the immigration of foreign-born Indian wives.

Mr. Amichand Rajbansi, a member of the Executive, resigned from office in protest against the Council's decision to participate in the inter-Cabinet council.

FORMATION OF POLITICAL GROUPS WITHIN THE SAIC

The five members of the Council who had opposed this decision came together after the meeting to launch a Reform Group, initially led by Mr. Y. S. Chinsamy.

Another more conservative group of Indians, represented in the Council only by Dr. I. A. Kajee, decided to form a People's Party.

MEETING OF THE INTER-CABINET COUNCIL

The Inter-Cabinet Council met on 24 September. Those present were the Prime Minister, seven White Cabinet Ministers, the Coloured leaders who had indicated
their willingness to participate, and six representatives from the SA Indian Council. Several of the White Ministers gave a résumé of certain policy matters. The Prime Minister explained that the Inter-Cabinet Council would operate like all Cabinets - on a consensus basis after incisive discussion. It would have no legislative authority; but the decisions of a Cabinet ultimately became legislation. Consultations with Africans would continue to take place at a different level. The Council would be consulted later in regard to possible changes in South Africa's constitutional system.

The next meeting of the Council would be held on 26 November.

A further debate on participation in the inter-Cabinet council took place at a meeting of the SA Indian Council early in November. The Reform Group insisted that Indians should boycott the council because urban Africans had been denied representation on it. Mr. Reddy stated that the council would be given a trial of "exactly one year".

5 Rand Daily Mail, 11 August.
6 Star, 20 August.
7 Ibid, 10 September.
8 Star, 25 September.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

AFRICANS

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENTS

SA Students' Organisation

As described in past issues of this Survey, in the late 1960's Black students (Africans, Indians, and Coloured) began to feel that the time had come for Blacks to do things for themselves, no longer relying on the altruism of a minority of White liberals. These liberals, they considered, enjoyed the privileges of "the system", and could not properly identify with Blacks. In any case, their efforts had been ineffective.

The (Black) SA Students' Organisation (Saso) was, in consequence, formed at a conference held in July 1969, with the object of fostering Black community awareness, capabilities, achievement, and pride. This, it was stated, was an essential preliminary if the Whites and Blacks were eventually to come together on a basis of equality.

There was, at first, communication with the White student body Nusas; but over the next few years many Saso members came to feel that they no longer needed or wanted the cooperation of Whites. In the speeches and writings of leaders there was increasing mention of the "White racist regime".

From 1972 on, periodic confrontations took place with the authorities at Black universities and colleges, arising, in the main, from the students' opposition to the system of Bantu education. A number of the leaders were banned, and Saso was barred from most of the campuses.

Saso was largely responsible for formulating the concept of Black consciousness in South Africa. Its leaders stated that this could not be equated with "Black Power" movements overseas: the circumstances were different.

SA Students' Movement
The SA Students' Movement (SASM) was formed later, as the younger wing of Saso.

Black consciousness
Black consciousness has been described by its advocates as an attempt by Black people to create something positive out of a negative situation. Instead of passivity resulting from a sense of psychological inferiority induced by "the system", a

**POLITICAL AFFAIRS: AFRICANS**

sense of pride in being Black would be fostered. Blacks would affirm themselves, and work towards an open plural society with equal opportunity for all. Black supporters of this concept rejected Government-created bodies such as homeland governments, the CRC, the SA Indian Council, and urban Bantu councils.

Black People's Convention
During 1972, a congress of Africans held at Edendale near Pietermaritzburg decided to promote Black solidarity and to foster the philosophy of Black consciousness.

A first national congress of a newly-formed Black People's Convention was held at Hammanskraal during December of that year, and was attended by some 200 African, Indian, and Coloured delegates and observers. The main theme was that Blacks were becoming ever more determined to chart their own future and find solutions to their own problems. A series of resolutions was passed: inter alia, opposition was expressed to foreign investment which supported the economic system of White South Africa and exploited Black workers, and to multinational sport as then advocated by the Government.

During 1973 all the office-bearers except one were served with banning orders.

In 1974, when Portugal granted independence to Mozambique, the BPC and Saso planned pro-Frelimo rallies to be held at the end of September. The Minister of Justice prohibited any meetings to be held anywhere in the country by or on behalf of these organisations during the period 24 September to 20 October. Members of the organisations in Durban and at the University of the North defied the ban and did attempt to convene meetings. Numbers of them were arrested and detained under the security laws. The trial of some of them, still in progress at the time of writing, is described in a subsequent chapter.

More than a hundred delegates attended an annual conference of the BPC which was held in King William's Town in December 1975. Among resolutions passed were the following.1

(a) Mr. Vorster's detente was rejected as a move designed to split the OAU and to buy time for the entrenchment of the position of White oppressors in SA.
(b) The MPLA was recognised as the legitimate government of Angola.
(c) The Muzorewa wing of the Rhodesian ANC was recognised, and Mr. Nkomo was urged to stop dividing the people.
(d) Transkeian independence was dismissed as a manoeuvre to give credibility to apartheid.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
Black Women's Federation
More than 200 African, Indian, and Coloured women from all parts of the country attended a conference held in Durban during December 1975, at which a Black Women's Federation was established to work for solidarity and co-operation among Black women and their organisations. Mrs. Fatima Meer was elected president. Members decided that for the time being they would reject affiliation with purely White women's organisations. As a first step, they would build up their own strength and become independent and self-reliant.'

Institute of Black Studies
A number of Black academics decided to set up an Institute of Black Studies to discuss the role of the Black man in "the South Africa of today and tomorrow". The inaugural meeting was to have been held in Soweto during July, but rioting was in progress there at the time. The Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg banned the proposed gathering there as likely to disturb the peace. Instead, the delegates met at the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre on the West Rand. The Press reported that the message emerging from all the papers presented was, "The Black man walks tall into the future. His potential must be realised. His voice must be heard".

An allied organisation was the Institute of Black Research in Durban.

Azanian Liberation Army
According to the Sunday Times of 14 November, the Minister of Justice said in an interview that a new movement called the Azanian (i.e. South African) Liberation Army had been responsible for the form of organisation during the unrest. It was Marxist-based and operated along ANC lines.

GROUPS RESULTING FROM THE DISTURBANCES IN SOUTH AFRICA
Student power
The grave disturbances that began in Soweto in June and spread throughout the country are described in a subsequent chapter. The grievance that sparked off disturbances was the enforced use of Afrikaans as well as English as a medium of instruction in most of the African post-primary schools in Soweto. Those who led the earlier demonstrations were, consequently, students. It became clear later that others (including delinquents) were involved, as well, in initiating disturbances, that outside

POLITICAL AFFAIRS: AFRICANS
agitators were possibly taking a hand, and that the causes of unrest went far beyond merely the language-medium question. Nevertheless, the leaders were commonly referred to as students, and student-power emerged as a very real factor in the South African scene, in the homelands as well as in towns and cities.
The authentic student leaders appeared to be dedicated, intelligent, militant young activists; fearless people with no family responsibilities; owning no property, thus with nothing material to lose. They had come to despise their elders for submitting too long to the entrenched system of White domination, and for continuing with policies of reasoned argument, which had achieved small if any result. Parents and teachers were shown little respect, and lost their authority over the militant youth. An older African observer commented, "While we used to believe that we would see freedom in our lifetime, the youth wants it now. Right now." Clashes led to a deep hatred of the police (Black as well as White), and of White authority. Blacks who collaborated with "the system" were despised. During the disturbances, people in or near the African townships who failed to give the clenched fist Black power salute were attacked.

A Students’ Representative Council, with anonymous membership, was formed at Soweto, and directed the actions of the less bright and the younger people, as well as of many of those of the older generation. "Stay at homes" were ordered, which adult men and women workers were afraid of disobeying because otherwise reprisals followed.

Student power first became evident among the urban Africans; but from early August disturbances were initiated, too, by young Coloured and Indian people. Prime targets for attack were symbols of White domination and of apartheid. The only publicly identified African leader in the early stages was Tsietsi Mashinini, president of the Soweto Students’ Representative Council, head prefect at his school, and a reported member of Saso. The police offered R500 for information leading to his arrest; but, after operating underground for a while, he escaped from SA. He was reported to have said, in a television interview with a team from London "Even if the White man's regime would give concessions to our people they are no longer interested in that. All they want is to hit at the system and to hit very hard".

As described later, many hundreds of students were arrested, but any leaders amongst them were, apparently, immediately replaced by others.

Black Parents' Association

As the rioting in Soweto became increasingly serious per Star, 3 September.

The only publicly identified African leader in the early stages was Tsietsi Mashinini, president of the Soweto Students’ Representative Council, head prefect at his school, and a reported member of Saso. The police offered R500 for information leading to his arrest; but, after operating underground for a while, he escaped from SA. He was reported to have said, in a television interview with a team from London "Even if the White man's regime would give concessions to our people they are no longer interested in that. All they want is to hit at the system and to hit very hard".

As described later, many hundreds of students were arrested, but any leaders amongst them were, apparently, immediately replaced by others.

Black Parents' Association

As the rioting in Soweto became increasingly serious per Star, 3 September.


Turbed African adults from a variety of organisations formed an umbrella body called the Black Parents' Association to help the victims of rioting and their families, and to try to substitute dialogue for violence and persuade pupils to return to their classes. The organisations concerned were as diverse as, on the one hand, the YMCA, YWCA, and Housewives' League, and, on the other, political bodies including Saso, the SASM, and the BPC. A prominent churchman, Dr. Manus Buthelezi, was appointed chairman.

Student leaders submitted to the Association a list of their grievances, asking it to negotiate with the authorities on their behalf. The Association requested an interview with the Minister of Justice and Police. He replied that if the members proved, by stopping the rioting, that they were in fact leaders in Soweto, he would
accept a memorandum from them, after receipt of which he would consider meeting them.
Such a meeting did not eventuate because the disturbances continued, and because most of the leaders of the Black consciousness movements were arrested and detained by the police.
Committee of Thirty
Another temporary organisation formed to try to help restore order was the "Committee of 30", drawn from officially recognized bodies such as the urban Bantu councils (UBCs) and school boards on the Witwatersrand. This organisation was acceptable to the Minister, but was impotent in the situation because the bodies it represented were spurned by the young people. The UBCs had possessed advisory powers only, and their advice was seldom taken by the authorities. A member told the Press that derisive names applied to them were "Useless Boys' Clubs" or "United Black Crooks".

HOMELAND LEADERS
At the height of the disturbances, in August, the leaders or representatives of all the homeland governments except the Transkei gathered at the Holiday Inn near Jan Smuts Airport to discuss the situation. After the meeting the convener, Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu, issued a joint statement to the Press. The homeland leaders said that they deeply regretted differences within the leadership of Black people. This was a time during which Blacks must speak with one voice, whatever their differences on strategy might be. If the central Government had heeded warnings given by the homeland leaders at joint meetings in March 1974 and January 1975, the existing confrontation in the country could have been avoided. The Government's failure to do so had given credibility to accusations that "institutions foisted on Blacks" were no use.

POLITICAL AFFAIRS: AFRICANS
while understanding the impatience of youth, it was stated, the homeland leaders could not condone wanton destruction of property. But they deplored the violence unleashed by the police in response to legitimate demonstrations. Urgently needed changes included recognition of the permancy of urban Africans, the abolition of influx control, and free and compulsory education.

Full human rights were demanded for Blacks. Concessions could no longer satisfy the aspirations of the Black man.

With the exception of the BophuthaTswana representatives, the homeland leaders rejected independence as a solution to the country's problems. (However, Dr. Phatudi is reported to have said early in November that Lebowa might ask for independence after the land question had been settled.)

They jointly pleaded urgently for a meeting with the Prime Minister to discuss the unrest, and also the need for a national conference at which detained African leaders would be represented.

It was announced later that the Prime Minister would meet the homeland leaders on 8 October.
On that day a seven-hour meeting took place of the leaders of all the homelands (other than the Transkei) and the Prime Minister, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development and of Bantu Education, his three Deputy Ministers, and the Secretaries of the Departments. According to a joint communique issued after the meeting, the Prime Minister was not prepared to discuss the unrest in the country because this matter was the subject of a judicial inquiry, but promised a full discussion after the commission had submitted its report. He rejected calls for a national convention or conference because he "saw no merit in the idea at all". On the plea for the release of recently detained leaders to enable them to participate in discussions, Mr. Vorster said that he "could not and would not interfere with the law" because "machinery existed whereby the detention of the individuals concerned would be reviewed". The Prime Minister rejected a call for the abolition of Bantu Affairs Administration Boards, which were viewed by Africans as "instruments of oppression", but indicated that increased powers were to be given to Urban Bantu Councils. The leaders had hoped to discuss the official policy of regarding Africans as citizens of the various homelands rather than of South Africa; but consideration of this question was deferred for the next meeting with the Prime Minister. The Africans present
2 From account in the Rand Daily Mail, 9 October.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
were invited to formulate specific proposals for changes to the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act. Discussion of influx control was postponed, too. No new steps on homeland consolidation emerged. The leaders were informed that it was the policy of the Government to eliminate race discrimination in the public service, and to narrow the wage gap between White and Black as far as possible, eventually eliminating it. It was also Government policy to work towards compulsory education and free school books for Africans.

BLACK UNITY FRONT
Immediately after the meeting with the Prime Minister, Chief Buthelezi (KwaZulu), Professor Ntsanwisi (Gazankulu) and Dr. Phatudi (Lebowa) met about fifty leading African politicians, civic leaders, trade unionists, professional men and women, student leaders, and representatives of the Black Consciousness movement. Chief Buthelezi told the Press that "in the face of persistent White intransigence and the determination of Mr. Vorster, shown at the meeting with homeland leaders, to maintain White domination and apartheid", they had no alternative but to close their ranks. A steering committee was elected, under the chairmanship of Dr. S. M. Nyembezi of Soweto, with the following aims:
(a) to bring together a wide cross-section of the Black community to discuss ways and means of resolving the problems faced by Blacks;
(b) to bridge the "dangerous and increasingly widening gap" between rural and urban Blacks;
(c) to establish a disciplined Black community and to work for the emergence of a true Black leadership.'
3 Star, 9 October; Sunday Times, 10 October; Rand Daily Mail, 9 November.

SA INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS
The 46th Annual Meeting of the Institute of Race Relations was held in Johannesburg during January. An opening address by Professor H. W. E. Ntsanwisil preceded Dr. Bernard Friedman's presidential address, which was entitled From Isolation to Ditente.2
The theme of the conference that followed was "South Africa in Africa: an Evaluation of Détenente". The main papers presented were:
Summing Up (RR 27/1976), by Dr. Roger J. Southall.
During the proceedings an Alfred and Winifred Hoernl1 Memorial Lecture was given by Professor M. W. Murphree, entitled Educational Development and Change in Africa.
Activities of the Institute during the year are mentioned in appropriate sections of the chapters that follow.
1 RR 7/1976.
2 Published by the Institute of Race Relations.

WOMEN FOR PEACE
Mainly at the initiative of Mrs. Bridget Oppenheimer a nonpolitical, multi-racial organisation called Women for Peace was launched during September. Firm support was given by Ms. Deborah Mabiletsa, president of the Black Women's Federation. Its establishment was motivated by the crisis situation that prevailed in the country following the Soweto riots. The aims of the organisation were stated to be:
(a) to become aware of the needs and problems of all the people of South Africa;
(b) to promote communication between and better understanding of the country's many races and cultures;
(c) to work towards equal opportunity for all racial groups and to foster harmony between the different peoples of South Africa;
(d) to use the power of women; to make such representations as were necessary; to explore all avenues in seeking peaceful
change; to move with crisis; and, above all, to ACT.

More than 1 000 women of all racial groups attended a first public meeting, held in Johannesburg early in November. In an opening speech Mrs. Oppenheimer said that a delegation had already been sent to the Minister of Police to urge that the police should inform parents immediately when, where, and why their children were being detained. Various projects were to be undertaken, she said, including investigations of the Black education system, Black unemployment, bus services, and the reasons for differences in the prices being charged for staple foodstuffs between shops in the townships and in supermarkets in the cities.

Branches of Women for Peace were formed in other centres during the weeks that followed. The National Council of Women of S.A. pledged its support. Similar organisations were launched in Cape Town, Durban, and Grahamstown.

3 It transpired later that more than 600 children, thought by their parents to have been arrested, had fled to neighbouring countries, Botswana in particular.

POPULATION OF SOUTH AFRICA
ESTIMATED SIZE OF THE POPULATION

According to a Department of Statistics news release, the estimated size of South Africa's population in mid-1975 was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Estimated Size (1975)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>4240000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>2368 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>727000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>18136000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A break-down of the African group was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Estimated Size (1975)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zulu</td>
<td>4890 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xhosa</td>
<td>4762 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tswana</td>
<td>2045 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedi</td>
<td>1 955 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoeshoo</td>
<td>1 651 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shangaa</td>
<td>791 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swazi</td>
<td>574000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>55 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Foreign Africans</td>
<td>1651 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native African~s</td>
<td>791 000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In other news releases, the Department of Statistics stated that during 1975, SA had 50464 immigrants and 10 255 emigrants.

A subsequent Statistical News Release, the estimated mid-year population in 1976:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Estimated Size (1976)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>4236810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>2373470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>729 740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>17703300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>4236810</td>
<td>2373470</td>
<td>729 740</td>
<td>17703300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25043320</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A subsequent Statistical News Release, the estimated mid-year population in 1976:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Estimated Size (1976)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>4236810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>2373470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>17703300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Year
2000
6641200 4 698 670 1 270 090
34747510
47357470
of 25 October, gave
4320000 2434000 746000 18 629000
26,129 000

VITAL STATISTICS
In the tables that follow no figures are given for Africans, since the registration of their deaths, and more especially of their births, is incomplete, although this is officially compulsory.

According to the Quarterly Bulletin of Statistics for June 1976,' crude birth, death, and natural increase rates, per 1 000 of the estimated mid-year population, were as follows in 1974:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Birth rate</th>
<th>Death rate</th>
<th>Natural increase rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>22.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The infant death rates (under one year) per 1 000 live births in 1974 were 18.4 for Whites, 115.5 for Coloured, and 32.0 for Asians.

In reply to a question in the Assembly2 the Minister of Statistics said that estimated life expectancy at birth, in years, was:

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>64.50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>48.84</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>59.31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>72.28</td>
<td>56.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>63.87</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Table 1.2.
2 Hansard 3 col. 182. The date of the estimate was not given.

POPULATION
The Minister stated3 that the illegitimate births recorded in 1974 were:

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>3 529</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>32932</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>2981</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

POPULATION REGISTRATION
According to the Report of the Department of the Interior for 1975, the Secretary for the Interior altered the race classification of the following numbers of persons during that year, the consent of the persons having been obtained:

White to Cape Coloured .......... 14
Cape Coloured to White ........... 124
Cape Coloured to Indian .......... 21
Indian to Cape Coloured .......... 26
Indian to Malay .................. 18
Malay to Indian ................... 11
Chinese to White ............... 2
Bantu to Asiatic ............... 1
Bantu to Cape Coloured ........... 3

Race classification boards rejected 8 appeals against decisions by the Secretary, and upheld 14, the reclassification in each of these cases being from Bantu to Coloured.

In the Assembly on 5 May Mr. Lionel Murray (UP) urged the Government to scrap the "abhorrent" race classification system, which, he said, had ruined hundreds of lives. Without mentioning names, he gave details of six cases he had personally investigated. Human affection and respect, he said, did not lose its depth or sincerity because it crossed a legally defined dividing line.

The Minister undertook to investigate the cases described by Mr. Murray. While conceding that cases causing heartbreak did exist, he said he had to take the wishes of the community as a whole into consideration. He dared not look at the matter from the individual's point of view.

REGISTRATION OF BIRTHS OF AFRICANS

Regulations under the Births, Marriages, and Deaths Registration Act of 1963, published in Government Gazette No. 4936 of 19 December 1975, provided, inter alia, for an amended birth registration card for all Africans. The child's homeland citizenship has to be entered on these cards (irrespective of where he was born in South Africa). The question of citizenship is dealt with in the chapter of this Survey on the African homelands.

IMMORALITY

In reply to a question in the Assembly, the Minister of Justice indicated that during 1975, 309 cases under Section 16 of the Immorality Amendment Act of 1950 were referred to Attorneys-General. (This Section prohibits sexual intercourse between Whites and Blacks.) As a result, 325 persons were prosecuted. Of these, 199 were convicted and 98 were awaiting trial.

USE OF THE TERM "KAFFIR"
On 3 June, the Judge President of Natal ruled that use of the term "kaffir" was an insult, and awarded an African R150 damages in an action he had instituted against the Minister of Police and a former police constable who had used this term in addressing him.

MEASURES FOR SECURITY AND THE CONTROL OF PERSONS
EXPENDITURE ON SECURITY, DEFENCE, POLICE, AND PRISONS
The State Budget for 1976-71 was drawn up in a new way. In previous years it had been divided into a Consolidated Revenue Account and a Loan Account. These accounts will in future be combined in a State Revenue Account. Items of anticipated expenditure for 1976-7 and thereafter will, in consequence, not be strictly comparable with Budget figures for previous years.
The estimates of expenditure from the State Revenue Account for 1976-7 on the services indicated, and the percentages these constituted of the grand total for all State Departments, were:
Percentage of grand total for allDepartments
Prime Minister's Department: Contribution to Security Services Special Account 11 830 000 0,15 Defence ............ 1350 000 000 16,74 Police ............. 176900000 2,19 Prisons ............. 70 900 000 0,88 1609630000 19,96 The grand total for all Departments was R8 066 137 400.3
DEFENCE FORCE PERSONNEL
The training of Coloured, Indian, and African personnel for the Defence Force was described on pages 42-3 of the 1975 issue of this Survey, and page 56 of the issue for 1974.
Battalions of Defence Force trained African volunteers have been formed in the Transkei, Owambo, and Kavango.
White women are increasingly being enlisted in commando and certain other units to serve in telecommunications and as drivers, store-keepers, and clerks.4
2 Votes 3. 4, 32 and 33.
3 Page XXVI.
4 Suday Times, 29 February.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
DEFENCE AMENDMENT ACT, No. 1 OF 1976
The Defence Act of 1957, as amended in 1973 and 1974, specified the types of service on which the SA Defence Force may be employed. These were:
(a) service in time of war;
(b) service in connection with the discharge of the obligations of the Republic arising from any agreement between the Republic and any other state;
(c) service for the prevention or suppression of terrorism.
The 1976 Amendment Act added:
(d) service for the prevention or suppression of any armed conflict outside the Republic which, in the opinion of the State President, is or may be a threat to the security of the Republic.

In terms of the principal Act, a member of the Defence Force could not be required to serve outside South Africa in time of war unless he gave his written consent. The original draft of the Amendment Bill defined "South Africa" as "Africa south of the Sahara"; but during the Second Reading debate a number of Members of Parliament expressed dissatisfaction with this definition. At the Committee stage the Minister of Defence moved- that the Section concerned should read:
(1) "A member of the South African Defence Force may in time of war be required to perform service against an enemy at any place outside the Republic.
(2) "For the purposes of subsection (1), service for the prevention or suppression of terrorism or any armed conflict" (outside the Republic) "shall be deemed to be service in time of war against an enemy."

This amendment was accepted.

On behalf of the UP, Mr. W. V. Raw moved a further amendment, adding to the Section quoted above, "Provided that the employment, for a period exceeding one month, beyond the borders of the Republic of members of the South African Defence Force for the prevention or suppression of any armed conflict outside the Republic, shall be deemed to be mobilisation".

(The Act already provided that when mobilisation is ordered and if Parliament is in session, the reason will be communicated to it forthwith. If Parliament is not then sitting, it must be reconvened within thirty days.)

This amendment, too, was accepted.

A new Section was inserted providing for indemnity from civil or criminal proceedings for members of the SA Defence Force and other persons in the service of the state in respect of acts ordered or done in good faith in connection with the prevention or suppression of terrorism in any operational area. Compensation may be awarded to persons who suffer damage or loss as result of such acts.

The Moratorium Act was amended to extend its benefits to members of the Citizen Force or Commandos who are rendering periods of continuous service.

The provisions of the principal Act relating to service in time of war and to the prevention or suppression of terrorism were deemed to have come into operation...
on 9 August 1975. The Minister indicated' that the object was to obviate any possible doubt in regard to the legality of action taken in Angola.

EXTENDED PERIOD OF MILITARY SERVICE
The Minister of Defence announced on 18 December 1975 that the period of service of a limited number of national servicemen who were serving in the operational area would be extended for a month. During 1976, he said, a number of Citizen Force units would serve in the operational area (the border area between South West Africa and Angola and, for a time, within Angola). Members of units called up for annual training camps would serve for twelve weeks beyond the previous period of 19 days. This would be necessary because of the long distances to be travelled and the time this would take, and would facilitate the relieving and replacements of troops in the operational area.

MILITARY PENSIONS ACT, No. 84 OF 1976
A Military Pensions Bill was introduced in the Assembly on 1 June. The Deputy Minister of Social Welfare and Pensions explained that its main objects were to ensure the continuation and improvement of the pensions of the veterans of previous wars; to create a new dispensation for members of the Defence Force who were injured on military duty; and to make provision for the dependants of those who were killed. The Bill affected members of the Citizen Force, the Commandos, and the Reserve who were not members of the Permanent Force or the Police Force and who were not public servants. Persons in these latter categories were covered by other legislation.

The pensions payable would vary according to various factors, including the racial groups of the recipients and their previous potential incomes. The new dispensation would be applied to all new cases which had arisen since 1 July 1974, therefore all those who had been affected by incidents in the operational area since that time would be covered.


A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
Speaking for the UP, Mr. G. N. Oldfield said"" that his party fully supported the Second Reading of the Bill as far as the principle of granting better recognition of the magnificent service rendered by young men was concerned, this recognition being on a more equitable basis than in the past. But the UP would move certain amendments at the Committee stage, including the elimination of discrimination on a racial basis in cegard to benefits payable. In terms of the Bill the previous ratio of about 4: 2: 1 as between Whites, Coloured and Indians, and Africans was being narrowed to approximately 6: 4: 3, which was to be welcomed; but it would be preferable for benefits to be calculated to a greater extent according to previous potential earning capacity, leaving race out of consideration.

Dr. A. L. Boraine, representing the PRP,1° adopted a similar attitude, and also pleaded for improved compensation for elderly war veterans. The amendments proposed by Mr. Oldfield at the Committee stage,"" designed to eliminate reference to population groups, were outvoted.

PARLIAMENTARY INTERNAL SECURITY COMMISSION ACT, No. 67 OF 1976
The Background

As described on page 25 of the 1973 Survey, during that year the Schlebusch Commission (which at that time consisted of six Members of Parliament from the National Party and four from the United Party) tabled a unanimous first interim report in which it was recommended that a permanent, bi-party, statutory Parliamentary Commission be established on Internal Security, to continue the work done by the existing commission in respect of "organisations which exist already and which may from time to time come to light". The proposed constitution and functions of such a Parliamentary Commission were set out. At the time, the Prime Minister stated that legislation to establish a commission would be introduced during the session then in progress. In the event, it was held over until 1976.

It was mentioned on page 33 of the 1974 Survey that the United Party members of the Schlebusch Commission, who then numbered three, submitted a minority report that was embodied in the Commission's fourth interim report. They pointed out that immediate executive action had been taken against certain persons referred to in the second interim report, prior to any decision by Parliament as to the nature of the action, if any, to be taken. The executive action taken was not subject to any independent form of review.

The three commissioners recommended the appointment of a Judicial Tribunal to consider recommendations for executive action for the benefit of the Minister of Justice; to review executive action that had been taken; and to review any existing restrictions imposed on persons, making recommendations thereon to the Minister.

Terms of the Act

The Bill was introduced at its Second Reading in the Assembly by the Prime Minister on 23 February. The measure made provision for the establishment of a Parliamentary Internal Security Commission, to consist of such number of members of Parliament, not being more than ten, as the State President may appoint. Members of the Commission will hold office for such period, not exceeding five years, as the State President may determine, but at the end of this period may be re-appointed. The State President will designate the chairman and the vicechairman.

The Commission will investigate matters which, in the opinion of the State President, affect internal security, and which are referred to it by the State President, and will report on such matters to the State President. The State President may also refer to the Commission for investigation and report any matters concerning existing and contemplated legislation, and existing and contemplated administrative procedure, affecting internal security.
Normally, after the Commission has submitted a report to the State President, the Prime Minister will lay copies of the report on the Tables of both Houses of Parliament. However, if the Prime Minister, in consultation with the Leader of the Opposition, considers that he is acting in the public interest, he will not table a particular report, or portions of a report.

Committees of the Commission may be appointed.
The Commission or a committee will have powers similar to those of the Supreme Court to summon witnesses, administer the oath or affirmation to them, examine them, and call for the production of books, documents and other objects. A person who, without sufficient cause (the onus of proof of which rests on him), fails to obey a summons to appear as a witness, or refuses to take the oath or make an affirmation, or fails to answer satisfactorily any question lawfully put to him or to produce documents or objects for which the Commission has called, will be guilty of an offence and liable, on conviction, to

1 The first draft of the Bill read "after consultation with the Leader of the Opposition".
2 During the Parliamentary debate the Prime Minister moved that the word "in" be substituted for "after". (Assembly Hansard 9 col. 3989.)
3 No provision was made for the legal representation of witnesses.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
maximum penalties of R600 or six months' imprisonment. Notwithstanding any penalty imposed he may again be dealt with in this manner with regard to any further refusal or failure by him.

Any person who, after having been sworn or having made affirmation, gives false evidence knowing it to be false or not knowing or not believing it to be true, will be guilty of an offence and liable, on conviction, to maximum penalties of R1 200 or twelve months' imprisonment.

Any person who wilfully interrupts the proceedings of the Commission or a committee, or wilfully hinders or obstructs the Commission or a committee in the performance of its functions, will be guilty of an offence and liable, on conviction, to maximum penalties of R600 or six months' imprisonment.

The State President may make regulations assigning additional duties and powers to the Commission, or laying down procedure to be followed by it, or generally, as to any matter which he considers it necessary or expedient to prescribe in order that the achievement of the purposes of the Act may be promoted or facilitated. Such regulations may prescribe penalties for contravention of them or failure to comply with them, such penalties not to exceed R600 or six months' imprisonment.

Debate in the House of Assembly
When the Bill was first published, the United Party announced that it would refuse to serve on the proposed Parliamentary Internal Security Commission if this measure were passed in its existing form. Inter alia, the United Party repeated its submission, first made in 1972 when the appointment of a Parliamentary Select Committee to report on certain organisations was being debated, that a Judicial
Commission of Inquiry would be preferable if the Government was determined that the affairs of the organisations concerned should be investigated. In the course of his Second Reading speech on the Bill, the Prime Minister maintained that it was the task of courts of law to punish offenders as and when an illegal deed had been perpetrated, and as and when sufficient evidence had been placed before it to prove that the accused in fact committed this deed. But the courts had no function or power to take preventive action against any individual or organisation. The object of the proposed legislation, he said, was to establish a commission which
3 These maximum penalties were very considerably higher than the penalties that were in fact imposed by courts of law in 1974 and 1975 on persons who refused to testify before the Schlebusch/Le Grange Commission. See 1974 Survey page 39, and 1975 Survey, page 32.
4 e.g. Rand Daily Mail, 4 February.
5 See 1972 Survey, page 52. The Select Committee appointed was converted into a Commission of Inquiry and became known as the Schlebusch (and, subsequently, Schlebusch/Le Grange) Commission.
6 Assembly, 23 February, Hansard 5 cols. 1717-8.

SECURITY would gather information to be placed before Parliament. If it deemed it necessary, Parliament would then instruct the Government to take executive action. The leader of the Opposition, Sir De Villiers Graaff, said it was very clear that a bipartisan approach to security matters was extremely desirable. However, if the Bill became law in its existing form he would refuse to serve on the proposed commission. The main point at issue, he continued, was what the function of a Member of Parliament should be in security matters. There were two alternatives. The first was that the role of MPs should be to keep in constant review all existing and future legislation to do with security matters and all associated administrative procedures, and to ensure that Parliament was informed intelligently in order that it might legislate in respect of these matters. If this were the object of the Bill, the Prime Minister could be assured of the full support of the UP. The second alternative was that MPs should act as investigators at the behest of the executive. This is what was proposed in the Bill, and the United Party opposed such a step. In terms of the Bill, the investigators might even be prevented from reporting to Parliament on matters that they had discovered. Sir De Villiers moved an amendment to omit all the words of the Prime Minister's motion after "That", and to substitute, "this House, while accepting the need for effective measures to safeguard the internal security of the Republic, and the desire for bipartisan agreement on such measures, declines to pass the Second Reading of the . . . Bill because, inter alia, it establishes a committee consisting of Members of Parliament, but fails(1) to provide that its functions will be confined
to the investigation and report of matters concerning existing and contemplated legislation and associated administrative procedures;
and
(2) to prevent the implied or possible extension of Parliamentary action into areas which are more properly areas of police action and the jurisdiction of judicial officers".

On behalf of the PRP, Mrs. Helen Suzman maintained that the real objects behind the proposed commission were:
(a) to divert attention from the ground swell of dissatisfaction with the Government's policies;
(b) to attempt to intimidate critics of the Government into a submissive silence; and
(c) to produce a climate in which protest was equated with subversion.

Cols. 1728-43. s Cols. 1780-2.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
She moved as an amendment to omit "now" from the Prime Minister's motion that the Bill be read, and to add at the end "this day six months".
Both amendments were later defeated.

Replying to the debate, the Prime Minister summed up differences between the Government and the Opposition in regard to the Bill. Firstly, whenever security matters had been debated over the past 26 years, the Government had maintained that the executive should have the right to prohibit organisations and to take action against persons by restricting their freedom of movement and by other means. The Opposition had disagreed.

A second difference was that he (the Prime Minister) wanted an organ of Parliament-be it a Select Committee or a Commission-to be given the right to investigate organisations in a fact-finding capacity. A suspect organisation should be investigated before it resorted to deeds. Once it did perform illegal deeds, then the matter became one for the police. A Parliamentary Committee or Commission had an advantage which the police did not possess: the police could not make a person give evidence under oath or question him. There was the additional advantage that Parliament was informed of the findings of a Parliamentary body. If the Leader of the Opposition would concede the right of a Committee or Commission to investigate organisations, the Prime Minister said, the Government would be able to cooperate. "I would then go out of my way to accommodate him in order to obtain his co-operation".

A third difference that had emerged was that there were members on the opposite side of the House (apparently the members of the PRP), who did not, in any circumstances, want either a Select Committee or a Commission. "We have nothing to say to one another".

Returning to the second difference, the Prime Minister said that if it were practical, he was prepared to accept a Select Committee rather than a Commission. A difficulty was that, in terms of the standing orders, a Select Committee could not continue its work during the Parliamentary recess. But the
standing orders could be amended. A further difficulty would remain: that something might arise to cause the Committee to consider that the affairs of an organisation should be investigated without delay, but during a recess the Committee would not be able to ask Parliamentary authority to do so.

During the Committee stage, Clause 4 of the Bill was debated first at the request of Sir De Villiers. This Clause read:

(1) "The Commission shall investigate matters which, in the opinion of the State President, affect internal security and which are referred to it by the State President, and shall report thereon to the State President.

(2) "Without prejudice to the generality of the provisions of sub-section (1), the State President may also refer to the Commission for investigation and report any matters concerning existing and contemplated legislation and existing and contemplated administrative procedure affecting internal security".

Sir De Villiers moved that sub-section (1) and the first part of sub-section (2) be deleted, the Clause to read:

"The State President may refer to the Commission for investigation and report any matters concerning existing and contemplated legislation and existing and contemplated administrative procedure affecting internal security".

When this amendment was rejected, Sir De Villiers announced that the UP had no more interest in the Bill. It took virtually no further part in the committee stage debate. Members of the PRP proposed various amendments, which were all rejected, and called for a division on every clause. The UP voted with the PRP in rejecting all 13 of the Clauses.

At the Third Reading, on 29 March, Sir De Villiers said that in view of the fact that the Bill had emerged from the Committee stage without any material change, notably to Clause 4, the passage of the Bill would put an end to any chance of a bipartisan approach to a certain portion of the field of internal security. It would not be possible for the Opposition to be accused of bearing any responsibility whatever for executive action arising from reports or findings of the proposed Commission. He moved that the Bill be read that day six months.

The Third Reading was passed by 104 votes to 37.

Some criticism of the Bill outside Parliament

The Institute of Race Relations issued a Press Statement on the Bill in which it pointed out, inter alia, that the Internal Security Commission was to be empowered to investigate matters which "in the opinion of the State President, affect internal security and are referred to it by the State President". "There is nothing" the Institute said, "to indicate how the State President (that is the State President acting on the advice of the Cabinet) is to form such an opinion, which in effect means that any matter may be investigated by the simple device of labelling it as a matter affecting 'internal security'. We have already experienced the wide
meaning attached to words such as 'communism' and there is nothing to suggest that 'internal security' will not receive the same generous interpretation. In effect therefore the Commission will be able to investigate any matter it pleases, provided it has been designated a matter affecting 'internal security'. The Institute therefore fears, on the basis of past experience, that this could open the way to indiscriminate persecution."

The Black Sash organised a silent demonstration against the Bill, and distributed thousands of leaflets in which it was stated, inter alia, that the Bill provided for "secret judgment arbitrated by untrained party politicians". A number of other organisations protested against the measure.

INTERNAL SECURITY AMENDMENT ACT
No. 79 OF 1976

This legislation made amendments to five other Acts dealing with matters affecting security, including the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 as amended. The terms of this Act, as further amended, were embodied in the new legislation and its title was, accordingly, repealed.

Amendments to the Legislation Previously Entitled
"Suppression Of Communism"
(Hereinafter termed the "principal Act").

(a) Organisations that may be declared unlawful
The principal Act defined "communism" very widely. It declared the Communism Party of SA to be an unlawful organisation. It empowered the State President to declare any other organisation to be unlawful if he was satisfied that it was in any way promoting the spread of communism or furthering the achievements of any of the objects of communism, or if it was controlled by such an organisation, or if it was carrying on, directly or indirectly, any of the activities of an unlawful organisation.

The new Act enabled the State President also to declare an organisation to be unlawful if he is satisfied that it engages in activities which endanger, or are calculated to endanger, the security of the State or the maintenance of public order, or if it is controlled by such an organisation.

(b) Prohibition of publications
The principal Act empowered the State President to prohibit the printing, publication, or dissemination of any periodical or other publication if he was satisfied that it was promoting the spread of communism, or was published or disseminated by an organisation declared to be unlawful, or was expressing views propagated by such an organisation.
The new Act enabled the State President also to prohibit the printing, publication, or dissemination of any periodical or other publication if he is satisfied that it serves, inter alia, as a means for expressing views or conveying information the publication of which is calculated to endanger the security of the State or the maintenance of public order.

(c) Prohibition of attendance at gatherings
The principal Act empowered the Minister of Justice to prohibit any person from attending any gathering, or any particular gathering, or any gathering of a particular nature, class, or kind, if he was satisfied that the person concerned was engaging in activities that were furthering the achievement of any of the objects of communism.

In terms of the new Act, such prohibition orders may be served, too, on persons who in the Minister’s opinion are endangering the security of the State or the maintenance of public order.

(d) Prohibition of persons from being within or leaving defined areas
The principal Act empowered the Minister to prohibit any person from being within or from leaving defined areas if he was satisfied that the person concerned was in any way furthering the achievement of any of the objects of communism. Such prohibition orders may now be served, too, on any person deemed to be endangering the security of the State or the maintenance of public order.

(e) Detention of persons in custody
The so-called "Sobukwe clause" of the principal Act provided that if the Minister was satisfied that any person serving a sentence of imprisonment imposed under any of the security laws was likely, if released on completion of his sentence, to promote any of the objects of communism in any way, the Minister might direct that this person should be detained in custody in a prison area for a stated period. This provision lapsed as from 30 June 1969, but could be revived by resolution of both Houses of Parliament for periods not exceeding a year at a time.

The new Act deleted these provisions. Instead, it provided that if the Minister is satisfied that any person is engaging in activities which endanger or are calculated to endanger the security of the State or the maintenance of public order, the Minister may direct that this person be detained in custody in a prison area for a specified period.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
This provision will be in force only during such period not exceeding twelve months at a time, and in such part of the Republic, as the State President may from time to time determine.

(As described later, the provision was, subsequently, brought into force.)

(f) Review committee
A new sub-Section was included in the Act. If the provision described in the previous paragraphs is brought into effect, the State President will appoint a review committee consisting of a chairman and two other members. The chairman must be a judge of the Supreme Court, or a magistrate, or a person who has held office as a judge or a magistrate.
If a person is detained in custody in terms of the provisions described above, the review committee will as soon as may be, but not later than two months after the commencement of the custody, investigate the Minister's action. Thereafter, the review committee will investigate the person's custody at intervals of not more than six months. The committee will consider all facts and written representations submitted to it, and may in its discretion also hear oral evidence or representations from any person. Persons desiring to make written representations must deliver these to the Secretary for Justice. Persons desiring to submit oral representations must notify the Secretary.

After an investigation, the review committee will make such recommendation as it may think fit to the Minister, who must as soon as possible notify the person concerned of the contents of such recommendation. The Minister need not give effect to any recommendation by the review committee. If, however, he does not give effect to a recommendation that a detention order be withdrawn, he must table in Parliament a report stating the recommendation made and the name of the person who is detained.

Meetings of a review committee will not be open to the public, and its deliberations and recommendations will not be disclosed to the public. No court of law will have jurisdiction to pronounce upon its functions or recommendations.

(g) Prohibition of release on bail or otherwise
A new sub-Section provides that whenever any person has been arrested on a charge of having committed any offence referred to in a Schedule to the Act, an attorney-general may, if he considers it necessary in the interest of the safety of the State or the maintenance of public order, issue an instruction that such person may not be released on bail or otherwise before sentence has been passed or he has been discharged.

SECURITY
The offences referred to in the Schedule are sedition, treason, contraventions of certain provisions of the new Act here described or of the Terrorism Act of 1967, or contraventions of Section 21 of the General Law Amendment Act of 1962 (sabotage), or any conspiracy, incitement, or attempt to commit any of these offences.

(h) Detention of Witnesses
A further provision is that whenever, in the opinion of an attorney-general, there is any danger of tampering with or intimidation of any person likely to give material evidence for the State in any criminal proceedings in connection with facts which may serve as a basis for a charge related to an offence referred to in the Schedule, or that any such person may abscond, or whenever he deems it to be in the interests of such person or of the administration of justice, the attorney-general may order the arrest and detention of such person. Unless the attorney-general orders that a person so detained be released earlier, such person will be detained until the criminal proceedings concerned are concluded, or for a period of six months, whichever period is shorter.
Unless special permission is granted by the attorney-general or a State official to whom he has delegated this power, no-one will have access to a detained person except a State official acting in the performance of his duties and a magistrate, who will visit the person in private at least once a week.
No court will have power to order the release of a detained person or to allow other persons to visit him.
(These provisions are the same as those of the "180 day detention clause" of the Criminal Procedure Amendment Act of 1965. The Minister of Justice said in the Assembly' that they had been included in the new measure because the Criminal Procedure Act was to be amended in 1977, and it might be decided to omit the relevant Section. It dealt with security matters and should be included, rather, in the Act dealing with Internal Security.)

(i) Application of the Act to South West Africa
The principal Act provided that it would apply in South West Africa as well as in the Republic.

(ii) Amendments to other Acts
Certain consequential amendments were made to other Acts.
It was stipulated that the Riotous Assemblies Act, 1956, will apply in South West Africa as well as in the Republic. The
I Hansard 15 col. 6686.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
Riotous Assemblies and Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance of 1930 of SWA was repealed.
The Public Safety Act, 1953, laid down maximum penalties of R1 000 or five years for contraventions of regulations made by the State President during a period while a state of emergency has been proclaimed and continues to exist. This limitation on the penal provision was removed in terms of the new Act.

Parliamentary debate
The Bill was originally entitled the "Promotion of State Security Bill"; but during the committee stage in the Senate a NP Senator proposed, and the Minister of Justice agreed,2 that the title be changed to the "Internal Security Amendment Bill" in order that opponents of the measure would not be able to continue calling it the "SS Bill".

Earlier, when the measure had been introduced at the second reading in the Assembly, on behalf of the UP Mr. R. M. Cadman moved 'To omit all the words after 'That' and to substitute 'the order for the second reading of the Promotion of State Security Bill be discharged and the subject of the Bill be referred to a Select Committee for inquiry and report, the Committee to be instructed to bring up a more comprehensive and effective Bill, which, inter alia(i) clearly and properly defines the activities and organisations by which the security of the State is threatened;
(ii) creates such new offences and penalties as are necessary to meet that threat, so that miscreants will be dealt with through the courts and not by arbitrary executive action; (iii) provides that, in so far as executive action in terms of the
Bill may be necessary, it be subject to the scrutiny of a judicial review committee and exercisable, in so far as the freedom of individuals is concerned, only in time of war or national emergency;
(iv) provides for the protection of witnesses without the need for their arbitrary detention'.

The PRP rejected the measure more emphatically. On their behalf Mrs. Helen Suzman moved that it be read that day six months. Some 31 amendments (including five by the NP) were placed on the Assembly's order paper for the committee stage debate. Only those moved by the NP were accepted by the Minister. A division was called on every clause. The PRP opposed all of them. The UP opposed all but two: it voted with the Government on the deletion of the clause limiting the penal provision of the Public Safety Act, and on the clause extending the Riotous 2 Senate, 26 May, Hansard 11 cols. 2869-70. 3 Assembly, 11 May, Hansard 15 col. 6441. 4 Col. 6459.

SECURITY Assemblies Act to South West Africa. During the third reading debate in the Assembly the Minister of Justice said that he would continue to flush out communists, but that the legislation was aimed at people other than communists. There were the young Black Power leaders who were being polarised and were allowing themselves to be misled by the Christian Institute. There were people who in spirit were trying to besmirch South Africa's name. There were Nusas wages commissions that were trying to organise Africans into trade unions so as to use them for revolution. The third reading was passed in the Assembly by 90 to 44 votes. The UP changed its approach during the Senate debate. Senator J. L. Horak moved that the Bill be read that day six months. Opposition by extra-Parliamentary organisations A Press statement was issued on behalf of the Johannesburg Bar Council in which it was said that the Bill contained provisions which were contrary to the fundamental principles of South Africa's legal system and should be condemned by all lawyers. It negated the basic principle which had for many years been implicit in the legal systems of all civilised countries that no man should be punished or otherwise made to suffer by the State except for a distinct breach of the law proved in the ordinary manner before the courts of the land. On the same day, the Cape Bar Council issued a statement to the effect that it was important that judges of the Supreme Court, and not members of the executive, should be entrusted with the responsibility of deciding whether a person was guilty of taking part in activities which placed the security of the State or the maintenance of public order in danger, and whether such people should be deprived of their freedom. The Orange Free State division of the Society of Advocates stated that the provisions of the Bill relating to detention represented a drastic inroad on the
accepted principle that a person should lose his freedom only through the administration of justice. Even if exceptional conditions existed in regard to State security, the division could not accept as sufficient the revision procedure provided for in the Bill.

During the Assembly debate the Minister referred to the statements by the two Bar Councils. While he had a great deal of respect for Bar Councils, the Minister said, he wanted to tell

1 18 May, Hansard 16 cols. 7021-2.
20 May, Senate Hansard 10 col. 2658.
1 Rand Daily Mail, 12 May.
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid, 14 May.
10 Hansard 15 col. 6709.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

them publicly that in his opinion it was not the function of these bodies to become involved in polemical legislation which was still being debated in the House, thus venturing into the political arena. If the two Bar Councils concerned wished to make representations, they should have sent delegates to see him.

The Institute of Race Relations issued a Press statement in which it said, inter alia, that it believed that the Government already had enough security measures at its disposal to maintain peace in South Africa. It believed that the new Bill, which conferred wide discretionary powers on the executive, was unnecessary and would be seen as further evidence of the determination on the part of the Government not to permit peaceful social change within South Africa.

The Civil Rights League stated that it wholeheartedly supported the stand of the two Bar Councils and of the Free State division of the Society of Advocates. The Black Sash organised a public meeting in Johannesburg to protest against the Bill. Among others who voiced their objections were eight academics at the University of Cape Town.

Application of the provisions relating to preventive detention

The serious disturbances that took place in South Africa from June onward are described elsewhere in this Survey.

In terms of Proclamation R133 of 16 July, the provisions of the new Act relating to preventive detention, outlined on page 45, were brought into force in the Transvaal for one year. Then, by means of Proclamation R159 of 11 August, they were brought into force in the whole of the Republic for a period of one year from the date of the proclamation.

As reported later in this booklet, large numbers of persons were detained in terms of this new measure, while others were detained under the "180-day detention clause" and other security legislation.

THE SOWETO RIOTS AND SUBSEQUENT
UNREST
June 16, 1976 saw the outbreak of race riots on a larger scale than has ever been experienced in South Africa. Although it was the "language issue" which proved to be the flashpoint, the general consensus of opinion amongst most Black and White leaders is that violence on such a vast scale could not have resulted from this issue alone. It seems evident that the underlying causes of the initial riots and the continuing unrest are the poor socioeconomic conditions in the townships and the lack of security and deep-seated resentment felt by urban Africans.

BACKGROUND TO THE LANGUAGE QUESTION
Since 1955 it has been policy in Bantu Education that the two official languages should be used on a 50-50 basis as media of instruction in secondary schools. In 1968 it was stated in the Department of Bantu Education's Annual Report that this policy could not be fully implemented because of a shortage of teachers who were thoroughly proficient in both official languages; in fact the policy was, in 1968, carried out fully in only 26 per cent of schools.

On 6 March 1974 homeland leaders, in discussions with the Prime Minister and other Ministers, proposed that the medium used in schools in the homelands should be adopted in African schools in White areas. In most cases this was English. Despite the Prime Minister's suggestion that this possibility should be investigated and despite the almost unanimous view of African leaders and educationists that this would be preferable, official policy remained unaltered.

On 29 August 1974 Mr. W. C. Ackerman, Southern Transvaal Regional Director of Education, issued Regional Circular No. 2, in which it was stated that in Std. 5, Forms I and II, General Science and Practical subjects must be taught through the medium of English, "Wiskunde/rekenkunde en Sosiale Studie" through the medium of Afrikaans.

In a subsequent circular (No. 1 of 1975) it was stated that application could be made for exemption from the ruling. Many applications were turned down. It should be borne in mind that with only one exception, all teachers' training colleges for Africans use English as medium of instruction. African teachers have no language endorsement on their certificates, stating their competency to teach through the medium of Afrikaans, and according to A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
Soweto principals it is common practice for inspectors to assess this competence by merely exchanging a few words in Afrikaans with the teacher concerned. Further evidence of official attitudes on this matter is found in the minutes of a meeting of the Meadowlands Tswana School Board held on 20 January 1976, which reads as follows:
"The circuit inspector told the board that the Secretary for Bantu Education has stated that all direct taxes paid by the Black population of South Africa are being sent to the various homelands for education purposes there.
"In urban areas the education of a Black child is being paid
for by the White population, that is English- and Afrikaans-speaking groups. Therefore, the Secretary for Bantu Education has the responsibility towards satisfying the English- and Afrikaans-speaking people.

"Consequently, the only way of satisfying both groups, (is that) the medium of instruction in all schools shall be on a 50-50 basis.

"The circuit inspector further stated that where there was difficulty in instructing through the medium of Afrikaans an application for exemption can be made. He stated that if such an exemption is granted by the Department of Bantu Education, it shall be applicable for one year only.

"In future, if schools teach through the medium not prescribed by the department for a particular subject, examination question papers will only be set in the prescribed medium with no option of the other language. The circuit inspector stated that social studies (history and geography) and mathematics shall be taught through the medium of Afrikaans, physical science and the rest through the medium of English.

"Asked whether the circuit inspector should not be speaking at the meeting in an advisory capacity, the inspector stated that he was representing the Department of Bantu Education directly.

"The Board stated that they were not opposed to the 50-50 basis medium of instruction but that they wanted to be given the chance of choosing the language for each subject.

"The circuit inspector stated that the board has no right to choose for itself, but should do what the department wants. He suggested that the board could write to the department via himself and the Regional Director on this matter. At this juncture the circuit inspector excused himself and left the meeting.

"The board was not happy about the statements of the circuit inspector and felt that to write a letter would not offer any favourable reply.

"The board unanimously accepted a motion moved by Mr. K. Nkamela, and seconded by Mr. S. G. Thwane, that the

DISTURBANCES

medium of instruction in schools under the jurisdiction of the Meadowlands Tswana School Board from Standards 3 to 8 should be in English. The meeting further resolved that the principals be informed about the decision."

EVENTS LEADING UP TO JUNE 16

Early in February two members of the Meadowlands Tswana School Board, Mr. Letlape and Mr. Peele, were dismissed. The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education said in reply to a question in the Assembly on 27 February' that they were dismissed in terms of regulation 41 (1) of Government
Notice R429 dated 18 March 1966, which states that the regional director may "if he is of the opinion that the continued existence of any school board or the membership of any member of any school board is, for whatever reason, not in the interest of the Bantu Community or the education of the Bantu, at any time dissolve such school board and order the constitution of a new school board or terminate the membership of such member of any school board". The regional director gave no reasons for the dismissals, but it was believed that they were due to the board's refusal to use Afrikaans as medium of instruction in their schools.

An 6 February the remaining seven members of the board resigned in protest at the dismissal of Messrs. Peele and Letlape.

Mr. M. C. Ackerman, regional director of Bantu Education for the Southern Transvaal, refused to comment on the matter. Mr. M. A. N. Engelbrecht, chief inspector of schools, stated that the Black schools were entitled to choose between English and Afrikaans as a medium of instruction depending on proficiency, that the choice was made through an application by the principal of the school, which was considered by the Department, and that it was a professional matter that fell outside the jurisdiction of the school boards.

Chief Lucas Mangope took up the matter with the Central Government and subsequently reported that school boards were free to choose the medium of instruction to be used in their schools.

In the Assembly on 27 February the Deputy Minister of Bantu Education said that applications for exemption from the language ruling had been received from school principals, but that no statistics were kept of such applications. He went on to say, "The change-over to the twelve-year structure has entailed that the principle in respect of the medium of instruction applicable in the case of secondary schools also becomes applicable in the case of Standard 5. Applications to deviate in these cases are considered in the light of: the availability of teachers proficient to teach through the medium of one of the official languages; the fact that textbooks in a certain language have already been supplied to the senior classes or the school which the pupils will eventually attend."

It was reported during March' that members of the Meadowlands Tswana School Board said that they had been informed that they would only be reinstated if they withdrew a circular saying that schools under them should be instructed in English.

On 14 March parents at Donaldson Higher Primary School unanimously rejected the use of Afrikaans as medium of instruction. (Just over two weeks prior to this, on 24 February, junior certificate students at Thomas Mofolo Secondary School had clashed verbally with their principal over the medium of instruction.)
A delegation from the African Teachers' Association of South Africa met the Secretary for Bantu Education on 26 April. They presented him with a memorandum concerning the medium of instruction. The Secretary promised to make new approaches to the Minister, but nothing further was heard about the matter.

Opposition speakers in the House of Assembly called on the government to allow Black pupils to choose the official language in which they wished to be educated. On 17 May students at Orlando West Junior Secondary School went on strike in protest against the enforced use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. They demanded to see Mr. De Beer, the circuit inspector, but he refused to meet the students. Two days later they presented to their principal, Mr Mpulo, a 5-point memorandum protesting against the use of Afrikaans as medium of instruction. After several meetings with the principal and staff the students drafted a letter stating their grievances, addressed to the regional director of Bantu Education. On the same day, 19 May, pupils at Belle Higher Primary School also went on strike. The following day, 20 May, Emthonjeni Higher Primary and Thulasizwe Higher Primary Schools joined the strike, bringing the number of pupils on strike to about 1 600. As yet there was no reaction from the Department of Bantu Education; Mr. M. C. de Beer was quoted as saying that the department was "doing nothing about the matter".

At a meeting of parents, school board members from various areas, and Inkatha Yesizwe members, it was decided that students should be requested to return to school while the matter received attention. The pupils ignored the request, however, and on 24 May Pimville Higher Primary and Khulangolwazi Higher Primary Schools also came out on strike.

DISTURBANCES
On 25 May the Director of the S.A. Institute of Race Relations sent the following telegram to Mr. Rene de Villiers, M.P., a member of the Executive Committee of the Institute: "Deeply concerned Afrikaans medium controversy Black schools x Position Soweto very serious x Could you discuss matter with the Minister concerned". Mr. de Villiers conveyed the contents of the telegram to the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Dr. Andries Treurnicht, who said he was not aware of any real problem, but would enquire about the matter. A day or so later Dr. Treurnicht sent a note to Mr. De Villiers in which he stated that the matter was still being handled at a lower level and that no final conclusion had yet been reached. He said that apparently children were striking because their teachers, according to them, were not qualified to teach them through the medium of Afrikaans. Perhaps, he added, it was not as simple as this.

On the following day, 26 May, members of the SAIRR staff spoke to the principal of a Soweto high school who said that there was no doubt that principals and
teachers at the striking schools were being intimidated by inspectors. Apparently teachers, having been asked whether they could speak Afrikaans, to which they generally answered "yes" for fear of losing their jobs, were then told that they could therefore teach through the medium of this language.
The first overt violence occurred on 27 May: Mrs. K. Tshabalala, a teacher of Afrikaans at Pimville Higher Primary, was stabbed with a screwdriver by a student. Students stoned police who came to make an arrest in connection with the stabbing."

In the Sunday Express of 30 May Mr. De Beer, circuit inspector for the striking schools, was quoted as saying that his solution would be to have any child who was away from school for longer than 10 days expelled, to close the schools or to transfer the teachers. Despite these hard-line statements, on 1 June pupils at Senaoane Junior Secondary School went on strike.

In the next few days the strikes seemed to be abating; pupils at Emthonjeni, Belle, Thulasizwe and Pimville started returning to classes. Apparently pupils had been told that lessons in mathematics and social studies—the subjects taught in Afrikaans—would be suspended for the time being." On 5 June, however, pupils at Belle Higher Primary School stoned the school buildings and other children who had returned to classes during the lull in the strike, and two pupils were subsequently arrested on 7 June in connection with this incident.

Also on 7 June a five-man deputation from the Urban Bantu 10 Rand Daily Mail Extra, 28 May. 11 World, 3 June.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
Council, accompanied by Mr. N. P. Wilsenach, the West Rand Administration Board director for housing, met Mr. M. C. Ackerman to discuss the school strikes. Mr. Makhaya, chairman of the UBC, said the deputation had requested Mr. Wilsenach to accompany them in order to speed up the appointment with Mr. Ackerman. At the meeting Mr. Ackerman said there was nothing he could do about the issue."

On 8 June police went to Naledi High School to "make some enquiries about some matter", according to Major C. J. Viljoen, commander of Jabulani Police Station.3 Students stoned the police and burnt their car. On the same day, 15 pupils from Thulasizwe Higher Primary were detained and released after questioning. On 9 June pupils at Naledi High School again stoned policemen who had come to investigate the previous day's disturbance.

On 10 June pupils at Emthonjeni refused to write their social studies exam in Afrikaans and the following day students at Orlando West Junior Secondary refused to write their June exams. Pupils at Morris Isaacson High School posted a placard at the main gate reading "No S.B.'s allowed. Enter at risk of your skin". According to a teacher, antagonism towards police was running high at the school. It was also reported that students at Senaoane Junior Secondary were said to have been beaten for "allegedly betraying others in the fight against the use of Afrikaans as the medium of instruction".14

The Director of the SAIRR sent an urgent telegram to Mr. R. de Villiers on 11 June, stating that the situation in Soweto schools was deteriorating rapidly, that
violent incidents had already occurred, and asking that Dr. Treurnicht should be approached. Dr. Treurnicht, on being informed of the contents of the telegram, said that he did not think there had been an escalation of the dispute, but would make further inquiries. Later he told Mr. De Villiers that he had spoken to his officials and had reason to believe that the matter would be amicably settled.

On the same day, the following questions were asked in the Assembly by Dr. E. L. Fisher:
1. Whether there had recently been a protest demonstration by pupils of Naledi High School in Soweto; if so, what was the reason for the demonstration.
2. Whether police had to be brought in to end the demonstration; if so, what methods were used to end the demonstration.
3. Whether (a) any persons were injured and (b) any damage was caused as a result of the incident.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Education, Dr. A. Treurnicht,
12 Rand Daily Mail Extra, 10 June.
13 Rand Daily Mail, 9 June.
1, Rand Daily Mail Extra, 12 June. "S.B."-Special Branch (of the police).

**DISTURBANCES**

In reply to a second question, Dr. Treurnicht stated that the principals of six of the striking schools had applied for permission to deviate from the 50-50 language medium requirement. Permission, however, was not granted because "after inspection it was found that all teachers concerned were competent to give instruction through the medium of both official languages".

In the Urban Bantu Council on 14 June, Councillor Leonard Mosala warned that the enforcing of Afrikaans in schools could result in another Sharpeville. Speaking of the children, he said, "They won't take anything we say because they think we have neglected them. We have failed to help them in their struggle for change in schools. They are now angry and prepared to fight and we are afraid the situation may become chaotic at any time." He also said that police interference in the schools should be avoided at all costs, as the children might become aggressive at the sight of the police.

**THE JUNE RIOTS**

On 16 June a march in protest against the use of Afrikaans as medium of instruction was initiated by pupils of Naledi and Thomas Mofolo High Schools. The marchers moved through Soweto, apparently with the object of holding a mass meeting at Orlando Stadium in order to voice their grievances. About 10 000 marchers converged on Orlando West High School. There was an incident where police tried to remove placards from one group of marchers, but on the whole the march proceeded peacefully until the children were confronted by the police as they gathered in front of the school. Tension was already running high, and when the police fired tear-gas canisters into the crowd, the children retaliated by throwing stones at the police. The police opened fire, apparently first firing
warning shots, and then into the crowd of advancing children, killing at least one thirteen-year-old Hector Petersen.8 After the first shootings, fierce rioting broke out and spread throughout Soweto. There were several deaths, including those of two White men, Dr. M. Edelstein and Mr. N. Esterhuizen, who were beaten to death. Police reinforcements were brought into Soweto and army troops were placed on standby as the violence escalated and buildings and vehicles were burnt.

All schools were closed at the order of Mr. M. C. Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development. However, on 17 June many pupils, apparently unaware of the suspension of classes, returned to school, only to be sent home as rioting continued. According to newspaper reports, the continuing violence was led mainly by tsotsis and gangsters who had taken advantage of the previous day's trouble and had started looting. Putco suspended bus services and all clinics were closed.

On 17 and 18 June pupils in other townships demonstrated in sympathy with Soweto schools, as did students at the Universities of the North, the Witwatersrand and Zululand. At Zululand the library and administration buildings were razed by fire. At the University of Natal Medical Faculty 87 black students were arrested following a sympathy march.

On 18 June Mr. John Rees of the South African Council of Churches and Dr. Beyers Naudé of the Christian Institute were served with orders warning them to dissociate themselves completely from the "situation of unrest", and public gatherings were prohibited until 29 June in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act. The following day a similar order was served on Dr. Selma Browde, Progressive Reform member of the Johannesburg City Council and the Transvaal Provincial Council.

By 19 June rioting in the townships of the Rand had died down, except for sporadic outbursts. However, on 21 June there were fresh outbreaks of rioting at Mamelodi, Atteridgeville, Hammanskraal and Mabopane near Pretoria, at Kwa Thema, Daveyton, Duduza and Wattville on the East Rand and also near Pietersburg and Potgietersrus, and at Sibasa and Witjeshoek.19 The following day, 22 June, the unrest spread to Garankuwa (near Pretoria), where high school students demonstrated "in sympathy with those killed in the struggle".20 By 23 June the trouble seemed to be abating. All remained quiet in the main trouble spots, although there were cases of arson in Kwa Thema and near Nelspruit. There was a minor outbreak of rioting involving school children at Jouberton, near Klerksdorp. The following day two buses were stoned at Jouberton, and in Langa, Cape Town, police were called in after a crowd surrounded the vehicle of two Bantu board officials.
The official death toll on 24 June was 140, with well over a thousand people injured, 908 arrested and numerous buildings and vehicles damaged or destroyed, including 67 beerhalls and bottlostores and 53 Bantu Administration buildings.1

By the end of June, with the death toll at 176, the worst of the trouble appeared to have subsided.

REACTION TO THE JUNE RIOTS

The day after the outbreak of the Soweto riots a snap debate was called in the House of Assembly,2 during which opposition members called for the resignations of the Minister and Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration on account of their inept handling of the language issue.

Mr. Kruger, Minister of Police, said that the Government had not expected the riots in Soweto to result from the school strikes against Afrikaans as medium of instruction, and that the language question was not really the cause of the riots. The Minister also announced the appointment of Mr. Justice Cillie as one-man commission of enquiry into the causes of the riots.

Mr. M. C. Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, stated that at seven of the senior secondary schools involved in the demonstrations, subjects were taught in English only, and that at only one high school one subject was offered in Afrikaans. (It should be borne in mind that although not directly affected by the ruling at that time, senior secondary and high schools would eventually be affected as the children then at primary schools progressed. In addition, many high school pupils had brothers or sisters in the lower classes who were affected by the ruling, and they sympathised with and wished to support them over this issue.)

On the same day, in a statement in Die Beeld, Dr. A. Treurnicht said that in the White areas of South Africa the Government should have the right to decide the medium of instruction in African schools, as the Government supplied the buildings and subsidised the schools.

On 18 June Mr. Manie Mulder, chairman of WRAB, met a group of church, civic and school leaders from Soweto to try and persuade them to co-operate with the Board in the reconstruction process. According to press reports3 the meeting did not end on a very amicable note, and the Black leaders laid down the following conditions to be fulfilled before they would co-operate:

1. the immediate abolition of Afrikaans as medium of instruction;
2. the withdrawal of police from schools;
3. the appointment of Black members to the commission of inquiry into the riots;
4. the presence of Mr. Willem Cruywagen, Deputy Minister of Bantu Affairs responsible for Administration Boards in urban areas, at any reconstruction talks.
Mr. Vorster, on the eve of his departure for West Germany, where he was to have talks with Dr. Kissinger, stated that order was to be maintained at all costs and that "where Black people destroy their own educational institutions, such institutions will remain closed for an indeterminate period".4
3 Rand Daily Mail, 19 June; Star, 19 June. SHlansard 20. col. 9695.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
Homeland leaders called for calm and an end to the rioting, and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi suggested that a conference of leaders be held to resolve the crisis. Eleven Black leaders met a seven-man team headed by the Minister for Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M. C. Botha, for talks on 19 June. In a joint statement issued after the talks it was said that the tragedies in Soweto were caused by misunderstanding and confusion over the application of the 50-50 principle and that schools could apply to deviate from the principle.
Mr. M. C. Botha said in a statement on 21 June, against a background of renewed rioting, that there would be continuous consultation in future between Black urban leaders and White authorities, and that future consultations would include discussion of grievances other than the language issue.- On the same day a meeting of Soweto headmasters issued a statement placing the blame for the outbreak of violence on the shoulders of the Bantu Education Department, which had refused to heed numerous pleas and warnings in connection with Afrikaans as a medium of instruction.'
The next day, in reply to questions in the Assembly, Mr. M. C. Botha stated that the Government intended to make a final decision regarding the language ruling before the re-opening of schools.7 In a speech in the House the Minister of Police praised police action in the riots and attacked the Progressive Reform Party, accusing them of becoming identified with Black Power movements and fomenting unrest.
The "Committee of 30" urban African leaders, drawn from officially recognised bodies, met Mr. G. J. Rousseau, Secretary for Bantu Education, on 25 June to discuss the language issue. A memorandum on the matter, originally drawn up by the African Teachers' Association of South African (ATASA), was presented to the Secretary. Subsequently the view was expressed that the Government was expected to soften its attitude on the enforcement of Afrikaans as medium of instruction.
On 29 June the "Committee of 30" met Mr. I. P. van Onselen, Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development, to whom a further memorandum concerning the rights of urban Africans was presented. Mr. T. J. Makhaya, chairman of the UBC, reported that he was confident that the Government would act on the recommendations which had been made. Mr. Van Onselen stated that he would submit some of the suggestions and proposals to the departments concerned, while others he would submit to Mr. M. C. Botha, together with his own recommendations.5 Star, 21 June.
6 World, 21 June.
7 Hansard 21 col. 1276.
DISTURBANCES

Two days later, on 1 July, a further meeting was held between three African leaders and Mr. M. C. Botha, after which the latter stated that they had discussed "my decisions in connection with the language medium question and full agreement was reached". On 6 July the Minister announced that instead of having to teach through the mediums of English and Afrikaans on a 50-50 basis, principals would now be free to choose the medium of instruction in their schools, with the proviso that the language not used would be given extra attention as a subject. In an interview on SATV that night, he said that there had always been a choice between the three possibilities offered, namely (a) 50-50 English and Afrikaans, (b) English only, or (c) Afrikaans only as medium of instruction, and it was simply confusion over interpretation that had led to problems.

The following day Mr. H. H. Dlamlense, secretary-general of ATASA, issued a statement in which he totally dismissed the Minister's previous statements that Africans had always had a choice with regard to medium of instruction and that there had been confusion and misunderstanding over the matter. There had been no "confusion", said Mr. Dlamlense; the matter had been forced, and he referred to the departmental circulars of 1974 which stated, quite categorically, that social studies and arithmetic must be taught through the medium of Afrikaans.8 Although schools could apply for exemption from the ruling, at the schools which originally went on strike these applications had been refused. (In a subsequent meeting with members of the Institute of Race Relations staff, Mr. Dlamlense said that at the meeting with Mr. Rousseau on 25 June the following requests had also been made: (1) that all five circuit inspectors in the Southern Transvaal and Mr. Ackerman, regional director, should be removed, and (2) that elected members of school boards who had been dismissed should be reinstated.)

In the meantime, Mr. J. Kruger decided to ban the mass funeral which the recently formed Black Parents' Association had been planning for victims of the riots. Soweto leaders and churchmen reacted angrily, saying that the Minister had not taken into consideration the fact that the occasion was "one of deep mourning for the whole Black nation".9 On 3 July several riot victims, including 13-year-old Hector Petersen, were buried without incident. Roadblocks had been set up around Soweto and police helicopters hovered over the townships as the burials took place.

It was reported in the Rand Daily Mail of 9 July that all bodies of unidentified riot victims had been cleared from the Government mortuary and some had been given paupers' funerals. This followed a warning in regard to this matter which had been published the previous day. Mrs. Sheena Duncan, national president of the Black Sash, said, "It is incredible that the police should not have been able to identify at least people over the age of 16, as the pass law system ensures that fingerprints of all Africans over 16 are stored in the Bantu Reference Bureau in Pretoria".1°
In reply to reports of dozens of children being held in cells at John Vorster Square police station, General Gert Prinsloo, Commissioner of Police, said that "The children are probably better looked after in a police cell than they would be in a place of safety. It is not unusual to keep juveniles in cells for long periods before trials". Professor John Dugard, professor of law at the University of the Witwatersrand, commented on this matter: "It is deplorable that such young children should be held without being released on bail. It is difficult to understand why Section 108 has not been invoked." (In terms of Section 108 of the Criminal Procedure Act No. 56 of 1955, children may be placed in a place of safety or released without bail, or into the custody of their parents, with a warning to appear in court on a fixed date, instead of being detained in prison.)

On 15 July Mr. Jimmy Kruger, Minister of Police, announced the postponement of the reopening of African schools following rumours that there would be further trouble when schools opened on 20 July. He also prohibited all meetings as from the 16th July and brought into operation in the Transvaal the preventive detention section of the new Internal Security Act. In addition, he announced that a further 14 juveniles detained at John Vorster Square had been released into parental custody when their cases were postponed.3 Black leaders expressed concern over the continued closure of schools; they were perturbed by the extended break in the educative process, and also by the fact that the children of Soweto would remain idle for a lengthy period of time.

In the Sunday Times of 18 July it was reported that Mr. Joseph Peele and Mr. Abner Letlape, who had been sacked from the Meadowlands Tswana School Board, had been reinstated by the Department of Bantu Education, and that Mr. W. C. Ackerman, regional director, and Mr. Thys de Beer, circuit inspector, were to be transferred. With regard to the latter item, Dr. A. B. Fourie, director of control of the department, said their positions were being reviewed.

CONTINUATION OF UNREST
On July 16 Mr. Jimmy Kruger announced that schools would remain closed until such time as "agitation" in Soweto and other
10 Rand Daily Mail, 9 July.
11 Star, 8 July.
12 Star, 9 July.
13 Rand Daily Mail, 16 July.

DISTURBANCES
townships ceased, that all gatherings would be banned and that the preventive detention section of the new Internal Security Act would go into immediate operation in the Transvaal. These measures followed rumours that there would be further outbreaks of trouble once schools opened as scholars were demanding the release of children who were still being held in prison after the riots of the previous month.
Trouble now started breaking out in other parts of the country. Students at Fort Hare held a mass meeting on 17 July to discuss a day of prayer for Soweto. This meeting developed into a riot, and in the next two days there were several arson
attempts at the University which was eventually closed on 19 July. That day
Lovedale Teachers' Training College was extensively damaged by fires.
All had remained relatively quiet on the Reef, with isolated cases of arson.
However, on 30 July rioting broke out at Lynnville Township near Witbank, at
Mhluzi near Middelburg and at Khutsong near Carletonville. At least two people,
including one schoolboy, were shot dead in the rioting, which coincided with
the opening of schools in the affected townships. (The closure ordered by Mr. Kruger
only applied to schools on the Rand.)
Trouble was also reported from schools at Ladysmith in Natal, and
Hartbeesfontein near Klerksdorp, and the boys' hostel at Amanzimtoti Zulu
Training College was target of an arson attempt.
Following a meeting between the Committee of 30 and Mr. Jimmy Kruger and
Mr. Cruywagen on 21 July, Mr. Kruger announced the reopening of schools the
following day. Three days later he made a statement in which he said that he
would welcome greater administrative powers for urban Africans.4
When schools in Soweto and on the Reef reopened on 22 July, very few children
returned to school. There were isolated outbreaks of arson, and in an incident at
Boipatong township police used dogs and teargas to disperse a crowd, comprising
mainly schoolchildren, who stoned a police vehicle.
On 23 July there was still extremely low attendance at schools. According to
Brigadier Le Roux, Soweto district police commander, police were keeping a
watch on schools. Headmasters were reported to be puzzled by the stay-away, but
were hopeful that the situation would return to normal on the following Monday."
On Monday, 26 July many children returned to school only to drift away as
classes failed to start. Children congregated in the streets, taunting police standing
by, and cases of arson at schools throughout the country were reported.
14 Sunday Times, 25 July. 15 Rand Daily Mail, 24 July

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

At a meeting attended by nearly 400 Soweto principals, the school heads called
for the removal of police "hippo" vehicles from the vicinity of schools because
they were frightening off pupils who wished to return to school. They also called
once again for the removal of the regional director and various school inspectors.1
It was announced on 26 July that the University of Zululand would not reopen for
the rest of the year except for the Institute of Public Service Training and the
Theological College at Witsieshoek. The University of the North was to reopen
on 11 August, and the University of Fort Hare was to reopen conditionally on 16
August.
In the days that followed there were numerous cases of arson throughout the
country. Attendance at schools continued to be low, but was improving slightly.
On 27 July police were stoned by pupils at Kwa Mahlolo Secondary School in
Meadowlands and petrol bomb attacks were made on Mamelodi High School in
Pretoria and the farm school at Irene. Riots and demonstrations occurred at
schools in Empangeni and Kokstad.
Mr. G. J. Rousseau, Secretary for Bantu Education, confirmed that Mr. M. C. de
Beer, Circuit Inspector for the schools which had originally gone on strike, had
been transferred to Kimberley as from 1 September. He denied that the transfer was related to demands made by the principals of Soweto schools. 1 Parents, teachers and police appeared to be helpless in the face of the continued refusal of children to go to school. There were reports of children being intimidated by thugs and tsotsis and that they were also being frightened off by continued police presence and by numerous arson attempts. Tsietsi Mashinini, a student leader, called upon pupils to return to school,18 but to little avail. The Soweto Urban Bantu Council, expressing concern over growing tension in the townships, and also in an attempt to establish themselves as "true representatives of people" (their credibility amongst the urban African community is generally very low), called on the Minister of Justice to lift the ban on public meetings to enable them to address a meeting of parents and students." Mr. Kruger granted permission for the mass meeting to be held. On Sunday 1 August 3 000 people were addressed by members of the UBC and school boards and by school principals. An appeal was made for the widespread burning of schools to cease. In addition the UBC reported back on the requests which had been presented to Mr. Kruger the previous 
16 Rand Daily Mail, 27 July.
17 Rand Daily Mail, 27 July.
is Star, 29 July.
is World, 30 July.

DISTURBANCES

Friday, namely that police should be kept away from schools, that there should be equal pay for teachers, regardless of colour, that blacks should be allowed to have trade unions and that homeland citizenship should be scrapped. Mr. Kruger in reply said he was prepared to keep police away from school premises during school hours.-0

During the days that followed senior schools remained virtually empty, despite appeals to students to return to school made by both the Black Parents' Association and Tsietsi Mashinini, regional president of SASM (the South African Students' Movement) and president of the Soweto Students' Representative Council.1 There were numerous cases of arson, particularly in schools, throughout the country. The Black Parents' Association put forward a request to the Bantu Education Department that the ordeal of African school children in Soweto should be taken into account by (1) adjusting the exam marks if they differed significantly from previous years; (2) revising the exam time-table if necessary; (3) extending the deadline for registration for examinations. A month later it was announced that the registration deadline would be extended, but the examination time-table could not be altered as results had to be out early enough for applications for entrance to universities and colleges to be dealt with. Student representatives from Soweto schools drew up a memorandum to be handed to the BPA to pass on to the Government, demanding the abolition of Bantu Education and the immediate release of all students still being held by the police.2 On 4 August the students planned a march in protest against student detentions. Their plan was to march from Baragwanath Hospital to John Vorster
Square in Johannesburg. Colonel J. P. Visser, chief of the Soweto CID, said that police would "take the necessary steps against such an illegal procession". The march was initially a peaceful one. However, when the demonstrators-a crowd of some 10,000 students and other supporters-attempted to break through a police blockade, police opened fire, killing at least 3 people. Fierce rioting broke out and students tried to prevent workers from leaving Soweto. Police also opened fire on students in Tembisa township who had marched to the police station demanding the release of a detained student.

Mr. J. Kruger restored the ban on open air meetings, blaming the ANC and PAC for the disturbances. It was reported that on 4 August approximately 60 per cent of Johannesburg's Black workers had stayed away from work following intimidation by students, who wished to prevent them from going to work, and disruption of transport services. The following day students attempted to set up road blocks to prevent workers from getting into town (but were stopped by the police) and apparently warned workers not to go to work, threatening them with reprisals. In the afternoon a large crowd of demonstrators gathered outside Morris Isaacson School, but were dispersed by police using tear gas. Minister Kruger, in reply to a request from the BPA for a meeting with him in order to present the demands of the students, said he would only meet them if they demonstrated their ability to curb the unrest (thus proving themselves to be the true representatives of the people).

On 6 August further shooting incidents took place in Soweto as the unrest continued. General Gert Prinsloo, Commissioner of Police, issued a statement saying "the disturbances show no signs of ending and it seems that the responsible people of Soweto cannot or will not do anything about it". He rejected completely students' demands for the release of students in custody.

All was quiet in the townships of the Reef the following day, with the official death toll after the preceding 3 days of violence standing at 6. Trouble, however, flared up in other parts of the country: rioting broke out in Port Elizabeth when 2,000 people were unable to get into a hall to watch a boxing match, and two days later, on 9 August, a mob of students burnt down the Legislative Assembly in the BophuthaTswana homeland.

On 9 August there was further trouble in Alexandra township and two people were shot dead, as were another two near Randfontein. There were sporadic outbursts of violence in the Transvaal during the next two days. Workers in Wynberg, near Alexandra, were reported to be retaliating against intimidators who were attempting to stop them from going to work. Police gave the assurance that workers would be protected, and on 10 August they were instructed that workers should be allowed to carry knobkerries and sticks to resist attempts to prevent them from going to work.
Extension of the application of the Internal Security Act to the whole of the country was announced by the Minister of Justice. It was reported in the Rand Daily Mail of 10 August that the Prime Minister, after weeks of silence, had said in an interview with the magazine To the Point that the Government was coping with the unrest and would not be "rail-roaded into panic".
The University of Durban-Westville, on 10 August, called a strike in sympathy with the students of Soweto, which carried on 4 Rand Daily Mail, 6 August. 5 Rand Daily Mail, 7 August.

DISTURBANCES
for a week. All was quiet at the University of the North as students returned, but there was further trouble at the University of the Western Cape and on 11 August fierce rioting broke out in Cape Town, which had remained fairly quiet until then (see later section of Unrest in the Western Cape).
An urgent application was made on 15 August by Mrs. Winnie Mandela and Dr. H. Motlana, of the BPA, to have a member of the UBC, Mr. Lucas Shabangu, restrained from interfering with their lives and those of their children, and their property. The application was granted, but was ultimately dismissed following an appeal made by Mr. Shabangu to the Supreme Court. In an affidavit read to the court it was stated that Mr. Shabangu had made it clear at a meeting held at the home of Mr. T. J. Makhaya that the homes of the two BPA executives were to be attacked should further trouble arise. The affidavit also stated that those present had supported a decision taken at a previous meeting that children who stopped workers from going to work "should be killed". Following this Mr. T. Makhaya, chairman of the UBC, and Mr. Shabangu went into hiding for some time, and it seemed that the faith of Africans in the UBC was even further diminished.
By 16 August at least sixty Black leaders were being held by the police following a nation-wide security crackdown which had started 3 days previously (see section on Detentions). On the same day Dr. A. Treurnicht said at a National Party meeting that the Government, though prepared to accede to a number of demands made by Black leaders with whom it had met, would not bow to violence and give in to unrealistic demands.
On 18 August, following days of continuing unrest throughout the country, there was a further serious outbreak of rioting in Port Elizabeth and by 20 August the death toll there stood at 33. In the meantime, on 19 August, schools in Mdantsane township in the Ciskei were closed following a week of violence, arson and serious damage to property. Mr. Kruger made a speech in which he blamed the unrest on the importation of Black Power ideology from America, "but" he said, "the White man will overcome it". The following day Mr. M. C. Botha said in a speech in Port Elizabeth that the basis on which Blacks were present in White areas was "to sell their labour and for nothing else". He also promised "greater privileges and preference in White areas" to Africans acknowledging their homeland citizenship.'
FURTHER WORK STOPPAGES IN THE JOHANNESBURG AREA
Following several days of rumour, an attempt was made to 6 Rand Daily Mail, 16 August.
7 Rand Daily Mail, 20 August.
8 Star, 20 August.
9 Rand Daily Mail, 21 August.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
bring about a work stoppage on 23 August. Pamphlets were distributed in Soweto
threatening those workers who did not stay away from work. (These were
purportedly distributed by ANC supporters.) Absenteeism of up to 75 per cent
was reported by businesses in Johannesburg—many employers told those workers
who did come in to go home early, in order to prevent their being victimised. At
least one person was killed in an incident when police opened fire on intimidators.
The next day attendance at work increased greatly, despite widespread
intimidation of workers returning home the previous night. That afternoon, 24
August, hundreds of Zulu hostel dwellers banded together to form an impi,
following severe damage by arson at Mzimhlophe hostel. Armed with sticks,
assegais and pangas, these men went on the rampage through Soweto, breaking
into homes and attacking residents. There were reports, vehemently denied by the
police, of policemen not only standing by as the hostel men attacked people, but
actually inciting them to violence. Police were also blamed for having given
workers the go-ahead to arm themselves. (In a report in the World of 24 August,
Mr. M. Mzoke, leader of Dube hostel, had said that this would give rise to further
violence.)
Violent fighting continued throughout the next two days and Chief Gatsha
Buthelezi flew up to Johannesburg on 26 August in an attempt to stop the rioting.
He was warned by Mr. J. Kruger to keep out of Soweto. However, the following
day he made a speech in Soweto in which he called on hostel dwellers and
Soweto residents to unite in the face of oppression and not to fight one another. At
a press conference on 28 August he called for the withdrawal of police from
Soweto, accusing them of inciting hostel dwellers to violence.1
The Minister of Police, Mr. Kruger, rejected all allegations of police incitement.
In the meantime, on 27 August, the Prime Minister had made a speech in which
he stated that, although South Africa had problems, there was no crisis in the
country.2
By Monday 30 August the worst of the latest violence had abated, leaving 40
dead since the previous Monday. Following this outbreak of rioting, Mr. Kruger
had stated his willingness to hold a third round of talks with Black leaders;
commenting on this, Mrs. Helen Suzman said, "The fact that Mr. Kruger has
detained almost every African regarded as a representative by the Black
community makes a mockery of the prospective talks''.2 Mr. T. Makhaya,
chairman of the UBC, urged that representatives of the Black Parents' Association
should be included in any further talks with the authorities.
For a week things remained relatively quiet. Mr. Connie
10 Sunday Times, 29 August.
11 Rand Daily Mail, 28 August.
12 Rand Daily Mail, 31 August.
Distrust

Mulder, Minister for the Interior, warned that the Government would not be pushed by violence into making radical changes. Mr. Kruger met a number of unnamed representatives from Soweto, including the leaders of the makgotlas, who were negotiating with him for legal recognition by the police. This was a matter for concern amongst certain people who do not believe that the makgotla (vigilante) system is a good one, and felt that the makgotlas, given such powers, could well abuse them.3

In the Sunday Times of 5 September, Mr. J. Strydom, newly appointed Regional Director of Bantu Education for Johannesburg, was reported to be investigating the great unpopularity of the Bantu Education Department amongst Africans. Apparently he was also going into the possibility of eventually setting up a new national education body, excluding the word "Bantu" from its title. He stated that he felt a target date should be set for compulsory education for Africans.

On 8 September there was a further outbreak of fighting between hostel dwellers and Soweto residents, who had attacked the Mzimhlophe hostel. At least four people were reported dead. Rioting also took place in Kimberley following a protest march by high school pupils. The Prime Minister issued another warning, threatening rioters with tough action, and Mr. Kruger suggested in a speech that businessmen should form their own organisations to protect their premises against rioters." Three days later on 11 September violence flared up in Atteridgeville township when students attacked a police station with petrol bombs and stones following the funeral of a riot victim.

On 13 September another work stoppage took place. Pamphlets had been distributed in the name of the Soweto Students' Representative Council, asking that workers should remain at home, that people should keep off the streets and that the stay-away campaign should be as peaceful as possible.15 Although in Pretoria the call was virtually ignored, in Johannesburg high rates of absenteeism—up to 70 per cent—were reported. There were no reports of violence, although police had been placed on standby.

In Alexandra hundreds of people were arrested in a police swoop on the township. According to Major-General Kriel, head of the Riot Squad, it was a clean-up operation aimed at protecting those who wished to work and rounding up agitators.6 However, there were reports of innocent people being arrested. Mrs. Helen Suzman, commenting on the raids, said she found it hard to believe that police could distinguish between law-abiding people.

A Survey of Race Relations, 1976

and the others. "I believe this is not the time for mass raids which inevitably include hundreds of innocent people. Colonel Swanepoel told me such people would be released after 'screening', but I have no doubt the trauma of the arrest can only exacerbate the present feeling of hostility", she said."
The stay-away was kept up for a further two days, although more people did go to work on 14 and 15 September than on the first day. In Soweto a lot of stone-throwing took place on 15 September and two people were killed—one by police fire and one by rioters. There were reports of employers starting to take a hard line with people who stayed away from work, stating that salaries and wages would be docked.

Two fire-bomb attacks were made on buses in White areas of Johannesburg on 15 September, and on the same day there was a further flare-up of violence in Port Elizabeth. The previous day school children in Kwa Mashu, near Durban, had held a protest march, but there had been no outbreaks of violence.

In the Rand Daily Mail Extra of 15 September it was reported that there had been an exodus of students from the University of the North despite the Rector's announcement that all was well and classes were being attended. Apparently this followed several cases of arson and police raids.

On 16 September all was quiet in the Johannesburg area as workers returned to their jobs, except for a fire-bomb explosion in a Johannesburg department store. The following day students in Soweto demonstrated against the arrival of Dr. Henry Kissinger, American Secretary of State. In the ensuing confrontation with the police, 6 people were reportedly shot dead and 35 injured. In a subsequent report it was stated that the official figures were 1 dead and 6 injured. In addition to the trouble in Soweto, there were many fire and bomb hoaxes in central Johannesburg on 17 September, and one major fire, which caused extensive damage to an office block.

During the next few days things remained quiet, except for an incident on 19 September at the Modderfontein dynamite factory near Johannesburg, where police, who had been brought in to help fight a raging veld fire, were stoned by compound dwellers. The police opened fire, wounding five Africans. On 20 September a motion that the University of the Witwatersrand should go on strike in sympathy with the people of Soweto was defeated when put to the vote. It was announced that the University of Fort Hare would reopen once again on 4 October, and also that provision would be made for those students still in detention to write their exams while still in detention.

For the first time rioting broke out in "White" central Johannesburg on 23 September. Black youths staged a march down Eloff and Jeppe streets; petrol bombs and stones were thrown, and there were several shooting and stabbing incidents. Police dispersed the mob, arresting about 400 people in a giant mopping-up operation. There were reports of police shooting in Soweto, where at least one person was killed, and in Alexandra. In a speech given at the University of Pretoria, Mr. Jimmy Kruger said that he believed the unrest would continue for some time, but that it would not succeed and that violence would be met with violence.
By 30 September things had remained quiet throughout the country for several days. Soweto schools, however, remained virtually empty. Principals expressed concern at the fact that many pupils would not be able to sit for their final exams following the long break in their schooling. The latest drop in school attendance was felt to be due to the general unrest and police shootings during the anti-Kissinger demonstrations.

On 2 October Dr. Manas Buthelezi, chairman of the Black Parents' Association, addressing the Transvaal Congress of the Progressive Reform Party, said that three steps were imperative in the interests of lasting peace:

1. arrests of students should stop and those already arrested should be released;
2. detained Black leaders should be released "to play their leadership role at this time of crisis";
3. there should be a general amnesty for all people in prison for political crimes.

He also said that until the school situation returned to normal there could be no peace; while students continued to be arrested they did not feel safe.

UNREST IN THE WESTERN CAPE, AUGUST TO SEPTEMBER

When the Soweto riots broke out in June, all remained relatively quiet in the Western Cape, with only a few cases of arson and, on 24 June, the threatening of two Bantu Administration officials by a crowd in Langa. However, August saw the start of unrest which escalated steadily until fierce rioting broke out on 11 August.

On 2 August students at the University of the Western Cape decided to boycott lectures for a week. The Rector, Dr. Van der Ross, suspended lectures, which students apparently saw as a betrayal of their cause, and they were further angered the following day by a statement issued by the Personeelvereniging (a Whites-only staff association) dissociating itself from their protest. On 4 August a group of about 800 students blocked Modderdam road in front of the campus. Police were called in and their vehicles were stoned.

The Administration building at the University of the Western Cape was burnt down on 5 August, and the following day an attempt was made to burn down a prefabricated gymnasium at Hewat Training College in Athlone. On 9 August 300 students presented a memorandum to the Rector of the University of the Western Cape, demanding the resignation of the all-White Personeelvereniging; opening of the university to other race groups; a fair trial for Ben Palmer Louw, one of their leaders who had been detained under the Terrorism Act; and listing various other grievances. A police riot squad was moved on to the campus, but was requested to leave by the Rector. There were several cases of arson and attempted arson at various educational institutions in the Peninsula during the next two days.
On 11 August police were moved into the African townships of Langa, Guguletu and Nyanga, where schoolchildren had left their desks and marched through the streets. Following police attempts to disperse the marchers, fierce rioting broke out, spreading to Philippi. By midnight 16 people were reported dead, 51 seriously injured, and numerous buildings had been burnt down or looted. The following day General Gert Prinsloo, Commissioner of Police, announced that 33 people had been killed. Rioting continued throughout the next day. Police clashed with students on the campus of the University of the Western Cape, arresting 17, and 76 University of Cape Town students were arrested as they marched through Mowbray.

During the next few weeks there were numerous cases of arson throughout the Western Cape, which caused great damage, particularly to schools and training colleges. On 16 August riot police broke up a crowd of nearly 1 000 which had gathered outside the Bellville Magistrate's Court following a march by University of the Western Cape students as 15 of their number appeared in court. Three days later, students at Gordons High School, Somerset West, refused to go to classes after permission to hold a prayer meeting in sympathy with Blacks who had died, had been refused. On 22 August police had to disperse with tear gas a crowd of pupils which gathered as one of the riot victims was buried.

The next day, 23 August, pupils at high schools in Bonteheuwel demonstrated in sympathy with the students of Soweto and police were brought in to disperse them. Renewed trouble broke out in Guguletu and Bonteheuwel where mobs went on the rampage, stoning ambulances and police vehicles and attempting to set fire to buildings. The 25 and 26 August saw continued stoning, arson and violence, particularly in Bonteheuwel, where the trouble had started at Arcadia High School. Police used pistols and teargas in a confrontation with stone-throwing children, and at least one person was killed. Rioting spread through to Athlone and Settlers' Way, and Bonteheuwel itself was described as a "battlefield" by a police spokesman.

Headmasters of Coloured high schools said that the unrest was due to "extreme dissatisfaction that goes very deep" and to "the whole apartheid system". In a letter to parents dated 27 August the principal of Bonteheuwel High School stated that the police riot squad had not been called in by the school during the previous week's demonstrations, and he appealed to police to keep out of schools. Once again classes were disrupted at the University of the Western Cape. Three days later, 30 August, an attempt was made to burn down the women's hostel at the University.

Students of three Bonteheuwel high schools issued a statement on 30 August in which the following grievances were listed:
- the system of apartheid and Coloured education;
- lack of compulsory education;
- lack of sports facilities;
general behaviour of police during the unrest in Black areas; police interference with demonstrations in school grounds; 
the taking into custody of students; 
the attitude of White teachers; 
the "inconvenience allowance" paid to White teachers, which was seen as an insult. 
The headmasters of the schools subsequently dissociated themselves from the statement, paying tribute to the White teachers, whom they denied were racialistic, and stating that there was no such thing as an "inconvenience allowance".
On 31 August petrol bomb attacks in Rondebosch East caused extensive damage to shops. There were demonstrations at several high schools in the Western Cape and schoolchildren marching in Klipfontein Road, Athlone, were dispersed by police using tear gas. The following day five people were wounded when police opened fire on rioters in Athlone.
On 2 September trouble spilled over into the heart of a White commercial area. Approximately 1 000 schoolchildren, mostly Coloured, marched down Adderley Street in central Cape Town. Police dispersed the children, using batons and teargas. Rioting broke out in the Coloured areas of Athlone and Hanover Park, and police opened fire on the mob at Hanover Park, killing at least one. Twelve petrol bombs were discovered by police,
3 Rand Daily Mail, 26 August.
4 Cape Times, 11 September.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

hidden in a ceiling at the University of the Western Cape.
Mr. Sonny Leon, leader of the Labour Party, said that violence in the Cape Peninsula was a result of a decision by the authorities to lock up the leaders of the people, and warned that the time would come when Coloured leaders would be unable to control their people. He appealed to the Government to hold talks with Coloured leaders, who could use their influence to calm the situation.5
During the next two days violent rioting continued in White, Coloured and African areas of Cape Town. Police opened fire with shotguns (using birdshot) on a large crowd in Adderley Street on 3 September. Teargas was eventually used to disperse mobs of people. Heavy stoning of cars and buildings and numerous cases of arson were reported and police took action against rioting pupils at many schools.
On 5 September a memorandum was drawn up and subsequently presented to the Bantu Education Department by the African scholars of Cape Town, in which they called for changes in the system of Bantu education, such as improvement in curricula, facilities and teaching conditions. They also requested that more bursaries should be made available; that further provision be made for technical, trade and vocational training; that African students should be permitted to attend the university of their choice; that scholars, students and teachers should be exempt from restrictions under the pass laws wherever they worked (endorsement in his reference book that he was employed in a rural area could, for example,
jeopardise the right of a teacher to live in an urban area in future); and that greater
work opportunities should be made available to school leavers by eliminating job
reservation. The following day Coloured schools were closed for a week.
On 7 September fierce rioting continued in many areas of the Peninsula, and
police once again used shotgun fire and teargas to disperse milling crowds in
central Cape Town. Trouble broke out at many schools, training colleges and the
University of the Western Cape. In the days that followed rioting spread to other
parts of the Western Cape, such as Kuils River and ‘Paarl and by 9 September at
least 16 people had been killed. Several organisations issued statements
condemning police action and calling for a separate judicial commission of
inquiry into police riot measures in the Peninsula. (Amongst these organisations
were the Trade Union Council of South Africa and the Labour Party.) This
followed claims by school principals that police were taking indiscriminate and
unnecessarily violent action in schools.’
Several White schools in the Claremont and Wynberg areas
5 Cape Times, 3 September
6 Star, 9 September.

DISTURBANCES
were closed and at others parents formed vigilante groups to guard and patrol the
schools.7 On 10 September police dispersed a crowd which gathered as a high
school was burnt down at Wellington and students at the University of the
Western Cape were sent home after a series of petrol bombings (which caused
little damage). According to Professor Van der Ross, the Rector, students who
wished to continue their studies were being intimidated to join in the violence.8
Over the week-end of 12 and 13 September things were much quieter in the
Western Cape but nevertheless 7 people were killed, 3 of whom were shot by
White civilians who opened fire after being threatened or attacked.
Coloured high schools in the Peninsula reopened on 14 September and all
remained calm except for a few incidents of stone-throwing. Police opened fire on
demonstrating pupils at Worcester and a number of children were admitted to
hospital with bullet wounds. A work-stoppage had been planned for 15 and 16
September, and, despite distribution of a pamphlet postponing it until the
following week, a large proportion of workers did stay away on 15 September.
Absenteeism of about 50% in industry and 30% in commerce was reported. There
was noticeable rejection of the strike by African contract workers who, according
to the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner in Cape Town, were less likely to give
in to intimidation.’ As the strike continued the next day all remained fairly quiet.
However, on the night of 16 September trouble flared up in the Athlone area and
at least 2 people were killed and 50 injured by bullets. Cars were stopped and
often stoned by crowds of Coloured youths, and looting and arson attacks were
widespread. The situation was exacerbated by a power failure in the Peninsula
which led to increased looting. Commissioner of Police, General G. L. Prinsloo,
refused to release a list of riot dead, saying that there was "no necessity for it".10
Sporadic violence continued the next day. In many towns in the Western Cape
liquor outlets were closed under the Liquor Act as a precaution against further
violence over the week-end. The Sunday Times of 19 September reported that hundreds of armed White vigilants were patrolling the streets of White residential areas in the Peninsula. Police, however, emphasised the fact that they would not condone people taking the law into their own hands, and a week later it was reported that many of these vigilante groups had suspended operations following police warnings discouraging civilian patrols."
7 Rand Daily Mail, 11 September.
8 Ibid.
9 Rand Daily Mail, 16 September.
10 Rand Daily Mail, 17 September.
11 Sunday Times, 26 September.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
On 28 September, at a meeting in Guguletu attended by about 3 000 pupils, a list of grievances and demands from the Peninsula's Black pupils was handed to Mr. D. H. Owens, regional director of Bantu Education for the Cape.
During the last days of September the violence in the Western Cape seemed to be on the wane, and the lull continued for nearly two weeks into October.

EVENTS OF OCTOBER AND NOVEMBER
There had been rumours of a demonstration to be held in central Johannesburg on 4 October, and precautionary roadblocks were set up round Soweto; the demonstration did not materialise, however, and all remained quiet. On the same day Black traffic police were withdrawn from Soweto following threats against them by gangs of youths. Two days later they were returned to their posts following urgent pleas from the residents of Soweto.
On 4 October Tsietsi Mashinini, president of the Soweto Students' Representative Council, appeared at a Press conference in London together with Barney Makhatle and Selby Semela, secretary and treasurer of the SRC. The three had escaped to Botswana on 23 August, after operating "underground" in Soweto for a period of two months. During this time police had placed a price of R500 on Mashinini's head. They had proceeded to Britain because they feared that agents of the South African Bureau of State Security might attempt to kidnap them if they remained in Botswana. Mashinini (who was apparently wanted in connection with the killing of Dr. Melville Edelstein on 16 June) said that Semela had been caught by the police, beaten up, and forced to sign a statement saying that he was responsible for the murder of Dr. Edelstein—an allegation which was dismissed as a "pack of lies" by General Gert Prinsloo, Commissioner of Police.1
In the Rand Daily Mail of 6 October, Colonel J. P. Visser, head of the Soweto CID, refuted Mashinini's claim that he had seen police in a hippo vehicle shoot an eight year old girl "to pieces" when she gave a Black Power salute on 16 June; according to Colonel Visser the hippos had only been brought into Soweto very late on the night of 16 June.
On 6 October attendance at Soweto schools was still extremely low. Mr. Kambule, principal of Orlando High School, was quoted in the Star: "I wouldn't say the situation is back to normal here. Deep down there is anxiety, and it's difficult for students to study under such conditions. Some students, I am afraid,
have just decided to quit school". At the University of Fort Hare, which had reopened on 4 October, students were reported to be slowly returning. The Medical Officer of Health for Johannesburg warned that the danger of an epidemic in Soweto was growing rapidly be-
1 Rand Daily Mail, 5 October; Star, 5 October.

DISTURBANCES
cause attendance at clinics remained extremely low, despite the fact that the municipal immunisation programme was operating normally.
On 7 October, following a period of calm in the Cape, a bus bringing workers home to Guguletu was mobbed, stoned and hijacked by youths and bus services to all three African townships of Cape Town were suspended for the rest of the day. Despite the fact that things were still relatively quiet in the Cape, there were still reports of schools being patrolled during the holidays by senior pupils and teachers, and although many of the vigilante groups patrolling White residential areas had disbanded, some were organising themselves into a permanent Home Guard.' In the wake of the unrest Professor H. W. van der Merwe, director of the Centre for Intergroup Studies at the University of Cape Town, launched a drive for the drawing up of a programme to eliminate racial discrimination. Leading citizens of Durban had previously started a similar drive.
On 11 October another wave of violence broke out in the townships of Cape Town following an attack on shebeens (illicit liquor outlets) by about 300 school children, who destroyed stocks of liquor. Students had previously threatened to take action against shebeens, which are considered by many Africans to be the "scourge of the Black man".' The following day the violence continued and one person was shot dead as police tried to control rioting which had broken out following further raids on shebeens.
During October hundreds of pamphlets calling for violence against Whites on 15 and 24 October were distributed in the townships of the Reef. In the Weekend World of 10 October the Soweto Students' Representative Council made a statement strongly condemning the leaflet and calling on pupils to return to school. Many of the White community were in a state of near-panic at these rumours, and at least one White school in Johannesburg was closed on 15 October, while others had parents patrolling their premises. The threatened violence did not materialise, however.
There was a minor outbreak of rioting at the Lawson Secondary School near Fort Beaufort on 15 October, when police, who had gone to rescue teachers from students protesting against the expulsion of one of their number, were stoned by the pupils. The police opened fire on pupils, wounding three with birdshot.
Following a funeral in Soweto on 17 October, a crowd of nearly 700 attacked a municipal depot where they stoned buses and set fire to vehicles, causing damage which was estimated at about R90 000 to vehicles and R10 000 to buildings.4 The home of an African policeman was also attacked. The following day youths attacked and set fire to the Soweto home of a second
2 Sunday Times. 3 October.
Rand Daily Mail, 12 October.
4 Star, 18 October.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
African policeman. It was reported in the Star of 20 October that, following a third attack on the home of a policeman, African policemen were living in fear of their lives and property. Apparently African policemen had as far as possible, been withdrawn from riot control so that they would not have to face their own people in confrontations.
Cases of arson continued to occur, particularly in Soweto, where Morris Isaacson High School was severely damaged by fire. Damage at a primary school in Manenburg, Cape Town, following a fire, was estimated at R30 000. There were also several stoning incidents throughout the country.
It was reported on 21 October that Mr. M. C. Botha, Minister of Bantu Education, had threatened to withdraw salary subsidies from African teachers who were not teaching due to the fact that pupils were boycotting schools. The proposed move met with criticism from many Black and White educationists. A delegation from the African Teachers' Association of South Africa met Mr. G. J. Rousseau, Secretary of Bantu Education on 22 October, to discuss this issue and other grievances.
On the same day police entered Morris Isaacson High School in Soweto and arrested all students and teachers on the premises (78 people in all). Colonel J. D. Visser, head of the CID in Soweto, said that this was a riot squad operation and he could not comment on it. According to the Star a senior police official said that the arrests were "purely precautionary". Early in November it was announced that the 13 teachers who had been held had been released.
During October Soweto students, like their Cape Town counterparts, had called for the closing of all shebeens in mourning for those who had died in the township unrest. Towards the end of October there were several incidents of arson in which shebeens were fired, and also cases of people carrying liquor in the streets being assaulted and their bottles broken.
On 24 October there was a further outbreak of violence following a funeral in Soweto. At least three people were killed and 51 wounded. Apparently there had been no stonethrowing prior to the shooting, but people had given Black Power salutes. The day before police had opened fire at another funeral, killing one person, and had also made 115 arrests. Following strong criticism of the shootings at Doornkop Cemetery, police officers stated that funerals in Soweto were being "manipulated by people who want to create chaos".
Violence in the townships continued for several days after the week-end, with a petrol bomb attack on Jabulani Police Station.
5 Star, 22 October.
7 Sunday Express, 24 October.
8 World, 25 October.

DISTURBANCES
and many cases of arson. Violence flared up in Guguletu when police opened fire on a crowd of about 6 000 which had surrounded Guguletu Police Station, killing at least one person. On 26 October rumours spread through Soweto that police were picking up children in the streets, which resulted in residents panicking and most schools being shut.

School attendances in Cape Town and Soweto continued to be negligible, particularly following the mass arrest at Morris Isaacson. On 25 October it was announced that a group of African, Indian and Coloured pupils from schools in the Cape Peninsula had 3 months previously launched an organisation called the United Students' Front.' The organisation, which aimed to "politically educate and unite" the country's "Black oppressed masses", had passed a resolution not to write examinations until the Government had taken some positive action to remedy Blacks' grievances, a list of which they had drawn up.

In Soweto, the Bantu Education Department went ahead with arrangements for examinations, despite rumours that they would be boycotted as a sign of solidarity with students in detention. It was also rumoured that those who wished to write examinations would be prevented from doing so. When matriculation examinations started on 29 October most examination centres in Soweto were deserted. During the last week of October police apparently arrested dozens of children in Soweto and other townships, and children stayed away from school, fearing that they might be arrested.

During the unrest many essential services, including refuse removal, had come to a halt in the townships. At the end of October the Soweto Students' Representative Council launched "Operation Clean-Up" in Soweto, and students and other residents of Soweto set about clearing away the refuse which had accumulated in the streets.

Following the Doornkop shootings and many reports of indiscriminate use of violence by police in the Western Cape, various organisations and newspapers called for a separate judicial enquiry into these allegations. The Prime Minister, reacting to the request from the Cape Town City Council for such an enquiry, said that he took exception to the suggestion and was not prepared to ask the Cillie Commission to examine this issue.1 Major General Kriel, Deputy Commissioner of Police in charge of riot control, stated that under the Riotous Assemblies Act mourners were not precluded from attending a funeral, but if there was subversion police would not hesitate to intervene. He went on to say that political speeches, slogans or songs constituted subversion."

There was a serious outbreak of rioting in Dundee, Natal, on Cape Times, 25 October.
10 Star, 29 October.
11 Weekend World, 31 October.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
29 October. Police opened fire on the rioters, killing two. There were reports of arson and petrol bomb attacks in Garankuwa and near Mafeking during the last two days of October, and on 31 October a Bantu Administration Board Inspector was attacked and seriously wounded in Guguletu.
Pamphlets calling for a 5-day work stoppage from 1 to 5 November had been distributed in the townships of the Reef and Cape Town. These called on all workers, except for nurses and doctors, to stay at home, all shebeens to close down, shops to be opened only from 8 a.m. to 12 noon, and no form of Christmas celebrations to be held, as a sign of mourning. In addition people were asked to keep off the streets and avoid violence. However, in both cities most workers ignored the call for a strike and absentee rates were very low.

In the meantime, on 1 November there was an almost 100 per cent boycott of the matriculation English examination by scholars in Soweto and Katlehong townships. In Mamelodi students wrote the exam without any hitches, but in Tembisa a group of about 400 scholars prevented a group of private candidates from sitting the examination. During the next few days there were reports of similar attacks on schools throughout the Transvaal, and all examinations in Soweto broke down completely. In Alexandra township, following several attacks, police guarded halls where examinations were being written. African scholars in the Cape Peninsula also boycotted the end of year examinations. Mr. J. Strydom, Regional Director of Bantu Education, announced on 5 November that pupils who had been unable to write their matriculation examinations at the end of 1976 could apply to write supplementary exams in March 1977. Detainees were to be allowed to write their exams while in detention.

A 21-year old Soweto girl, Miss Sikosi Msi, who had fled the country following the unrest, appeared before the United Nations General Assembly during the debate on apartheid and, weeping, begged for aid in the struggle for freedom in South Africa.

During November there were numerous reports of students from Soweto and other townships fleeing from South Africa to neighbouring Black countries—particularly Swaziland and Botswana. From there some proceeded to Tanzania and Europe. This stream of refugees was the result of continued police action in the townships where apparently they continued to raid homes and arrest students and scholars. It was reported that many parents were planning to remove their children from Soweto following police raids in the Mzimhlophe area in which large numbers of youths were taken from their homes and the streets.2

Brigadier Jan Visser, following his appointment as chief of police in Soweto, had called upon "responsible" Blacks to have

12 Star, 9 November.

DISTURBANCES

talks with him in order to improve relations between the people of the townships and the police. However, many leaders were sceptical of the Brigadier's good intentions following the latest police raids. A Soweto police spokesman denied that police were specifically arresting children, and said that the operation was aimed at netting people wanted on criminal charges.3 On 11 November Brigadier Visser assured a deputation of the Women for Peace movement that no Black child under the age of 16 was being held for ideological reasons. "He went on to say that he would not tolerate any abuses of police power.
According to the Black Sash, who had been inundated with requests for help in tracing missing children, most of these children were probably not being held by the police, but had gone into hiding following the house-to-house raids. Following a meeting with Mrs. Helen Suzman, during which she made known to him the state of near-panic amongst Soweto parents, the Minister of Police gave a firm undertaking that a special police bureau would be set up to answer queries of Black parents about their missing children.’5 However, Mr. Kruger would not undertake to stop police raids, saying that it was his job to "clean up" Soweto. School children from Soweto continued to leave South Africa, and by the middle of November more than 630 were reported to have fled. A spokesman for the Botswana Government said that more than 500 school children had passed through Botswana since June. In a television interview on 15 November Mr. J. Kruger, Minister of Police, said that all students who had left South Africa without travel documents would not be prosecuted on these grounds if they returned within a week. He added that they would not be exempted from prosecution for any other charges.

Raids and arrests continued in Soweto and on the Reef and on 18 November Security Police detained a number of pupils from the Kwa Mashu area of Durban. A report in the Sunday Express of 21 November stated that many Black adults were joining the stream of student refugees, as police raids continued. Apparently very few of the refugees had accepted Mr. Kruger’s amnesty offer. Mrs. Helen Suzman stated that not only was the amnesty period too short, but it was "unrealistic" to expect youths to return while widespread arrests continued.’6 Mr. Kruger, however, refused to extend the amnesty period.

It was reported that in New York the United Nations’ Apartheid Committee had called for an emergency assistance programme for student refugees from South Africa.”

On 27 November a group of about 150 African school children marched through the centre of Cape Town carrying placards pro Star, 10 November.
14 World, 12 November.
15 Star, 15 November.
1 Rand Daily Mail, 22 November.
11 Rand Daily Mail, 24 November.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
testing against the education system. They were dispersed by batonwielding policemen. Two days later youths set fire to five houses in Guguletu; the homes were apparently those of people who were believed to have given evidence to the Cillie Commission, which was sitting in Cape Town at the time.

It was announced in the Sunday Express on 28 November that an inquiry was to be held into allegations of indiscriminate shootings and arrests by police in Soweto. These had been published in the Express the week before.
On 29 November a meeting of about 300 Soweto educationists and school board members was held to discuss remedies for the breakdown of education in Soweto and Alexandra. It was revealed that the Bantu Education Department had worked out a system to enable scholars who had not written examinations at the end of
1976 to write them during the first three months of 1977. Schools would open very early in January 1977 to give pupils the opportunity to make up some of the time lost during the disturbances of 1976.18

THE CHILE COMMISSION
The day after rioting first broke out in Soweto, Mr. J. Kruger, Minister of Justice, announced in Parliament the appointment of the Judge President of the Transvaal, Mr. Justice Cillie, as a one-man commission to investigate the disturbances in Soweto.1 Commenting on the announcement Mr. Colin Eglin, Leader of the Progressive Reform Party, said that a multi-racial commission would be far better than a one-man commission.2 The Soweto Parents' Association demanded the inclusion of one or two Blacks, nominated by Soweto parents, in the commission.3
On 21 June Mr. Jimmy Kruger, speaking in the Assembly, said that there were disadvantages in appointing a bigger commission because its work would take longer. He felt that the commission should be small and have the right to "call in advisers, not assessors, so that it can have better insight and background". He also said that he felt the inquiry should be limited to the riots and not include an in-depth inquiry into socio-economic factors.4
The terms of reference of the commission were published on 2 July. In terms of Proclamation No. 123, Government Gazette 5207, the chairman was empowered to co-opt anyone whom he believed to have special knowledge which could assist the commission; it was stated that the name and address of any person giving evidence, or any evidence which might indicate the identity of such person, would not be published if the witness so requested; 18 Star, 30 November.
1 Assembly, 17 June, Hansard 19 cols. 9639-40.
2 Rand Daily Mail, 19 June.
* Star, 21 June.
4 Hansard 21 col. 10026.

DISTURBANCES
that witnesses might only be assisted by an advocate or attorney "to the extent that the chairman permits" and that cross-examination might only be carried out if the chairman believed this to be in the interests of the commission; that the commission or any officer was empowered to enter and inspect premises "at all reasonable times" and to seize documents; and that no person "may insult or prejudice, influence or anticipate" the proceedings or findings of the commission. The retiring Attorney General of the Transvaal, Dr. Percy Yutar, was appointed to adduce evidence and arguments relating to the enquiry, the venue of which was to be the Old Synagogue in Pretoria.
The S.A. Institute of Race Relations called for an extension of the terms of reference and composition of the Commission of Inquiry (as did other individuals and organisations), suggesting that not only the immediate causes and consequences of these events, but also the general social, political and educational conditions in the townships which might have contributed to these events should be investigated and that at least two other independent persons, one of whom should be Black, should be included in the Commission.5 It was subsequently
announced that Mr. Abel Sisengi Hlungwani, a Pietersburg Regional Court interpreter who had recently obtained a law diploma from the University of South Africa, had been appointed to assist the Commission. According to the Rand Daily Mail of 27 July, "some African leaders think the State should have appointed an urban African to assist the Commission".

On 27 July the first sitting of the Commission took place. Apparently numerous individuals and organisations had responded to the call for interested persons to submit evidence. In his opening address at the second sitting on 3 August, Mr. Justice Cillie said that it was the purpose of the inquiry to investigate the facts of the unrest and not to ferret out the culprits. He indicated that there would be a postponement of the activities of the commission to allow more time for the preparation of evidence.' Dr. Percy Yutar had given an assurance that people giving evidence before the commission might remain anonymous if they so wished, and that they would be immune from prosecution.' It was announced on 23 August that the scope of the Cillie Commission was to be extended to include all unrest in townships throughout the country.

Mr. Justice Cillie visited Soweto on 7 September to conduct an in loco inspection of damage caused during the riots. An informal meeting was held with Urban Bantu Councillors, who told the Commission that they had been labelled as stooges, and that he would have to listen to detained Black leaders, whom the 5 Leader, 9 July.

6 Star, 3 August.
7 Rand Daily Mail, 3 August.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

Black people considered to be their true leaders.8 Judge Cillie stated that every effort would be made to contact these people so that they could give evidence. Two days later, on 9 September, Black leaders from Pretoria townships met the commission and named racial discrimination and the general discontent of the Black man as possible causes of the unrest.

Two weeks later, on 20 September, the commission visited Sharpeville, Evaton and Sebokeng. African leaders from the Vaal triangle area told the commission that the system of Bantu Education should be scrapped and that education should be made free and compulsory. They also demanded dissolution of Urban Bantu Councils and Advisory Boards which they said were "puppet institutions"; the institution of home ownership for Africans; equal pay for equal jobs; the provision of more recreational facilities and technical schools.' On 13 September formal verbal evidence was led for the first time at the Old Synagogue. Much of the verbal evidence led comprised eye-witness accounts of incidents which occurred during rioting in the various trouble spots; many of these accounts appear to be conflicting. Major contributors of verbal evidence have been members of the police force who were involved, and Black and White journalists who were covering the unrest. The names of Black police officers and also of officials of the Bantu Education Department have not been revealed in order to protect them from reprisal attacks.
The house of Mr. Credo Mutwa was burnt down after he had given controversial evidence before the Commission on 22 and 23 August. Mr. Mutwa, witchdoctor, author and also employee of the West Rand Administration Board, had attacked Black Consciousness movements, stated that he felt the army should have been brought in to quell the unrest, and praised the late Dr. H. Verwoerd. Following the attack on Mr. Mutwa's house, Mr. Justice Cillie announced that witnesses might give evidence behind closed doors, with no other person except an interpreter present, if they so wished.

In the Sunday Express of 3 October Dr. Yutar was quoted as saying that the commission had not received requests from any detainees to give evidence. Dr. Yutar said that it was up to relatives or friends of detained people to tell them that they could give evidence.

Although some evidence has been led concerning casualties and damage to property, it is not yet possible to make a full, countrywide assessment of damage. Figures given for Soweto by Colonel J. J. Gerber, Divisional Inspector of Police in Soweto, are as follows:

- Rounds fired by police: more than 16,000
- Killed by police: 172 Blacks
- Injured by police (bullet wounds and teargas poisoning): 1,439 Blacks
- Killed by "other causes" (stabblings, shootings, stoneings, fires): 2 Whites, 120 Blacks
- Injured by "other elements": 5 Whites
- 1 Chinese
- 1,001 Africans
- Property damaged:
  - 24 schools, 3 clinics, 9 post offices, 18 bottle stores, 18 beer halls, 14 private business premises, 3 libraries, 1 court building, 19 shops, 2 community halls, 19 houses, 42 West Rand Administration Board buildings, at least 114 vehicles.

Figures for the East Rand area were given by Brigadier J. Wiese, District Commander for the East Rand:

- Rounds fired by police: more than 17,000
- Killed by police shooting: 20
- Killed by "other elements": 20
- Injured by police: 53
- Injured by "other elements": 38

Damage to property was estimated to be about R2 million. Evidence by Professor J. J. F. Taljaard, the head State Pathologist, and Dr. H. Bukhofze, District Surgeon for Johannesburg, on 13 October gave the following details of deaths in the Johannesburg-West Rand area:

(a) 229 post mortems were performed on victims who had died
between 18 June and 18 August, and of these, approximately two-thirds had died of gunshot wounds, the others of stabbing, multiple injuries and carbon monoxide poisoning.
(b) In the Johannesburg area alone, of those shot dead, 68 were shot from behind, 33 from the front and 21 from the side.
(c) In Johannesburg and the West Rand, 80 were shot from behind, 42 from the front, 28 from the side.
(d) Of these victims, 224 were Black, 3 Coloured and 2 White; 210 were men and 20 women.
(e) The ages of victims were as follows: 1 under 10 years, 88 under 20 years, 69 between 20 and 30 years, and 46 over 30 years.
The following week the commission started a countrywide tour of riot areas, starting at Pietersburg.
11 Rand Daily Mail, 2 October. 12 Rand Daily Mail, 14 October.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
Despite appeals from various individuals, including Mr. Justice Cillie, students from the University of the North refused to give evidence before the Commission. Students told Mr. Abel Hlungwane that they would not testify because they feared the reaction of other students and of the police. They also said that they were unhappy about commissions whose reports had no effect. It was later reported that four students had given evidence in camera.
The Rector of the University, Professor J. L. Boshoff, told the Commission that the unrest on the campus should not be blamed on agitators, and that he believed that the trouble of 1976 was an extension of the 1974 riots which had been investigated by the Snyman Commission. The Snyman Commission had found that dissatisfaction with the political system in South Africa was one of the major causes of the earlier riots. Professor Boshoff stated that this dissatisfaction was also at the root of the 1976 riots, and went on to say that many students came from Soweto and Pretoria, and it was inevitable that they should be affected by what had happened in the urban areas.
Following hearings in Witbank, the Commission heard evidence from various members of the West Rand Administration Board. Mr. J. C. de Villiers, chief director of the Board, requested that his evidence dealing with the role of the police in Soweto be heard in camera, saying that public discussion and speculation on this matter could do more harm than good. The request was granted, but this decision was subsequently reversed and the evidence was made public. In his evidence Mr. de Villiers said that peace would not be restored unless police action was "strong, systematic and ruthless where necessary". Speaking at a meeting in Nelspruit, Mr. Kruger, Minister of Police, reprimanded Mr. De Villiers for his criticism of police action, saying that it was police policy to treat uprisings with a minimum of violence.
Following Mr. Kruger's statement, Mr. Justice Cillie said that in four possible cases of contempt of Commission, one of which involved Mr. Kruger, the decision whether to prosecute lay in the hands of the Attorney-General. The other
three possible contempt cases were a report in the Citizen which quoted General van den Bergh of the Bureau for State Security as saying the Communist Party was the mastermind behind the riots; a report in the Rand Daily Mail quoting Mrs. Sheena Duncan, president of the Black Sash, as saying that the responsibility for the unrest lay on the shoulders of Mr. Vorster and his Cabinet; a report in the Rand Daily Mail which said that students at the University of the North were boycotting the Commission.

13 Star, 19 October.
14 Rand Daily Mail, 20 October.
15 Rand Daily Mail, 22 October.
16 Star, 25 October.

DISTURBANCES
The Commission heard evidence in Klerksdorp, Mafeking and Bloemfontein before proceeding to Cape Town.
Colonel A. P. van Zyl, officer in charge of the anti-riot squad in the Western Cape gave the following numbers of deaths and injuries during unrest in the Peninsula:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>killed by police shooting</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>killed by people other than police</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wounded by police</td>
<td>387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wounded by people other than police</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No Whites lost their lives.

After hearing evidence from a Cape Times reporter, Mr. Justice Cillie asked that two incidents involving the police be investigated: one where police had allegedly ill-treated a child being held at Guguletu Police Station, the other a report of indiscriminate police action at a high school. He subsequently ordered further investigations into allegations of police brutality after hearing evidence from a number of African and Coloured witnesses.

Professor Van der Ross, Rector of the University of the Western Cape, in giving evidence to the Commission reiterated what had been said by the Rector of the University of the North: that one of the chief causes of unrest on the campuses was sociopolitical frustration.

Professor H. W. van der Merwe, director of the Centre for Intergroup Studies at the University of Cape Town, told the Commission that many Black people were reluctant to give evidence to the Commission because they were afraid of intimidation, both from the Security Police and from within their own communities, and also because they saw the Commission as part of the apartheid system.

17 Cape Argus, 17 November.
18 Rand Daily Mail, 23 November.
19 Star, 25 November.
20 Rand Daily Mail, 27 November.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE, POLICE AND PRISONS
CONTRAVENTIONS OF THE LAW
According to the annual report of the Commissioner of the SA Police for the year ended 30 June 1975,1 the numbers of cases reported to the police during this period and the previous year were as follows:

1973-4 1974-5
Offences .......... 930 420  989 292
Infringements of the law ... 2 027 388  1 467 058
Cases sent for trial:
1973-4 1974-5
Offences .......... 469 823  484 897
Infringements of the law ... 2 004 243  1 449 274

The decrease in infringements of the law between the two years reflected above was a result of various factors. With effect from 1 May 1974 no traffic offences, except cases requiring further police investigation, were entered in police registers. Fewer pass law and curfew infringements were referred to the courts during 1974-5. Other categories of infringements reflected a decreasing tendency.

CRIMINAL STATISTICS
In his report for the year ended 30 June 1975,2 the Commissioner of Prisons stated that during that year, 297 233 sentenced prisoners had been admitted to prisons, together with 188 496 unsentenced persons who were not convicted. Sentences imposed during the year are summarised as follows:

1 RP 33/1976, pages 7 and 13.

CRIMINAL STATISTICS

Sentences
Death Penalty Life Imprisonment Indeterminate Sentence Prevention of Crime (5-8 years) Corrective training (2-4 years)
2 years and over
6 months up to 2 years
4 to 6 months 1 to 4 months Up to and including 1 month Periodic imprisonment
Corporal punishment only (cane)
Whites Africans
2  60
-  39
83  1012
96  1382
239  501
918 778 1 624 1 864 124
2 477 8 752 18 128
19 358 81017
115 562
110
Asians
5
Coloured
25 3
298
Totals
87 42 1 398
9 385 1872
863 2481 3 670 4698 11506 17693
61
3 598 11801 22810 24949 94519 135539
304
18 271 6 19 314
TOTALS 6 247
248168 1116 41702 297233

According to the writer’s calculation, of the total number of sentenced prisoners of all races, approximately 66 per cent were Africans jailed for periods up to and including four months. However, the Commissioner of Prisons reported that of the 230 058 prisoners with sentences up to and including four months, 90 729 were released on parole, the great majority within 24 hours after admission. Of the total number of admissions, 52 390 were women. The daily average of sent was:

White  ... ...
African  ... ...
Asian  ... ...
Coloured  ... ...

The Minister of Prisons, in reply to a question in the Senate,3 gave the following average numbers of prisoners per 100 000 of each population group during the year 1974-5:

White ... African ... Asian ... Coloured ...
92,87 ...
397,50 ... 74,82 ...
785,89 ...
3 16 June, Hansard 13 col. 88.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
The Commissioner of Prisons reported that the classification of prisoners as at 30 June 1975 was as follows:4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Minimum Security (Group A)</th>
<th>Medium Security (Group B)</th>
<th>Maximum Security (Groups C and D)</th>
<th>Unsentenced prisoners and those serving sentences of less than 2 years</th>
<th>Not yet classified</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18,0</td>
<td>30,5</td>
<td>5,1</td>
<td>42,5</td>
<td>3,9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister of Prisons said in the Assembly in April5 that at the end of 1975, 283 people were serving sentences of life imprisonment in South Africa. Of these, 19 were White, 202 African, 59 Coloured, and 3 Asian. Of the total number, 13 Whites, 153 Africans, 47 Coloured people, and 2 Asians had been sentenced for murder with extenuating circumstances.

According to the State Revenue Account for 1976-7,6 the average daily number of prisoners provided for in the Prisons' budget was 93,000, and the cost per prisoner per day was approximately R2,09.

The retiring Commissioner of Prisons, General M. J. Nel, said in an interview in June7 that the average number of people in prison daily was far too high. He stressed that he was not criticising the judicial system or the public. Although the high daily average gave rise to some concern, he said, the reasons for this had not been established.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT
In his report for the year ended 30 June 19758 the Commissioner of Prisons stated that at the beginning of that year, 56 persons who had been sentenced to death were in custody. A further 90 were admitted during the year. Of these: 59 were executed; 12 had their sentences commuted; 3 appealed successfully; 3 were sent for retrial; 69 were in custody at the end of the year.

Questioned in the Assembly on 30 March, the Minister of Justice said that during the calendar year 1975, 103 persons had been sentenced to death: 96 for murder, 2 for robbery, 3 for rape, and 2 for murder and robbery. A total of 44 had appealed against their sentences and in 21 cases the death sentence was set aside.

5 Rand Daily Mail, 8 April.
7 Rand Daily Mail, 30 June.
9 Hansard 10, col. 699.
In reply to a further question, "the Minister said that during 1975, 50 African and 18 Coloured men had been executed.

Crimes of which convicted
Murder .................. ............................
Robbery .................. ............................
Murder and Robbery ............... ............................
Murder and Rape ............... ............................
Rape ............................

African Coloured

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mrs. Helen Suzman, Progressive Reform Party spokesman on justice, noted in the Assembly on 31 March that South Africa enjoyed the unenviable reputation "of hanging more people than the rest of the Western World put together". She pointed out that compared to the figure of 41 people facing execution during 1974, the figure of 103 for 1975 had shown a significant increase. "As one in favour of the abolition of the death penalty, I can only express repugnance at this trend," said Mrs. Suzman.

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT

In the Assembly on 1 June the Minister of Prisons gave the following information relating to corporal punishment during the year ended 30 June 1975:
No. of persons receiving corporal punishment Males 21
Vales under years and 21 years over

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>632</td>
<td>1771</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average no. of strokes inflicted
Males 21 Males under years and
21 years over

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CRIME IN AREAS OF HIGH POPULATION DENSITY

The Minister of Police gave the following statistics in reply to questions in the Assembly relating to crime rates.
10 Assembly 20 April, Hansard 12 col. 848. 11 Star, 31 March.
12 Hansard 19 col. 1178. Averages calculated by the writer.

White African Asian Coloured
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
Soweto, Johannesburg

Cases reported to the police during the period 1 January 1974-30 June 1975:13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offence</th>
<th>No. of cases</th>
<th>Cases resulting in a trial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>701</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>1 296</td>
<td>662</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culpable Homicide</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm</td>
<td>8 118</td>
<td>5 043</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cape Peninsula

Cases reported to the police during 1975:1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offence</th>
<th>No. of cases</th>
<th>Cases resulting in a trial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>511</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>1 010</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culpable Homicide</td>
<td>504</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm</td>
<td>9 000</td>
<td>Robbery 3342</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COMMENT ON CRIME IN SA

Early in the year a book edited by J. Midgely, J. H. Steyn and R. Graser, called Crime and Punishment in South Africa, was published. The authors investigated the causes for the everincreasing crime rate in South Africa, analysing its impact on the different race groups. Many eminent criminologists who contributed to the study viewed crime amongst Blacks as a backlash against apartheid society and its discriminatory legislation. The book provided many valuable statistics relating to crime in SA.

At the annual national meeting of Black committees of the National Institute of Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of Offenders, held in September, the Johannesburg Committee, in its report, warned that the township riots that developed in the latter half of the year and the conduct of the police during the disturbances might lead to a general undermining of law and order. Inflation and increasing unemployment would also result in a frightening crime wave. "There is an immutable relationship between unemployment and crime," the report said.1

Speaking in October, Mr. S. Manthatha, Soweto Urban Bantu Councillor, noted the increased rate of crime in Soweto and claimed that it was important "to clear the name of the student movement" from the incidence of crime, as it was other "teenage rogues" who had taken advantage of the situation.2

13 Assembly 30 January, Hansard 1 col. 32.
"4 Assembly 25 February, Hansard 5 col. 367.
1 World, 2 September.
2 Rand Daily Mail, 20 October.

PRISON LABOUR

USE OF PRISON LABOUR

The Minister of Prisons said in the Assembly in May3 that during 1975 a daily average of 5 575 prisoners worked for government departments, provincial administrations, and subsidised institutions, while an average of 16 662 worked for local authorities and private persons. During the same year 87 543 prisoners
were released on parole and placed in employment with various employers, including farmers. The Minister said that 773 inspections were carried out into the conditions of these prisoners and 19 employers were found to provide unsatisfactory conditions. In 4 such cases the provision of workers on parole was permanently stopped and in 15 cases temporarily, until the facilities had been improved.

EDUCATION OF PRISONERS
According to the report of the Commissioner of Prisons for the year ended 30 June 1975, during that period 319 prisoners sat for school, academic or technical examinations of whom 55 obtained certificates ranging from Standard 6 to Bachelors' degrees or N.T.C. V. There were 534 prisoners who took trade tests, 320 of them passing. Literacy classes had been introduced at six prisons during the year, bringing the total of prisons using the literacy scheme to 35: 397 persons completed the course during the year, bringing the grand total to 3438.

PHOTOGRAPHS AND SKETCHES OF PRISONERS
The National Institute for Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of Offenders (Nicro), in the March issue of its journal, Crime, Punishment and Correction, condemned the experimental relaxation since 1975 of the ban on the publication of photographs of prisoners. The period of relaxation had "highlighted the public's craving for sensationalism and its punitive and rejecting attitude towards 'criminals' ..." The journal warned that the publication of an offender's photograph after the period of trial "sets in motion the forces of public prejudice, vengeance and ostracism once more".

CONDUCT OF THE POLICE
The Commissioner of Police stated in his report for the year ended 30 June 1975 that during the year the following awards were made to policemen:

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
Whites Blacks
SA Police Star for Distinguished Service ... 2 SA Police Star for Merit ............ 65 67
SA Police Medal for Faithful Service ... 358 345 Commendations ..................... 20 5

Excluding the victims of motor accidents, two White policemen and three Africans lost their lives in the Republic in the course of their duties. Thirteen White policemen lost their lives while on border duty. Thirteen African policemen were reported to have lost their lives in motor accidents.

The Minister of Police stated that eight policemen were killed and 189 seriously injured during the calendar year 1975 in the execution of their duties, inside the Republic. Speaking in the Assembly the Minister said that the Government would seriously consider drastically increasing sentences for those convicted of assaulting policemen because the police were seen "as the symbol of authority".
Questioned about civilians shot by policemen in the execution of their duties during 1975, the Minister gave the following figures (1974 figures in brackets):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Numbers</th>
<th>Killed</th>
<th>Wounded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adults</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>1 (2)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juveniles</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>- (2)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>21 (4)</td>
<td>4 (-)</td>
<td>70 (25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>I (-)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 (-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>103 (45)</td>
<td>3 (1)</td>
<td>281 (119)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of these, casualties resulting from attempts to escape arrest:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th>- (2)</th>
<th>(-)</th>
<th>3 (2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>16 (2)</td>
<td>2 (-)</td>
<td>67 (23)</td>
<td>7 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>I (-)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 (-)</td>
<td>(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>81 (36)</td>
<td>1 (1)</td>
<td>216 (105)</td>
<td>11 (10)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mrs. Helen Suzman (PRP), speaking in the Assembly, expressed shock at the number of people killed and wounded by police in the execution of their duties, especially at the many killed and wounded while trying to escape. "Many of the crimes committed could well have been minor, yet by their action the police have turned them into capital offences. People should be shot at by the police only as a last resort, and then only if they are dangerous criminals."

Questioned in the Assembly about convictions of policemen for certain offences, the Minister said that, during 1975, 68 Whites and 102 Blacks were convicted of common assault; 2 Whites and 17 Blacks were convicted of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm; 4 Blacks were convicted of culpable homicide. Of these men, 12 had previous convictions for common assault and 2 for serious assault. Eight of the convicted Whites and ten of the Blacks were discharged from the Force.

CONDUCT OF PRISON WARDERS

According to the Prison Commissioner's report mentioned earlier, the Medal for Faithful Service in the Prison Service was awarded to 127 members during the year ended 30 June 1975, the Medal for Merit was awarded to 31 members, and two were awarded the Decoration of Valour.

PENAL REFORM

Mr. Justice Kumleben, chairman of NICRO, speaking at the annual meeting of the organisation's African committees, called for a careful examination of alternatives to imprisonment because of the "distressing" rate of imprisonment in the country. The granting of bail to awaiting-trial prisoners should be encouraged, an effective
parole system for young offenders should be introduced, and offenders could be obliged to do useful work in communities. The judge suggested that some deviant behaviour, presently labelled as criminal, should perhaps not be on the statute books and only served to increase the prison population.'

In July the Prisons Department opened its first hospital for psychopaths at Zonderwater Prison in the Transvaal. The hospital is designed to accommodate about 180 prisoners.2

LEGAL AID

Speaking in the Assembly on 21 June,3 Dr. L. van der Walt claimed that assistance given through the Legal Aid Board was progressing steadily. Over the years the following sums had been spent:

5 Reported in the Star, 10 June.
6 21 May, Hansard 16 col. 1072-3.
1 Daily News, 31 August.
2 Sunday Times, 18 July.
Hansard 21 col. 9981.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

% increase
1971-72  R 17 000
1972-73  R151 000  761
1973-74  R327 000  116
1974-75  R486 000  49

During 1974-75 a total of 14 489 applications were received, 13 570 of which were for civil cases and 919 for criminal cases. The speaker attributed the low number of criminal cases to the fact that people preferred to go to their own attorneys in such cases. He proposed that the scheme should be more widely advertised.

The Minister of Justice, speaking in the Assembly,4 said that he would like to institute a system whereby those who earned too much to qualify for legal aid, but who had a deserving case they wished to fight, could apply for a loan to the Legal Aid Board. The Minister said this would "enable the ordinary people, who at present could not afford to fight a deserving case against rich people, to protect their rights".

Mr. Peter Gross, a Cape Town Rhodes scholar, published a book during the year entitled "Legal Aid and its Management". The book proposed a plan to put legal aid within reach of virtually all in South Africa. In the foreword to the book Mr. Justice Steyn noted that in SA legal aid, "while still suffering birth pains, is due for rapid development and expansion". He wrote that no nation could say that its criminal justice system was non-discriminatory unless it provided legal representation for all in danger of losing liberty.

CIVIL DEFENCE

Civil Defence units in White communities throughout the country increased in number during the year under review. In June the Minister of Defence, asked in Parliament whether the establishment of Civil Defence units by local authorities
was to be made compulsory, replied that decisions in regard to the matter were dependent on consultations with the Administrators of the four provinces and of South West Africa. The report and recommendations of an interdepartmental committee had been submitted for consideration.' In June an association of 1 500 chemist retailers throughout the country undertook to become information and recruiting depots in a scheme to attract the public into Civil Defence for first aid work.' Addressing the Cape Congress of the Nationalist Party, Mr. P. W. Botha, Minister of Defence, said that Civil Defence units were not intended for
4 Rand Daily Mail, 22 June.
I Hansard 20, col. 1216, 15 June.
2 Rand Daily Mail, 29 June.

CIVIL DEFENCE
the purpose of maintaining law and order but for rendering firstaid and assistance in the event of emergencies.3 In a letter circulated in September to all local authorities in the Cape, the Director of Local Government, Cape Province, urged them to take urgent steps to bring their civil defence organisations up to standard and to afford the matter top priority. Civil defence should be regarded as a normal function of local authorities who should assume responsibility for the additional expenditure involved, the circular said.4

PRIVATE SECURITY ACTION
During disturbances in the Johannesburg area police authorised workers who wanted to go to work during stay-aways, to arm themselves with kieries and sticks to ‘fight off intimidators’, without fear of prosecution. Taxi drivers were reported to have formed vigilante groups to protect one another and to be using knobbykieries. Police stressed that people were still not entitled to carry dangerous weapons such as knives and pangas.5

At the Orange Free State National Party Congress on 8 September the Minister of Police, Mr. Kruger, called on businessmen to take steps to safeguard their premises because of the current unrest." He was reported to have said that if a person had to kill someone to save himself or his property, he was entitled to do this.7 Various critics claimed that this was a clear admission of the inability of the police force to cope with the situation. Numerous vigilante groups were formed in the Western Cape during August.8 It was reported in the Cape Town Press9 that the police had no objection to the activities of these groups, although they later expressed concern about the number of "vigilante actions" alleged to have taken place.10 One such case was reported, in which a looter was shot simultaneously by three separate gunmen.1 Armes sales escalated in both Johannesburg and Cape Town during the periods of unrest.

The Minister of Police met with representatives of organised commerce and industry in Cape Town soon after his statement at the Free State Congress and he was reported to have told them that far-reaching legislation granting civil and criminal indemnity to businessmen and private individuals who killed or maimed others in the course of protecting their property from rioters and looters would be introduced in Parliament if necessary." 3 Star, 21 September.
This legislation could be made retrospective to cover those who took action during the 1976 unrest, it was reported. However, the following week, at the Cape National Party Congress, Mr. P. W. Botha issued a warning that individuals and unauthorised groups should not take the law into their own hands in dealing with unrest, saying that "It is the State's duty to maintain law and order". In clarifying his statement the Minister of Police said that he was not in favour of the formation of vigilante patrols, but rather the implementation of steps by owners and occupiers to protect their own property. He said that there were adequate numbers of policemen to patrol business properties, but not to guard individual properties permanently.14

"MAKGOTLA"

During 1976 public attention was drawn to the activities of various "Makgotla" or traditional vigilance groups operating in African townships in the Witwatersrand area, through a number of court cases resulting from punishment dealt out by the groups. In February four members of a Meadowlands lekgotla were found guilty of culpable homicide, resulting from punishment they administered to an individual. In June the leader of a Soweto vigilante group was jailed for seven years for murder with extenuating circumstances. His assistant was found guilty of culpable homicide. They had killed an individual whom they were punishing by beating him with a stick. Five youths and a woman had to receive hospital treatment in June, after being flogged by three lekgotla members for breaking school windows. In July an official of a Tembisa lekgotla was convicted of assault for flogging the youths. Another case was proceeding at the time of writing.

During the year various moves were made to gain official recognition for the makgotla groups. In February officials of the National Institute for Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of Offenders (Nicro) met with members of so-called resident committees to fight crime. The Nicro officials came out in support of work done by makgotla members, provided that punishment was done within the scope of the law and the makgotla members did not infringe any laws. Various Urban Bantu Councillors were reported to be makgotla organisers and in favour of the groups evicting from their homes, families whose members were

14 Star, 22 September; Assecom "Guidelines on Private Protection of Persons and Properties". I "Makgotla" is the plural form of "lekgotla".
MAKGOTLA
involved in crime, provided that these groups worked in cooperation with the
Bantu Affairs Commissioner.7 Soweto UBC councillor, S. M. Manthatha, on
behalf of various makgotla groups, wrote to the Department of Justice in May,
requesting legal co-operation to make the groups more effective. On 2 September
the Minister of Justice met with ten Soweto leaders, most of whom were makgotla
leaders. They reportedly appealed for official recognition and Mr. Kruger said
after the meeting that he would consider their proposals.8 Mr. Manthatha claimed
that the Soweto makgotla were given temporary status to function until their
constitution was ratified by the government.' These reports of official recognition
were condemned by other Soweto leaders who pointed to the need for meaningful
consultation and to the evils inherent in the "makgotla" system.
On 19 October the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development issued a
statement in which he outlined plans to bestow increased powers on urban African
"community councils". He envisaged "a well organised system of traditional
disciplinary courts and community guards" being connected with these councils."
BLACK MAGISTRATES
Speaking in the Assembly, the Minister of Justice stated that his department
intended creating posts for Coloured, Indian, and African magistrates as soon as
people were capable and qualified to man the posts." He said this would be done
because of the great number of individuals from those race groups involved in
court actions. Asked whether Black magistrates would receive the same pay as
Whites, the Minister replied that the Government was busy with a scheme aimed
at narrowing the wage gap without disrupting the economy.
POLICE INFORMERS
Writing in the official magazine of the Public Servants' Association, the head of
the Bureau for State Security, General Hendrick van den Bergh, described the
functions of the Bureau as follows: "the protection and maintenance of the ruling
order within the structure of the State by combating or removing possible external
hostile forces and possible internal disorder, disturbance and revolt, so as to
ensure the continued existence of the ruling order in all its consequences and
dimensions."
During the year instances of police surveillance at universities were exposed. Mr.
Keith Matthee, president of the SRC at the
7 World, 25 April.
s Rand Daily Mail, 4 September.
World, 3 September.
l0 Statement issued by the Department of Information, 19 October. i Reported in
the Rand Daily Mail, 22 June.
1 Quoted in Rand Daily Mail, 17 August.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

University of Natal, Durban, revealed that he had acted as an informer on the campus for the Bureau of State Security between 1973 and 1975.2 His action was condemned strongly by student leaders and members of the Progressive Reform Party youth movement, of which he was vice-president. The Rand Daily Mail pointed out in a subsequent editorial that: "Campus spying inhibits free thought and discussion and consequently drives students to discuss things in secret, thus forcing them to act and feel conspiratorial". Following Mr. Matthee's statement to the Press, Mr. Jimmy Georgiades, president of the SRC at the University of the Witwatersrand, revealed that an agent from the Bureau had fed him information about other members of the Council during several secret meetings with Mr. Georgiades, while the latter was president. This information had led Mr. Georgiades to suspect "liberal" members of the Council, who, the agent said, were moving to discredit him. A friend of Mr. Georgiades was approached by the agent to go overseas and spy on South African students there.4

During the trial of various NUSAS leaders in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court it emerged that police lieutenant Mr. Derek Brune, who was a State witness, had spied for the Security Police while an executive member of the SRC of the University of the Witwatersrand in 1973 and 1974. Mr. Richard de Villiers, newly elected SRC president at the University of the Witwatersrand, said in August that the presence of informers at universities led to an atmosphere of distrust and suspicion in the SRC and at other levels of student government.5

A columnist in the World, writing in August, claimed that, following the disturbances in Soweto, a large number of people were suspected of being police informers and this led to "intensifying suspicions and mistrust within Black society".6

RIGHT WING INTIMIDATORY ACTION

Various incidents of intimidatory action against people identified as government critics were reported during the year. In January two petrol bombs damaged the car of Mr. Tim Wilson, son-in-law of the late Mr. Brain Fischer, in a Johannesburg suburb. Various telephone threats were made to the wife of Mr. Donald Woods, editor of the Daily Dispatch, an East London newspaper. Objects were thrown at the editor's house and slogans painted on his wall in red paint. An American writer and researcher, Miss Shirley Deane, revealed in May that she had been victimised while working in Durban for about seven months. She had received numerous anonymous telephone calls.2

3 Rand Daily Mail, 24 August.
4 Rand Daily Mail, 25 August.
5 Rand Daily Mail, 26 August.
6 World, 17 August.

INTIMIDATORY ACTION

On two occasions her flat had been broken into and material erased from numerous tape recordings that she had made.'
In June Mr. David Dalling, M.P., called on the Minister of Justice to stamp out "what could be the start of a wave of Rightwing fascist terrorism in South Africa". He was commenting on an incident in Pretoria during June in which the tyres of cars parked outside a multiracial theatre production were slashed. In July, Dr. Aaron Matlhare, a member of the executive committee of the Black Parents' Association in Soweto, was threatened twice over the telephone by a woman who warned that he would be arrested. In September the Anglican Bishop of Port Elizabeth, the Right Rev. Bruce Evans, revealed that he had received several calls during the previous few months, from White people who had threatened to assault him or to damage his property.

In early October three petrol bombs were thrown at the home of the Most Rev. Denis Hurley, Archbishop of Durban. Only one bomb exploded, causing a minor fire. Police investigations into the cases mentioned above were inconclusive at the time of writing.

I Star, 14 May.
2 World, 19 July.
3 Daily Dispatch, 14 September.
4 Star, 6 October.

ADMINISTRATION OF SECURITY LEGISLATION
RESTRICTION ORDERS ON PERSONS AND ESCAPES FROM SOUTH AFRICA
"Restriction" or "banning" orders are served on persons in terms of the new Internal Security Amendment Act which replaced the Suppression of Communism Act. Those persons banned under the previous Act are now subject to the provisions of the Internal Security Amendment Act, which are described in an earlier chapter.

Questioned in the Assembly, the Minister of Justice said that as at the end of 1975 there were 128 banning orders in force, of which 14 had been renewed once and 15 twice. During 1975, 16 new orders had been issued, 4 had been withdrawn, and 52 had been allowed to expire.

The latest official list of banned persons was gazetted in July. It contained the names of 18 White and 95 Black persons. Included among the names were Mr. W. Hamilton, Mr. Johnny Ramrock and Mr. Christopher Wymers who had been detained after Terrorism Act charges against them had been withdrawn in March. They were released from detention in May and were banned in June from attending meetings for five years.

Mrs. Fatima Meer, sociology lecturer at the University of Natal, was served with a five year banning order in terms of the Internal Security Act in July. It restricted her movements and prevented her from publishing anything or being quoted in newspapers, although she could continue with her teaching. Her application for a passport was subsequently turned down and she was thus prevented from travelling to London to take up a Morris Ginsberg Research Fellowship. Mrs. Meer's banning was condemned strongly by various academics and Black leaders. She was detained in August in terms of the Internal Security Act.
Several former ANC members were banned upon their release from Robben Island. Mr. Phillip Matthews was released at the end of December 1975, after 12 years' imprisonment, and immediately served with a banning order restricting him to the Johannesburg magisterial district. Mr. Andrew Masondo, released in April after 13 years' imprisonment, was restricted to the

BANNING ORDERS

Umlazi magisterial district, Natal, although his wife and children were resident in Johannesburg. Together with his 15-year-old daughter, Nomsa, he was reported missing on 9 September. The Security Police were reported to be investigating his disappearance. In July three other people were banned upon their release from Robben Island: Mr. M. H. Soci, Mr. H. Ntibixelwa and Mr. H. Jinta.

Mr. Marius Schoon and Mr. Michael Ngubeni were released from imprisonment on 17 September after serving 10-year prison sentences and were immediately served with 5-year banning orders. Mr. Joseph Khoza, released on 11 September after a 12-year prison sentence, was sent to the Giyani district of Gazankulu, where he was believed by his relatives to be restricted.

The banning orders on seven people were lifted early in 1976. Among them were Mr. Clive Keegan, a former NUSAS leader banned after the Schlebusch Commission Report, the Rev. Stephen Hayes, and Mr. Halton Cheadle, former trade unionist. Mr. M. T. Bardien, who had been banned for fifteen years, died in Cape Town a week after his ban was lifted. Mrs. Phyllis Naidoo's banning order was allowed to lapse in April after 10 years of house arrest. The second five-year banning order on Mr. John Aitchison expired at the end of March and was not renewed. Mr. Mewa Ramgobin, a founder member of the Natal Indian Congress, was served with a further five-year banning order on 29 September, a day before his old order was due to expire. The order prohibited him from leaving his Verulam home between 7 p.m. and 7 a.m. on weekdays and for 24 hours on holidays and Sundays.

Miss Sheila Weinberg, secretary of the Human Rights Committee, was served with a 12-hour house arrest order on 10 November. By 18 November five people associated with the trade union movement had been banned. Eric and Jean Tyacke and Loet Douwes Dekker of the Johannesburg based Urban Training Project, as well as Mr. Sipho Kubekha and Mr. Gavin Andersson of the Metal and Allied Workers' Union, were all served with five year banning orders.

Miss Jeannette Curtis, archivist at the S.A. Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg and formerly connected with the Industrial Aid Society, was served with a banning order on 18 November. On the same day banning orders were served in Durban on Mr. John Copelyn, secretary of the Trade Union Advisory and Co-ordinating Council (TUACC); Mrs. Jeannette Murphy, assistant secretary of TUACC; Mr. Mike Murphy, part time acting secretary.

4 Star, 9 September, 1976.
5 World, 14 September, 1976.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
of the Black Transport and General Workers' Union; Mr. Charles Simpkins, former research officer for the Institute for Industrial Education; Mr. Chris Albertyn, of the Textile Workers' Union; Miss Pat Horn, Literacy teacher; Mr. Alpheus Mthetwa, secretary of the Metal and Allied Workers' Union and Mr. Mfundise Ndlovu of the same union.

In Cape Town the following people were issued with banning orders: Mr. Graeme Block, member of the Cape Town SRC and president of the Students for Social Democracy movement; Miss Debbie Budlender, an economics honours student and member of the university’s wages and economics commission; Mr. Willie Hofmeyer, also of the wages commission; Miss Judy Favish, a literacy worker for the Western Province Workers’ Advice Bureau; Mr. Elijah Loza; Miss Wilma van Blerk of the Food and Canning Workers’ Union in the Western Cape, Miss Mary Simons, a UCT lecturer; Miss Tanya Simons, a librarian at UCT; Mr. Jeremy Baskin, of the wages commission; Mr. John Frankish, a UCT medical student; Mr. Gideon Cohen associated with the wages commission, and Mr. Jack Lewis.

Mr. Eric Abraham, local correspondent for various overseas newspapers was placed under 12-hour house arrest.

In December 1975 Mr. Robert Sobukwe, former leader of the banned PAC, who is restricted under banning orders to the Kimberley Magisterial District, was invited by Liberia to attend its presidential inauguration anniversary celebrations. However, the Minister of Justice refused to relax his banning orders to allow him to attend. The banning restrictions against Mr. M. Naidoo, president of the Non-Racial Swimming Federation, were partially lifted in March to allow him to attend the federation’s tenth anniversary celebrations, subject to the condition that he did not make any speech at the function.

It was reported, and later confirmed, in April that the banned former national president of SASO, Mr. Jerome Modisane, had fled South Africa and had been granted asylum in Lesotho.’ Mr. Modisane had been serving his law articles in Kimberley. Mrs. Paula Petersen (formerly Paula Ensor), a banned former NUSAS leader, and her husband, Mr. Robert Petersen, fled South Africa to Botswana in May. Mr. W. Hamilton, Mr. Johnny Ramrock, and Mr. Christopher Wymers are all reported to have fled to Botswana. Mr. Eli Weinberg (68), another banned person, who spent five years in prison under the Suppression of Communism Act, fled South Africa via Swaziland in early September. Former NUSAS leader, Mr. Christopher Wood, was due to appear in court on 20 September on a charge of contravening his banning order. The magistrate was told that Mr. Wood was no longer in the country. A warrant for his arrest was issued.”

BANNING ORDERS
Five Black students were reported to have fled to Dar-esSalaam in August following unrest in Soweto, because they feared police retaliation.” Mr. Tsietse Mashinini, the 19-year-old student stated to have been Chairman of the Soweto Students’ Council, together with two other students, fled to England via Botswana in September after a reward of R500 had been offered by the police for information relating to his whereabouts. The students were given permission to stay in England. Mr. Bill Anderson (21), a South African conscripted to serve in South West Africa, fled to England in August. He made various allegations regarding alleged atrocities committed by S.A. troops in South West Africa. The Rev. Maurice Nkakane, a member of the SA Council of Churches' national executive, fled to Botswana in September with his wife and three children. Security police had visited his home before he left the country. Mr. Drake Koka, banned Soweto trade unionist, fled to Botswana early in November after police had raided his home.

Following continued incidents of unrest and extensive police raids and arrests, large numbers of students from Soweto and other Transvaal townships fled across the Botswana and Swaziland borders to seek refuge. By 12 November 500 students from South Africa were officially estimated to be in Botswana. Between 200 and 300 adults were also estimated to have entered Botswana illegally from South Africa. On 15 November a spokesman for the Botswana Government said that not more than half the 500 students who had entered Botswana were still in the country. He said that most of the "political refugees" in Botswana applied for United Nations' travel documents with which to leave and travel elsewhere. By 18 November 130 students were estimated to have fled to Swaziland. Some students in both Botswana and Swaziland were reported to be in contact with ANC and PAC representatives in these countries.

REMOVAL ORDERS IN THE TRANSKEI

Under the 1960 emergency regulations for the Transkei, published in terms of Proclamation 400, authorized chiefs may order any African to move with his household from one place to another in the district concerned, temporarily or permanently. In reply to a question in the Assembly on 12 May, the Minister of Bantu Administration stated that 26 persons were currently subject to removal orders. The orders had been issued in the following years:

'2 Sunday Express, 12 November.
1:1 Rand Daily Mail, 16 November.
14 (bid, 19 November.
1 fansard 15 col. 996.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of Issue</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Date of Issue</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BANISHMENT OF AFRICANS
The provisions of Section 5 (1) (b) of the Bantu Administration Act in terms of which Africans may be banished from their homes, and the conditions of banishment, were described on page 43 of the 1967 Survey. The Minister of Bantu Administration said in the Assembly on 30 April that during 1975 no banishment orders were issued, 5 orders were withdrawn and that no affected people had died in banishment.

WARNINGS AGAINST INVOLVEMENT
During disturbances along the Witwatersrand in June, Mr. John Rees, secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Dr. Beyers Naudé, director of the Christian Institute, and Dr. Selma Browde, Progressive Reform Party member of the Provincial Council and Johannesburg City Councillor, were each served with warning notices signed by the chief magistrate of Johannesburg. The notices read in part: "You are hereby warned to please dissociate yourself totally from interfering with the present situation of unrest in the Witwatersrand areas." On 16 July the Minister of Justice, Mr. Kruger, said in an interview that the "warnings" would stand indefinitely.

PROHIBITION OF GATHERINGS
On 18 June, in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act, 1956, the Minister of Justice prohibited any outdoor gatherings apart from those of a sporting or religious nature throughout South Africa until 29 June. This move was in response to repeated incidents of conflict in the country. Subsequently various individual indoor and outdoor gatherings were prohibited. A mass funeral for people killed during disturbances in Soweto was planned by the Black Parents' Association for early in July. Minister Kruger termed the funeral "an exercise in political agitation" and prohibited it. Charity performances of Gibson Kente's play, How Long, planned in Soweto during July, were banned by the Assistant Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg under the Riotous Assemblies Act. A meeting to protest against the banning of Mrs. Fatima Meer to have been held at Durban's Emmanuel Cathedral on 28 July was banned by Durban's Chief Magistrate who claimed that it would "seriously endanger public peace." The Minister imposed subsequent nationwide prohibitions of meetings from 16 July to 31 July, from 4 August to 31 August, from 3 September to 30 September, and from 1 November to 31 December. When unrest spread to the Cape Town city centre at the beginning of September, outdoor gatherings in the city were prohibited by the Chief magistrate from 2 to 5 September.

2 Hansard 13 col. 928.
3 Sunday Times, 20 June.
4 Star, 16 July.
1 Rand Daily Mail, 19 June.
2 Star, 1 July.
3 Rand Daily Mail, 1 July.

PROHIBITION OF GATHERINGS
London, at the end of August, the Chief Magistrate imposed three successive 48-hour prohibitions on the production of the stage play, *Sizwe Banzi is Dead*. A proposed two-day meeting of the BophuthaTswana National Seoposengwe Party in Rustenburg on 7 and 8 August was banned under the Riotous Assemblies Act by the Bofokeng Magistrate. On 10 August the Minister of Justice prohibited all outdoor gatherings in the area bounded by Buitenkant, Darling, Plein and Castle Streets in Cape Town until 11 August 1978. A prayer meeting organised by the BPA to be held in a Soweto church on 19 September was banned by a Johannesburg magistrate. The Chief Magistrate of Pretoria refused an exemption from the blanket ban, under the Riotous Assemblies Act, applied for by the Mamelodi School Board to enable them to hold a parents' meeting on 26 September. In October African workers at Armourplate Safety Glass Factory in Springs, Transvaal, were refused permission by the town's chief magistrate to hold a picket outside the factory as part of their legal strike. During the previous month 27 strikers had been arrested for picketing.

**TRAVEL DOCUMENTS**

The following statistics in regard to travel documents were contained in the report of the Department of the Interior for 1975. During that year:

- 194,554 passports were issued, 145 refused and 4 withdrawn
- 4,617 travel documents of other types were issued and 11 refused
- 3,271 exit permits and 2 permanent exit permits were issued

Rand Daily Mail, 28 July.

G.N. 1282, contained in Government Gazette No. 5228. 6 G.N. 1374, contained in Government Gazette No. 5245. Rand Daily Mail, 4 September; Star, 29 October.

8 Rand Daily Mail, 3 September.
9 Daily Dispatch, 25 August.
10 Rand Daily Mail, 7 August.
13 Rand Daily Mail, 27 September.
14 Rand Daily Mail, 5 October.

**A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976**

137 persons renounced and 32 were deprived of SA citizenship

251,388 visas were issued

343 deportation orders were issued.

On 5 December 1975 Dr. C. F. Beyers Naudé, Director of the Christian Institute, was notified that he had been refused a passport. He was thus prevented from going to London to address the Royal Institute of International Affairs. The Minister of Interior stated on 9 June that during the first five months of 1976, 61 applications for passports were refused and 5 passports withdrawn.'
Mr. Horst Kleinschmidt, assistant to the director of the Christian Institute, who had his passport withdrawn in 1974, fled South Africa via Botswana in early April. Mr. Norman Middleton, sports administrator and executive member of the Coloured Representative Council, applied for a passport in April and was required by the Minister of the Interior to sign an undertaking that while abroad he would not commit any act designed to prevent any South African sportsmen from participating in international sport. This he refused to do, claiming that the issue of a passport was an individual right, not a favour with conditions attached. On 22 April Mr. Michael Stent, immediate past president of NUSAS and Mr. Craig Williamson, former vice-president, had their passports withdrawn. Dr. Sam Ramsamy, chairman of the S.A. Non-Racial Olympic Committee (Sanroc), who had been living in London since 1971, was notified of the withdrawal of his passport six days before his departure for the Montreal Olympic Games. As mentioned elsewhere, the Natal Sociologist, Mrs. Fatima Meer, was refused a passport for the third time in July. All five children of banned Natal couple, Mr. and Mrs. Mewa Ramgobin, were refused passports in July. Their eldest son had intended to study in India. Mr. Ramgobin had been refused a passport earlier. Former NUSAS president, Mr. Karel Tip, had his passport withdrawn on 23 July. Mr. H. Pather, eldest son of sports administrator Mr. M. N. Pather who was refused a passport during 1974, was prevented from going to England to study because, he, too, was not granted a passport.

Various overseas visitors were refused visas or residence permits during 1976. In June Professor G. Carter, an American expert on South African affairs was refused a visa for the third time in three years. She had intended to attend a conference in Cape Town. Four theology students from Swaziland and Botswana, attending St. Bede's College in Umtata, were endorsed out of the country on 30 June. Professor Core of the USA, a pioneer of the Black Theology Movement, who was to have addressed a gathering of Black clergymen at Hammanskraal, had his visa withdrawn in August. Mr. L. Ngakane, a South African actor who now resides in England, flew to SA to attend his mother's funeral in August. His visa was withdrawn when he arrived at Jan Smuts Airport. Father Michael Lapsley, Anglican Chaplain to the University of Natal and a New Zealand citizen was given until the end of September to leave the
country. He was asked by Anglican students at nine South African universities to remain national chaplain-in-exile. Seventeen delegates from Black African countries who were to have read papers at the Assembly of University Communities at the University of the Witwatersrand on 28 September were refused visas.'

The Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt. Rev. Timothy Bavin, was refused South African citizenship in April without any reasons being given. He had emigrated from England in 1961.11

Mr. Peter Richer, an honours student at Rhodes University, was refused a renewal of his residence permit after it expired on 31 August. He was thereby prevented from completing his examinations in South Africa and left the country on 10 October. South African born journalist, Mr. Denis Herbstein, who worked for the London Sunday Times, was ordered by the Department of Interior to leave the country by 9 November. A former Catholic priest, Mr. Toine Eggenhuizen, a Dutch citizen, was served with a deportation order on 16 November.

IMPRISONMENT AND TRIALS UNDER THE SECURITY LAWS, 1975

In reply to questions in the Assembly in February, the Minister of Police gave the following statistics, relating to persons charged, convicted or serving sentences under the security laws during 1975:

38 persons were charged with offences under the Terrorism Act in 1975

None were acquitted although 3 cases were withdrawn

5 Rand Daily Mail, 2 June, 1976.


1 World, 13 August, 1976.


11 Rand Daily Mail, 12 April, 1976.


110 A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

4 were convicted of terrorism

1 was convicted of lesser offences

30 were still on trial or awaiting trial at the end of 1975.

The persons concerned were detained for periods ranging from 3 to 287 days before being charged. Convictions during 1975 were:

Whites Coloured Asian Africans

Suppression of Communism

Act ......... 1 - - 3

Terrorism Act ....... 1 - - 3

Riotous Assemblies Act ... - - - 1

Those serving prison sentences as at 1 January 1976 were as follows:

Whites Coloured Asian Africans

Section 21 of the General Law Amendment Act
of 1962 ........ 5 3 9 154
Suppression of Communism
Act...... -....1 - - - 4
Unlawful Organisations Act - - - - 2
Terrorism Act ........ 3 3 4 64
Riotous Assemblies Act ... - - - - 1

Recovering to a further question,2 the Minister of Police said that 3 Africans were detained for periods ranging from 4 to 10 days during 1975, under the Transkei Emergency Proclamation 400 of 1960. All three were released without having been charged.

DETENTIONS AND CHARGES UNDER THE TERRORISM ACT
DURING THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF 1976

The Minister of Police, in reply to a question in the Assembly,' said that a total of 25 people had been charged with offences under the Terrorism Act by the end of May. Of these, 8 were detained between 2-50 days before being charged, 3 between 51-100 days, 4 between 100-150 days, and 10 between 150-197 days. All were still awaiting trial.

When asked in the Assembly to give details concerning the number of people in each racial group detained and released under the Terrorism Act since January 1975, the Minister of Police replied that he did not think it to be in the public interest to disclose information other than confirmation that 2 12 June, Hansard 19, col. 1195.

DETENSIONS

people were being detained and released in terms of the Act.4 The Minister did reveal that about 50 people had been detained in connection with the alleged recruitment of guerrilla fighters in South Africa. Ten of these detainees were subsequently brought to trial in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court in terms of the Act (see below).

Mrs. Nxasana, wife of Mr. Harold Nxasana who had been detained since December 1975, brought an urgent application to the Durban Supreme Court on 17 April. She alleged that she had been told "jocularly" by the police that they had killed her husband and that she had heard repeated rumours that he had been assaulted by the police and was in bad health. She asked the court to order that a doctor and the chief magistrate be permitted to see her husband and report to a judge. The respondents, the Minister and the Commissioner of Police, filed a statement that Mr. Nxasana had been visited by a magistrate on 7 April and by a police warrant officer on 4 April and was seen to be in good health.'

On 23 April Durban's Chief District Surgeon told the court that he had seen Mr. Nxasana seven times since his arrest. He claimed that at no time did he see signs that Mr. Nxasana had been beaten. The detainee was being treated regularly for fibrositis, but was otherwise in good health.' In judgement Justice Didcott commented that Section 6 of the Terrorism Act was draconian in its general effect. He claimed that "in providing for the detention for indefinite periods of those who have not been convicted of crimes, for their isolation from legal advice
and from their families and for their interrogation at the risk of self-incrimination, the legislature has pursued its object by the enactment of measures which are undoubtedly foreign to the ordinary principles of our law." Justice Didcott dismissed the interdict, awarding costs against Mrs. Nxasana. A total of 89 people were estimated to have been in detention under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act at the end of June. Approximately 40 of those were called by the State as witnesses in various trials relating to charges in terms of security legislation.

DETENTIONS IN TERMS OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT

On 16 July, as a sequel to incidents of conflict in various areas, the State President invoked Section 10 (i) (a) of the Internal Security Act to apply for 12 months in the Transvaal. This was superseded on 11 August by a second proclamation which extended the provisions to apply nationwide for 12 months.

Discussing the proclamation concerned, the Minister of Police said, "It is just a precautionary measure and I shall try not to use it." On 16 July the Minister issued a schedule of regulations governing the conditions of detention under the Internal Security Act. In general, these detainees are subject to the same regulations as apply to awaiting trial prisoners. They are entitled, with the consent of the officer in command of the place of detention, to communicate in writing with any person outside the place of detention, and to receive stationery, literature, newspapers, money and clothing. They have also been allowed to receive food regularly and have visitors.

Conditions for Terrorism Act detainees differ. On 2 September the Commissioner of Police, General Prinsloo, said that relatives of people detained under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act might be allowed access to the detainees, depending on how particular cases were progressing.

On 23 August the Minister of Justice and Police, Mr. Kruger, said that he intended introducing legislation to prevent publication of the names of people detained without trial under security laws. He had earlier been asked why the Security Police refused to give information about people who had been detained. Mr. Kruger gave two reasons for not releasing the names of detainees. Firstly, he said, people held for questioning under Section 10 of the Internal Security Act were not necessarily guilty-"and to go and give his name is to stick a stigma on him, which may be unfair to him". Secondly, he suggested that the publication of names of detainees might actually stimulate unrest, whereas the detentions were designed "to remove potential trouble-makers from the scene".

Mr. Kruger announced on 28 August that a review committee to consider the detention of people held under the Internal Security Act had been appointed. He was unwilling to name the members of the committee. On 30 August Senator...
Brian Bamford of the Progressive Reform Party called on the Minister of Justice to name the members, because of the need for public confidence in the committee. Senator Bamford maintained that the committee should be appointed by the State President who should act through proclamations published in the Government Gazette.

On 17 September an application was brought to the Rand Supreme Court on behalf of Mr. Radichaba Matime against the Minister of Police. Mr. Matime had been detained since 13 Proclamation 159 of 1976.

10 Star, 10 August.
13 Rand Daily Mail, 30 August.
1 Rand Daily Mail, 31 August.

DETENTIONS

August in terms of Section 10 of the Internal Security Act in the Modder B Prison, Benoni. Mr. Wentzel, acting for Mr. Matime, claimed that in the light of the wide power given to the Minister, Parliament had provided a safeguard for detainees which was that a review tribunal must be established to which detainees could make representation. Mr. Wentzel alleged that this section of the Act had not been complied with, therefore Mr. Matime's detention was unlawful. He had been in jail for 12 days without being able to make representation which was a right given to him by Parliament. On 20 October Mr. Justice Theron dismissed the application with costs, declaring his arrest and detention lawful. Mr. Matime instituted an appeal against this judgment.

Subsequent to the invocation of the preventive detention provisions of the Internal Security Act a large number of individuals were detained, most of whom were students, school pupils or office bearers and members of black consciousness or community organisations. The visible leadership of these organisations was eliminated to a large extent through the wave of detentions during the second half of 1976. Numbers and categories of detainees are reflected in the table below.

PERSONS BELIEVED TO BE IN DETENTION IN SECURITY LEGISLATION AS AT 30 NOVEMBER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of Detention</th>
<th>1976</th>
<th>June</th>
<th>July</th>
<th>Aug</th>
<th>Sept</th>
<th>Totals</th>
<th>Dae</th>
<th>Oct</th>
<th>Nov</th>
<th>unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>School pupils</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University students</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student leaders, SASO, SASM, SRC office bearers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Black Consciousness organisations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Black community organisations and workers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Churchmen Teachers and Lecturers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journalists State</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Witnesses Labour Party Trade Unionists Ex-political prisoners Connection unknown

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>-</th>
<th>56</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>434</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15 Rand Daily Mail, 18 September.

Connection

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

On 20 October the Minister of Justice, Mr. Kruger, revealed that a total of 374 people were in detention in terms of security legislation. Of these, 123 were detained in terms of Section 10 of the Internal Security Act and 217 were "being interrogated" under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. A further 34 "had been detained in the various provinces by order of the attorneys general as 'protected witnesses' under the Internal Security Act". Mr. Kruger said that the reviewing committee appointed in terms of the Act had confirmed his discretion in all the detentions put before it up until that date. He confirmed that those held under the Internal Security Act were being detained because of their "positions, statements and activities which contributed to the unrest". As far as could be ascertained, most Internal Security Act detainees had been committed to detention until 31 December, according to the notices served on them by the Minister of Justice. However, in an interview, Mr. Kruger said that it was possible that they could be released before that. By the end of October none of these detainees had been released.

According to the Rand Daily Mail4 25 people detained for more than 10 months were amongst those still in detention in October. Of these, Mr. Moki Cekisani, Ms. Elizabeth Kgosana, Mr. Themba Kubheka, and Mr. Mphakama Mbethe, an executive member of the National Youth Organisation, had been detained for more than a year. Two others, Mr. Winston Nkondo and Mr. Thamazanqa, SASO general secretary, both detained in Durban, had been held for nearly a year. Mr. Mbethe and three others, Mr. Robbie Kgama (27), Mr. Mosala Nat Mosegomi (25), and Mr. Themba Kubheka (26) were released on 17 October from detention under the Terrorism Act without having been tried.'
CATEGORIES OF PEOPLE DETAINED

Students

Past and present office bearers of both the school-based South African Students' Movement and the university oriented South African Students' Organisation were detained, as well as various elected Student Representative Council members from various universities.

The entire existing national executive committee of SASO was detained at various stages, including president, Mongezi Stofile, secretary general, Thamazanga Zani, and permanent organiser Silumko Sokupha. (Mr. Zani was detained in October Star, 20 October.

- Rand Daily Mail, 20 October.
3 Star, 20 October.
4 Rand Daily Mail, 11 October.
5 Star, 18 October.

Only some of the more notable detainees are mentioned by name in order to give an impression of the groups affected by the detention laws.

DETENTIONS

1975.) Mr. Steve Biko, founding president of SASO, was detained on 17 August under the General Law Amendment Act and later placed in detention under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. On 14 and 15 July Mr. Kenneth Rachidi and Mr. Nxolisi Mvovo, president and vice-president of the Black People's Convention, as well as Mr. Zweli Sizani, permanent organising secretary of SASM, and other black-consciousness leaders were detained. BPC issued a statement subsequently in which it vowed to intensify the "struggle for total liberation of the Black masses in South Africa despite the detentions and threats of further detentions".

Mr. Thandisizu Mazibuko, national general secretary of BPC, was detained on 23 July. Soweto high school students attempted to stage a march to Johannesburg on 4 August in protest against the detention of the leaders of these organisations.8 The march was dispersed by the police.

Mr. Barney Pityana, founder executive member of SASO who had been banned since 1972, and his wife, Dimza, were detained in August after being released from detention a short time previously. Ms. Pityana was a regional youth programme organiser of the Institute of Race Relations in Port Elizabeth. Mr. Jeff Moqetuka, national president of SASM, was detained on 20 August in terms of the Internal Security Act.

Other Black Consciousness organisations

Mrs. Winnie Mandela and Dr. Nthato Motlana, both executive members of the Black Parents' Association which was formed early in 1976 to deal with educational and community matters in Soweto, were detained in August. Mrs. Vesta Smith, executive member of the Black Studies Institute based in Johannesburg, and Mr. Bobby Mari and Mr. Govin Reddy of the Institute for Black Research, based in Natal, were detained in August. Mr. Reddy was also employed as a research assistant by the Institute of Race Relations.

Medical Personnel and other Community Workers
Three doctors working at Zanempilo Health Clinic, established by the BPC near King Williamstown, were successively detained. Dr. Ramphele, the clinic's superintendent, was detained on 13 August, Dr. Solombela on 27 August, and Dr. Msauli on 29 August. Dr. Msauli was also on the board of the Zimeli Fund which looks after the families of political prisoners. Various nurses in different communities were amongst the detainees. Mr. R. Mbatha, Director of the Entokozweni Project in Soweto, was detained on 18 August, as was Mr. Ray Magida, a social worker for the Border Council of Churches on 27 August, and Sibusiso
Rand Daily Mail, 20 July. S Rand Daily Mail, 4 August.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
Nkosi, a social worker at Madadeni on 5 April 1976. Dr. Sizwe Mazibuko, a Soweto practitioner, was detained in October.
Community Leaders associated with Women's Groups
Between August and October, seven members of the Black Women's Federation, all prominent leaders in the Black community, were detained. Four of them were executive members:
Mrs. Winnie Mandela, also a member of the Black Parents' Association (13.8.76)
Mrs. Jeannie Noel, assistant secretary (16.8.76)
Mrs. Fatima Meer, president and also a renowned sociologist and author at the University of Natal (20.8.76)
Mrs. Sally Motlana, also president of the African Housewives League, vice-president of the S.A. Council of Churches and vice-president of the All Africa Conference of Churches (12.10.76).

Other detained members of the Federation were Mrs. Vesta Smith, an executive member of both CORD (Charge or Release Detainees) and the Black Parents' Association; Mrs. Jane Phakathi, also Transvaal regional director of the Christian Institute, and Mrs. Joyce Seroke, national secretary of the multi-racial Y.W.C.A. Mrs. Deborah Mabiletsa, acting president of the Federation said in October that the detained women were all outstanding community leaders and that it was "imperative that they play a role in working for peace".9

Teachers and Lecturers
Mr. J. Motau, headmaster of Mamelodi High School, Pretoria, was detained on 18 August. Subsequent detainees included Mr. Mathebathe, principal of Morris Isaacson school in Soweto, and Mr. Joseph Titus, the principal of Bridgetown Primary School near Cape Town. In October Mr. Mathabathe's wife became concerned about rumours that her husband was dead. She had been refused permission to see him on two occasions. In response General M. Geldenhuys, chief of the Security Police, announced that Mr. Mathabathe was "healthier than ever". Among the other lecturers and teachers detained were:
Mr. L. Mabasa, teacher, Meadowlands High School, Soweto Ms. D. C. Ngobese, teacher, Madadeni High School. Natal
Mr. P. Phillips, Soweto teacher
Mr. P. Shabalala, teacher, Madadeni High School, Natal
Mr. D. Siwisa, teacher, Kwazakele High School, Port Elizabeth
Mr. P. Lekgothoane and Mr. W. Molomo, both teachers at
Mamelodi High School, Soweto
I Star, 20 October. ' Rand Daily Mall, 11 October.

DETENTIONS
Ms. E. Mafuna, Soweto teacher
Ms. J. Khuzwayo, lecturer at the University of Zululand
Mr. S. Kekama, teacher, W. F. Nkomo High School
Mr. L. Lekgo, teacher at Mamelodi High School.
Two Soweto teachers, Mr. Wilson Badinabokao and Mr. Patrick Mabena, were
released on 1 October after being detained for two months in terms of the
Terrorism Act.
Professor Ismail Mohamed, head of the department of mathematics at the
University of the Western Cape, was detained in terms of the Internal Security
Act on 13 September.
Mr. H. Muwayini, acting principal of the Mamelodi High School, Soweto, was
detained on 21 October. He had taken over as principal after the detention of the
then acting principal, Mr. Motau.
Journalists
The following journalists were detained under the Internal Security Act:
Mr. Sydney Matlhaku of the World (8.8.76)
Mr. Peter Magubane of the Rand Daily Mail, who was held
incommunicado by police for a total of 586 days between
1969 and 1971 (26.8.76)
Ms. T. Mthintso of the Daily Dispatch (17.8.76)
Mr. Joe Tholoe of Drum Magazine and national president
of the Union of Black Journalists (1.9.76)
Mr. Willie Nkosi and Mr. Jan Tugwana of the Rand Daily
Mail, and Mr. D. Ndlovu of the World (9.9.76)
Mr. Willie Bokala of the World (on 23 September, soon
after giving evidence to the Cillie Commission of Inquiry)
Mr. Godwin Mohlomi, Mr. Z. B. Molefe and Mr. Moffat
Zungu all of the World; Mr. Don Mattera of the Star
(23.9.76)
Mr. Nat Serache of the Rand Daily Mail was released after
10 days in detention during September
Mr. Moffat Zungu of the World (24.10.76)
Many of the Johannesburg journalists mentioned above were detained while
covering disturbances in the Soweto and Johannesburg areas.
The president of the South African Society of Journalists, Mr. J. Hobday, warned
in September that there was "a growing impression that there is a direct campaign
to silence newsmen, and that attempts are being made to curb the rightful
activities of newspapers by creating an atmosphere of suspicion, uncertainty and
fear".2
2 Rand Daily Mail, 3 September.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

Churchmen
Ministers and workers from a wide variety of churches and religious organisations were detained, among them being the following:
The Rev. S. Ngobeni from White River (10.3.76)
Mr. Victor Gallingi of the Roman Catholic Bishops' Conference (1.7.76)
Father Smangaliso Mkhatshwa, Roman Catholic priest (13.8.76)
Mrs. Oshadi Phakathi, Transvaal Regional Director of the Christian Institute (24.8.76)
The Rev. Moatshe of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (23.8.76)
Father Mokoka, Roman Catholic priest (24.8.76)
The Rev. Chris Wessels, Monravian Minister (19.8.76)
The Rev. Thelenge, Zionist priest (3.9.76)
The Rev. Mayatula, Christian Institute field worker (16.9.76)

Various church bodies, including the South African Council of Churches, the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, and the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk strongly condemned these and all other detentions.3

Labour Party
The Rev. Alan Hendrickse, national chairman of the Coloured Labour Party and a former chairman of the United Congregational Church, was detained on 8 September. His son, Peter, was also detained, under the General Law Amendment Act, but released the statutory 14 days later. The detention of Mr. Hendrickse was condemned strongly by his party as well as by leaders of the Progressive Reform Party, the United Party and the Coloured Representative Council. Mr. W. Dietrich, Eastern Cape regional organiser and Mr. Charles Redcliffe, member of the Eastern Cape regional council of the party, were detained in September. A deputation from the Coloured Representative Council met with Mr. Vorster on 21 September and presented a memorandum calling for the release of all political detainees, including Mr. Hendrickse. Mr. Vorster rejected this plea.4

Mr. Hendrickse was released on 23 October after 59 days in detention. Before his release he had given a written undertaking to the Minister of Justice that on his release he would not make any political speech, other than in the Coloured Representative Council, and that he would not enter the Port Elizabeth magisterial district until 31 December. He also said in the statement to the 3 Star, 3 September.

4 Rand Daily Mail, 22 September.

DETENTION
Minister that he had never believed in violence to achieve political change.'

REACTIONS TO THE DETENTIONS
The detentions in the second half of the year were condemned strongly by many organisations and individuals. Speakers emphasised the point that following repeated incidents of conflict throughout the country, the Government should undertake consultations with the very leaders of the Black community who were being placed under preventive detention. Mrs. Suzman, Progressive Reform Party spokesman on justice, warned in August that South Africa was becoming a police state. "Simply to arrest people who are accepted as leaders of the Black communities throughout the Republic is the last way to defuse a dangerous situation. Many of these people are the very leaders with whom the Government ought to be discussing the current situation . . ."6 Mr. Kruger, Minister of Justice and Police, responding a few days later, said he could not agree with descriptions of South Africa as a police state. He did not like applying the preventive detention provisions of the Act, but they were essential at the time, he said. South Africa had various freedoms which a police state would not allow.' Senator Brian Bamford, PRP, pointed out that the implementation of the preventive detention provisions of the Internal Security Act had moved South Africa from the Terrorism Act "detention without trial situation... to detention without any suspected crime having been committed at all".8 In October the European Economic Community condemned political detentions in SA, claiming that South Africans were imprisoned for their convictions and for voicing opposition to apartheid.'

DETECTIONS IN THE TRANSKEI

From early June until November 1976, 44 people were known to have been detained in the Transkei. Three detainees were questioned and released after various periods of detention. Most of these people were held in terms of Proclamation 400, which has been operative since its introduction during the 1960 State of Emergency.

During June eleven people were reported to have been detained in terms of Proclamation 400. Grounds for their detention were not given by the Transkei authorities. By 3 August, nomination day for the Transkei's general election, a substantial proportion of the opposition Democratic Party's top officers and would-be candidates were in detention, including six of the eight-member executive:

Mr. Hector Neokazi, party leader (27.7.76)
Mr. Jackson Nkosiyane, party chairman (25.7.76)
Mr. P. S. Fadana, national organiser (25.7.76)
Mrs. Florence Mangcotywa (25.6.76) and Mr. L. L. Mgudlwa (25.7.76), both Legislative Assembly members
Mr. S. A. Xobololo, Legislative Assembly member, who was
detained on 25 June just prior to a special debate in the Assembly, during which he was scheduled to introduce an important amendment to the contentious citizenship clauses of the Transkei Independence Act.

Subsequent to this spate of detentions and prior to the Transkei elections on 28 September, further Democratic Party leaders and candidates were detained. This move meant that the entire party executive had been detained. Mr. Mpondo, deputy leader, and Mr. W. D. Pupuma, general secretary, were detained on 10 August. Chief Marelane Joyi, a prominent party leader, was detained on 27 September together with his brother, Mr. Anderson Joyi, a candidate for the election and personal representative of Paramount Chief Sabata in the Legislative Assembly. Other D.P. candidates detained prior to the election included Mr. C. B. Pikashe-Mzanekane and the Rev. S. Masela.

On 21 September, the Transkei Minister of Justice, Chief George Matanzima, made a statement to the Press in which he said that all those detained under Proclamation 400 would be charged and brought to trial. He alleged that the detained opposition party members had been "indulging in extra-parliamentary means to oust the government and cause riotous behaviour on independence day". Two leaders of the dissident Maluti-Herschel South Sotho group were detained on 2 September. Chief Neo Sibi and Mr. A. Letsholo had both been leading a strong call for their tribe to secede from the Transkei and to be incorporated into the Basotho Qwaqwa homeland. The Qwaqwa cabinet strongly condemned Chief Sibi's detention and demanded his immediate release.

On 8 October two internationally renowned actors, Mr. John Kani and Mr. Winston Ntshona, were arrested under Proclamation 400. Both were arrested after performing in an Umtata production of Athol Fugard's play Sizwe Banzi is Dead. Chief George Matanzima, Transkeian Minister of Justice, claimed that the actors were being held for questioning following the performance of the play. Dates of detention are indicated in brackets.

DETENTIONS
"which is alleged to have highly political undertones, and also to be vulgar, abusive and highly inflammable". Mr. Athol Fugard described the detention of the two actors as "outrageous and vicious".

On 13 October Chief George Matanzima said that the two actors would be released from detention when they had answered certain questions "satisfactorily". The continued detention of the actors evoked strong reaction from performers, artists and critics in Britain and the U.S.A. Petitions were circulated, a further cultural boycott was planned and a massive protest meeting was proposed in Washington. Chief Minister, Kaiser Matanzima, claimed on 15 October that the actors would be brought to trial. He later suggested that they would be banned after Transkeian independence. On 24 October, two days before
independence, it was announced that the two had been released from detention and expelled from the Transkei.

On 1 November nine additional people, including Mr. Peter Nkosiyane, a member of the Transkei Parliament, were detained in terms of Proclamation R400. Mr. Nkosiyane was a leading member of the newly-formed opposition Transkei People's Freedom Party and was closely associated with Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, the only strong chief still opposed to Chief Kaiser Matanzima. The head of the CID in Transkei said that the detained men were alleged to have incited the local youth to protest against the independence of Transkei.' By the end of November 42 people were in detention in Transkei.

On 30 November, Mr. T. Mosala, who had been detained with Chief Sibi since August, was found dead in the Butterworth Prison.

DEATHS IN DETENTION

The Minister of Prisons gave the following figures for the number of prisoners in each race group that died in prison from natural causes during the year ended 30 June 1975:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race Group</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Those, included in the totals, who died from pneumonia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>335</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rand Daily Mail, 12 October.
Word, 13 October.
Star, 13 October.
Daily Dispatch, 10 November.
Assembly It June, Hansard 19, col. 1177.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

In May the Minister of Police stated in the Assembly that 92 people had died during 1975 while in detention. Causes given were as follows:

- Natural causes: 25
- Heart failure: 1
- Injured during or prior to arrest: 8
- Suicide/self-inflicted injuries: 28
- Injured during attempt to escape: 9
- Assaulted by fellow prisoners: 9
- Suffocation: 1
- Alcoholic poisoning: 1
- Unknown causes (inquest not complete): 7
- Abdominal haemorrhage: 1
- Internal injuries: 1
- Motor accident: 1

Mr. Joseph Mdluli
Mr. Joseph Mdluli (50) was detained under the Criminal Procedure Act on 18 March by Security Police in Durban as part of police crackdown on a recruiting network with alleged ANC links. He was reported by the police to have been found dead in his cell the following night. Colonel Steenkamp, head of the Durban Security Police, refused to inform either the Press or Mrs. Mdluli, his wife, about the cause of his death. Mrs. Mdluli and close friends claimed that he had been in perfect health at the time of his arrest.

On 20 March Mrs. Mdluli, her son, and Mr. Mlungifi Mxenge, attorney and close friend of Mr. Mdluli, saw his body in the government mortuary. Mrs. Mdluli claimed afterwards that a severe swelling stretched right across his forehead, that his left lower lip was bruised and cut and that his stomach was dilated to twice its normal size. A post mortem examination of the body was held between 20 and 22 March, performed by Dr. B. J. van Straaten, Durban’s state pathologist, and Professor K. Gordon. It was reported at the time that Dr. M. P. Chetty, a pathologist, had been present on behalf of the Mdluli family. Conditions of secrecy were imposed, in terms of which Dr. Chetty was not allowed to disclose his findings to Mrs. Mdluli or her lawyer until such time as an inquest had been held.

Mr. Mxenge was detained on 27 March and was released in July after 103 days in detention. No charges were laid against him. Mr. Mdluli’s funeral was held on 3 April and was attended by 1 000 people.

DETENTIONS
On 5 April the head of the Durban CID said that documents relating to the post mortem report would be submitted to the Attorney General in due course. On 9 April the passport of Mr. Skweyiya, an advocate engaged by Mrs. Mdluli, was withdrawn. On the same day the Minister of Police, in reply to a question in Parliament, I claimed that investigations into Mr. Mdluli’s death had reached an advanced stage but had not yet been completed. Therefore, he said, it was impossible to say when and where the inquest into the death would be held. Various prominent citizens and organisations as well as the Press called for an inquest and disclosure of the details of Mr. Mdluli’s death. On 12 April the Minister of Police, in an interview, gave the assurance that a public inquest into Mdluli’s death would be held as soon as possible. Subsequently it was reported that Dr. Chetty, representing the Mdluli family, had not actually been present at the post mortem but was expected to conduct his own examination through material supplied to him. The Minister of Police confirmed this report in Parliament.

On 29 April Mrs. Mdluli’s attorney served letters of demand for R25 000 damages on the Minister of Police and the Commissioner of Police. The letters claimed that the death of Mr. Mdluli was caused by the "unlawful act or acts of one or
more members of the Security Branch police acting in the course and within the scope of their employment as members of the police force, and thereby, as servants of the State". On 18 May it was reported that photographs of Mr. Mdluli's body had been displayed by the ANC in London. Mrs. Mdluli revealed that she had instructed a Durban undertaker to take pictures of the body after the post-mortem examination. She denied any knowledge of how the ANC in London had received copies of the photographs.

On 13 June the Minister of Police announced in Parliament that four policemen would appear in court, charged with culpable homicide arising from the death of Mr. Mdluli. "No inquest will be held as the Attorney General, Natal, has decided to charge four police officials with culpable homicide," he said.

On 25 October Captain David van Zyl, Lieutenant Andrew Taylor and Detective Sergeants Handlakayisi Makhanya and Zabulon Ngobese were brought to trial in the Durban Supreme Court, charged with culpable homicide arising from Mr. Mdluli's death. The Deputy Attorney-General of Natal, Mr. D. B. Brunette, said that all four men had struggled to subdue Mr. Mdluli when he apparently attempted to escape during his interrogation. The incident was reported to a Major Coetzee who satisfied himself that Mr. Mdluli was not injured. Subsequently, according to

5 Hansard 11, col. 805.
6 Sunday Times, 18 April.
7 Assembly, 23 April, Hansard 12, col. 875.
8 Star, 29 April.
9 Hansard 19, col. 1188.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

police witnesses in the room where Mr. Mdluli was held, Mr. Mdluli suddenly got up and staggered and fell, with his chest or neck hitting the back of a chair. Dr. Van Straaten, who examined Mdluli's body after his death on the night of March 19, claimed that the man had been dead for longer than he had been told. The following morning he conducted a post mortem with Professor Gordon and they decided the cause of death was associated with the application of force to the neck. The injuries he found were too diffuse to have been caused by a single fall over a chair. Professor Gordon suggested the death could have been caused by a blunt force such as a karate blow applied to the neck.

On 28 October Mr. Justice James acquitted the four accused of causing Mr. Mdluli's death. He suggested there be further investigations to ascertain how Mr. Mdluli met his death. He said that, "On the evidence before the court I was not satisfied that the four accused were directly involved but medical evidence cast grave doubts on the evidence of the policemen who gave evidence for the State". The judge said that accounts before the court had not satisfactorily explained all Mr. Mdluli's injuries. The problem of how Mr. Mdluli met his death was one of the greatest importance and should be solved, said Mr. Justice James."

Mapetla Mohapi

Mr. Mapetla Mohapi (25), a former SASO and BPC official, was detained on 15 July in terms of the Terrorism Act and held at the Kei Road Jail near East
London. On 5 August a police spokesman confirmed reports that he had died in detention and claimed that he had committed suicide in his cell. Mr. Mohapi had previously been detained in terms of the Terrorism Act on 11 October 1974 and released without being brought to trial after 164 days in detention. He was banned in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act in September 1975. He was married and had two children.

A post-mortem examination of Mr. Mohapi’s body was held on 6 August, conducted by Dr. R. B. R. Hawkes in the presence of Mrs. Mohapi’s physicians, Dr. M. A. Ramphela and Dr. Msauli, and her attorney, Mr. G. Mxenge.

On 8 August Mr. M. Tembeni, the chairman of the Zimele Trust Fund (which cares for former political prisoners and their families and of which Mr. Mohapi had been an administrator) called for a government investigation into the circumstances surrounding Mr. Mohapi’s death. Mr. Tembeni said that “like all black people we in Zimele are highly suspicious of the frequent alleged suicide incidents among people detained under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act”. Mrs. Mohapi was reported to be positive.

Luke Mazwembe
Mr. Luke Mazwembe (32), a member of the Western Province Workers’ Advice Bureau, was detained on the morning of 2 September. He was reported to have been found dead in his cell at Caledon Square Police Station, Cape Town, that same morning about two hours after his detention. The Cape Western Province executive of the Progressive Reform Party and the Institute of Race Relations called for a full inquest into his death.

Dumisani Mbatha
Mr. Dumisani Mbatha (16) was amongst the group of young people arrested in Johannesburg on 16 September during the Soweto students’ demonstration. He was reported to have been detained at Modder B prison. After he had been
missing from home for several days his parents made enquiries at John Vorster Square. A prison spokesman said that a teenager with the surname Mbatha and who had given Dumisani's address was admitted to the jail on 23 September and two days later complained of being ill. He was taken to the Far East Rand Hospital and died there on the same day.8

About 15 000 students from all parts of Soweto were estimated to have attended the dead student's funeral, during which violence erupted when a Johannesburg City Engineer's depot was damaged. Throughout the service freedom songs were sung and black power slogans chanted.

2 Daily Dispatch, 9 August.
3 Rand Daily Mail, 8 October.
4 World, 4 September.
5 Cape Times, 8 September.
6 Sunday Times, 10 October.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
 Jacob Mashabane

On 14 October Mr. Jacob Mashabane (22), a University of Zululand student, was reported to have died in detention at the Johannesburg Fort. He had disappeared from home on 1 October. His parents said that they had not known about his detention and that they were never notified by prison authorities of his death but learnt about it through a neighbour. Mr. Mashabane died on 5 October. The Johannesburg mortuary alleged that he had hanged himself with his shirt. Prison authorities claimed that he was an awaiting trial prisoner charged with motor car theft.

Fenuel Mogatusi

Mr. Fenuel Mogatusi (22), who had been in jail at the Fort, Johannesburg, since July on a charge or robbery, died in detention on 28 September.7 A Prisons Department spokesman said that a post-mortem report stated that he had died of "natural causes" as the result of suffocation during an epileptic fit.'

Edward Mzolo

Mr. Edward Mzolo (40) was detained at the Fort on 1 October. He was alleged to have died in detention on 9 October.

Other cases

On 6 October it was reported that police were investigating the death of an African man in the Carletonville police cells. A spokesman confirmed that an allegation of assault was involved in the investigation. Police would not give the man's name.9 Other cases, involving deaths of non-political prisoners, were reported during the year in different parts of the country, but accurate information about the numbers or causes of death could not be obtained.

Comment

An editorial in the Daily Dispatch on 16 October pointed out that in 13 years, 26 people had died while in political detention. "Thirteen are alleged to have committed suicide. Four are alleged to have died of natural causes. Three causes of death remain undisclosed. One is alleged to have fallen from a seventh story during interrogation. One is alleged to have leaped from a tenth storey during
interrogation. One is alleged to have fallen down stairs. Two are alleged to have
slipped in showers. One is alleged to have died of thrombosis." The editorial
called for the appointment of an independent judicial commission of inquiry "into
this alarmingly high mortality rate of political detainees", pointing to the fact
7 Rand Daily Mail, 19 October.
I Star, 21 October.
9 Rand Daily Mail, 6 October.

TRIALS UNDER SECURITY LAWS
that "the disclosed causes of death are not always believed by the family and
friends of the dead, nor by many members of the public. The suspicion exists that
suicide by hanging or slipping in the showers, or falling out of windows or down
stairs, or natural causes, are euphemisms".1" Asked to comment on the reports of
deaths in detention, Mr. Jimmy Kruger, Minister of Justice, said that matters of
this nature followed a legal procedure of their own
- a post-mortem followed by a judicial inquiry before a magistrate.1

TRIALS UNDER SECURITY LEGISLATION
Appeals against 1975 Sentences
In December 1975, the Attorney General of the Transvaal instituted an appeal
against the acquittal in July 1973 of Dr. Beyers Naudé, Mr. Randall and Raven
Press on charges in terms of the Communism Act for publishing portions of a
speech by a banned person. The appeal was dismissed with costs.
An application by Mr. Breyten Breytenbach for leave to appeal against his
conviction and sentence to nine years jail for contravening the Terrorism Act was
refused in January by the Judge President of the Transvaal and in March by the
Appeal Court.
In September the appeal of Dr. Beyers Naudé against a conviction for refusing to
testify before the Schlebusch Commission of Enquiry on 16 November, 1973, was
heard in the Pretoria Supreme Court. Judgment was given on 9 October against
the appeal. Mr. Justice Heimstra said that although he had reservations about the
composition, modus operandi and impartiality of the Schlebusch Commission,
"the considerations which forced the appellant to refuse to testify on grounds that
he had sufficient causes are not adequate in the light of the requirements of the
Commissions Act".
On 28 October Dr. Naudé presented himself at the Pretoria Magistrate's Court,
stating that he would prefer to go to prison rather than pay the R50 fine imposed
on him in 1974. He also said that to appeal further against the sentence "would be
to use money that could 'be used for more important court cases." He was taken
into custody but the following day he was released when, unbeknown to him, his
fine was paid by Dr. Jan van Rooyen, rector of the Parkhurst Gereformeerde kerk,
where Dr. Naudé worships. After his release Dr. Naudé said that he would have
preferred to spend the full 30 days in jail to, prove his sincere conviction that the
Schlebusch Commission should not be allowed in a country claiming to be
democratic and Christian.
10 Daily Dispatch, 16 October. i' Star, 20 October.
On 22 November, as a sequence to Dr. Naudé's case, Dr. Theo Kotze, Cape Director of the Christian Institute, was sentenced to four months' imprisonment, suspended for three years, for refusing to testify before the Schlebusch Commission. Mr. Peter Randall was sentenced for the same offence to two months' jail, suspended for three years.

Molokeng and 6 others
Six men and a woman, all in their twenties, appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrates' Court on 26 January on a charge under the Terrorism Act. Mr. Joseph Molokeng, Mr. Andrew Molotsane, Mr. Benjamin Mfenyane, Miss Pumza Dyanti, Mr. Amos Masondo, Mr. Bheki Langa, Mr. David Nhlapo and Mr. Pat Maisela had all been detained at different times between June and October, 1975. They had appeared twice in court in November 1975 (excluding Mr. Nhlapo), when no evidence was led and the case remanded. Mr. Maisela was charged separately and his case remanded (see below).

The State alleged that between 1 May 1974 and September 1975 the accused, with other people and organisations, conspired to form underground cells to study and gather information on various service and military installations with the intention of later making the information available to accomplices and other people unknown to the prosecution for the purposes of sabotage or for bringing about a revolution against the South African government. It was also alleged that the accused made a study of the South African economy and obtained information on the role that could be played by the Black labour force as a weapon to cripple the economy. The State submitted a list of 46 alleged accomplices, some of whom were under detention. Others were alleged to have fled South Africa.

On 17 March evidence was led and a magistrate read a statement made by one of the accused, Mr. Masondo, who later denied its truthfulness. After the court adjourned some 400 spectators gathered outside the back of the court to await the departure of the accused. The crowd, singing freedom songs, swelled to about 900 people but after the accused had left the court it dispersed. The following day a similar crowd gathered outside the Rand Supreme Court. Police detained four men, one allegedly distributing pamphlets. They tried to disperse the crowd which moved towards Johannesburg station and swelled to over 2,000. It dispersed at about 7 pm of its own accord. Several of the crowd and one policeman were injured. The following day the trial was adjourned until 22 March on which date it was transferred to the Old Synagogue in Pretoria because of the "political demonstrations in Johannesburg."

As the trial resumed, Mr. Jairus Kgokong, a former SASO executive member called to give evidence for the State, alleged

TRIALS UNDER SECURITY LAWS
that he had been forced by the Security Police to make statements directly contrary to what he knew to be true. Testifying in response, Captain A.B. Cronwright, officer in charge of the case, claimed that no assaults on political prisoners had ever taken place in his office or his presence. On 24 March, as Mr.
Kgokong left the court, he was arrested and was later charged with one count of perjury, attempting to defeat the ends of justice, and one count under the Official Secrets Act.

On 1 April Mr. Masalo Mosogome, called as a State witness, refused to give evidence. On 2 April Mr. Lebogong Motlana, another State witness, requested that he be allowed to consult a lawyer before he continued with his evidence. Permission was granted and he was given two days in which to do so. He failed to appear in court on 5 April and Mr. Justice Steyn issued a warrant for his arrest. It was rumoured that he had fled South Africa.

Mr. Abel Kgame, a State witness appearing the following day, had been held in detention since September 1975. He testified that his statement in court differed from his written statement given to the Security Police whilst in detention because, he alleged, he had been told what to write and had been promised freedom from detention if his statement was acceptable to the Security Police. On 9 April Mr. Mphakame Mbethe, detained for 195 days under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act, was called as a State witness. He refused to give evidence and asked permission to consult a lawyer. Thus the question arose of whether a person detained under the Terrorism Act was entitled to legal representation in court. The State did not proceed with his evidence so the point was not decided. On 26 April two more State witnesses, Mr. Nicholas Kubheka and Miss Elizabeth Skosana, claimed that their statements to the Security Police were not true.

On 29 April, Mr. Roy Allaway, the defence counsel, made an application for the discharge of all seven accused claiming that there was no evidence to prove conspiracy. The State conceded that it had no case against one of the accused, Mr. Bheki Langa. The State also admitted that it had no case at all on the first charge against Mr. Masondo, Mr. Langa and Mr. Nhlapo, nor any case on the second charge under the Terrorism Act against Mr. Mfenyane and Mr. Langa.

On 3 May three of the accused, Miss Dyanti, Mr. Langa and Mr. Mfenyane, were acquitted by Mr. Justice Steyn who claimed that the State had not proved either of the two charges against them. Miss Dyanti was immediately re-detained by the police “for questioning in connection with another matter.” The judge found that there was a prima facie case against the other four accused.

In defence Mr. Moletsane claimed that while in detention he had been interrogated at length and assaulted. Mr. Molokeng testified that Security Police had interrogated him for 30 hours without a break when he was arrested. Mr. Masondo, another accused, claimed that he was "terrified" into making an untrue statement to the police.

Mr. Allaway S.C. completed his argument for the defence by claiming that investigative and interrogative methods used in the case made it inadvisable to convict the remaining accused. He pointed out that a number of witnesses had denied that they had ever said certain things attributed to them in their official statements.

Mr. Justice Steyn delivered judgment on 21 May. He convicted Mr. Masondo and Mr. Nhlapo and sentenced them each to 5 years’ imprisonment. He said: "In terms of another charge under the Terrorism Act against Mr. Mfenyane and Mr. Langa.
of the Act my hands have been tied by a legislature which has seen fit to lay down
the minimum sentence of five years. Of all the people Masondo and Nhlapo are
alleged to have incited to undergo military training I have only found them guilty
of inciting two people. It was not wholesale recruitment."
The other two accused, Mr. Molokeng and Mr. Molotsane, were acquitted. In
delivering judgment the judge said: "I have found the investigational systems used
in this case very suspect and I have kept this in mind throughout my judgment."
He pointed out that witnesses were told to write out statements after interrogation,
in their own handwriting. "These statements were placed before Captain
Cronwright who made observations and guidelines for final statements and then
persons were tricked into signing them. Most witnesses did not hesitate to say in
court that they were forced and tricked to make statements," he said.

Trial of Members of the South African Students’ Organisation
and the Black Peoples Convention

During 1976 the SASO/BPC trial entered its second year in court. Nine leaders of
the two organisations faced charges under the Terrorism Act: they included Mr.
Sathasivan Cooper, 25, Mr. Justice Myeza, 25, Mr. Nkwenkwe Nkomo, 23, Mr.
Pandelani Nefolovhidwe, 29, Mr. Gilbert Sedibe, 25, Mr. Absolom Cindi, 26 and
Mr. Strinivasa Moodley, 29. The accused were represented by Mr. D. Soggot and
Mr. H. Pitman instructed by Mr. Shun Chetty. Mr. Cecil Rees S.C. headed the
prosecution.

On 25 September 1974, SASO had organised the holding of a "Viva Frelimo"
Rally at Curries Fountain in Durban. Before the rally the Minister of Police, Mr.
Kruger, banned all SASO and BPC meetings for the following month. However,
according to some observers, a spontaneous gathering took place and police
dispersed the crowd amid scenes of conflict. Subsequently SASO and BPC offices
as well as numerous homes were raided and a number of people were detained in
terms of security legislation. After nearly four months of incommunicado
detention 12 men

TRIALS UNDER SECURITY LAWS

were charged under the Terrorism Act on 31 January 1975, 9 of whom still faced
charges together in 1976. The 1975 Survey gave an account of the trial during that
year. The State officially closed its case on 12 December 1975 after calling 59
witnesses to court. In January 1976 the defence made an application for the
acquittal of five of the accused and the discharge of the remaining four on a
number of the counts facing them. Mr. Justice Boshoff refused the first part of the
application but granted the withdrawal of 7 of the 13 counts facing the accused.
The defence opened its case on 29 March. Defence witnesses included Dr. Rick
Turner, banned former Natal Political Science lecturer, Dr. Manas Buthelezi,
secretary general of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of South Africa and Mr.
Steve Biko founding president of SASO, who during his evidence gave a detailed
account of Black Consciousness. Mr. Cooper, one of the accused, gave evidence
for six days in April, explaining Black Consciousness concepts and answering
questions relating to BPC's policy on a wide variety of issues. Mr. Mokoape, Mr.
Lekota, Mr. Nefolovhidwe and Mr. Sedibe gave evidence in their own defence
during May. Mr. Adam Small, poet and former philosophy lecturer at the University of the Western Cape gave evidence in which he attacked government-created representative institutions as providing no means through which Blacks could improve their lot. Mr Myeza, a former SASO president and one of the accused, gave evidence in which he condemned the government for passing repressive legislation and increasing defence spending instead of righting the wrongs suffered by Blacks. Mr. Gessler Nkondo, a senior lecturer in English at the University of the North, was called by the defence to interpret some of the poetry and other writing included in the charge sheet as State evidence and to give an account of events at the University during 1974. Mr. Moodley gave evidence before the court went into recess between June and the beginning of August. An article in the Star during the recess pointed out that the trial had one novel aspect: "... there are no physical acts of terrorism or recruitment alleged in the 82 page indictment apart from charges of writings allegedly composed or distributed by the nine accused. Instead the charges relate to the September 1974 'Viva Frelimo' rallies, SASO and BPC documents and speeches and the theory of their Black Consciousness philosophy ... The Trial has become recognised as the 'Trial of Black Consciousness' rather than of the nine accused ..."I When the court reconvened Mr. Cindi, one of the accused, gave evidence in which he refuted the claim that Blacks could be blamed for South Africa's sports isolation. He laid the blame on apartheid policies. He attacked the South African police as impudent and inconsiderate. The court was postponed on 8 August because Mr. Cooper was experiencing considerable pain from infection resulting from a recent operation. The following day the defence counsel complained that they had been refused access to Mr. Cooper by the prison authorities. They were subsequently given permission to see him. On 11 August Professor Gurr, a professor of political science in the United States and an internationally known expert on terrorism, gave evidence for the defence. He pointed out that part of the programmes of SASO and BPC were similar to the "consciousness raising" methods used by women's liberation groups. The organisations did not use the term "freedom fighter" to mean an armed guerrilla but rather "anyone engaged in any kind of struggle to achieve freedom". He claimed that the organisations were protest rather than revolutionary movements. Various other defence witnesses followed, among them the Rev. Farisani, past BPC president, who claimed that the organisation's objectives were the articulation of Black needs in order to counter "psychological oppression". Defence counsel closed its case at the end of November. Argument was set for 12 October. On 5 October Mr. Cooper, Mr. Sidebe and Mr. Moodley brought an urgent application before the Pretoria Supreme Court asking for an order against the Minister and Commissioner of Police and the Commander of Pretoria Local Prison requiring that they return defence documents taken from the accused, comply with Prison Act regulations and pay costs of the action. The case was
postponed "sine die" after Mr. E. Wentzel for the three men told the court they
had received various assurances from the Prisons' Department.

Molobi Trial
Mr. Eric Molobi was detained in February 1975. He first appeared in court on 29
August 1975 and was charged under the Terrorism Act, alternatively under the
Suppression of Communism Act, the Customs and Excise Act and the Obscene or
Indecent Photographic Matter Act. The case was remanded three times until 10
November when he finally pleaded not guilty to the two charges under the
Terrorism Act and the alternative charge under the Suppression of Communism
Act. The State alleged that Mr. Molobi had tried to involve certain people in
sabotaging post offices, beerhalls, stadia, bridges and roads and that he had
distributed a subversive pamphlet at stations and bus stops in Soweto. Mr. Molobi
admitted that he had written and distributed the pamphlet but maintained that it
was not designed to encourage violence or to foster racial hostility in South
Africa. The State also alleged that he had incited others to undergo military
training and conspired with others to form trade unions with the aim of organising
general strikes to cripple South Africa's economy.

TRIALS UNDER SECURITY LAWS
He pleaded guilty to the charges under the Customs and Excise Act and the
Indecent Photographic Matter Act.
Mr. Thula Nkosi, Mr. Simon Radebe and Mr. Xola Nuse (the latter two having
been detained since March 1975), gave evidence for the State on 24 November
1975, and were granted indemnity. Mr Frank Molobi, cousin of the accused,
refused to give evidence for the State, claiming that it was against his principles to
testify for a State that had shown no dignity nor concern for
oppressed black people. He was sentenced to four months' imprisonment for his refusal but was
granted leave to appeal and R500 bail. He was later charged with attempting to
defeat the ends of justice. He failed to appear in court on 25 February 1976 to
answer the charges.
Mr. Victor Selanto was called as a State witness and when the State objected that
his evidence conflicted with the sworn statement he had given whilst in detention,
Mr. Selanto alleged that the statement was obtained under duress. Mr. - Selanto
alleged that he had been assaulted whilst in detention and that he had received
medical treatment at Randfontein hospital. His evidence was not proceeded with
and he was taken back into detention.
Mr. Eric Molobi gave evidence in his own defence. Judgment was given on 24
November 1975 and he was found guilty on two counts under the Terrorism Act:
distributing the pamphlet and inciting others to undergo military training.
Sentencing Mr. Molobi Mr. Justice Heimstra said he would impose the mandatory
minimum sentence of five years on each of the counts but that the sentences
would run concurrently. Leave to appeal was granted.
Pheto Trial
Mr. Molefe Pheto (40), a teacher by profession, was detained in March 1975. He
was the organiser of an Artist Drama Group called "Mdali". On 20 November
1975 he was charged under the Terrorism Act and was alleged by the State to
have helped Clarence Hamilton to leave South Africa while the latter was on bail. The case was postponed to 10 December. After a trial lasting one day Mr. Pheto was acquitted.

He instituted legal action against the police for allegedly assaulting him during his detention of 265 days.

**Tshabalala Trial**

Mr. Petrus Tshabalala (25) was detained in November 1975. On 26 February he appeared in the Rand Supreme Court, charged under the Terrorism Act alternatively the Suppression of Communism Act. When the trial began on 8 March the State alleged that he had influenced two men, Mr. Lungisani Madiya (19) and Mr. Peter Mahlangu (23), who had been detained with him at a border post between SA and Botswana, to undergo military training in order to endanger law and order in SA.

**A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976**

Mr. Madiya, Mr. Mahlangu, Mr. Dumi Mthirmkhulu and Mr. Anthony Msezane gave evidence for the State. Mr. Justice Steyn agreed with the defence's submission that there was no strong evidence against Mr. Tshabalala, who was acquitted on 11 March. After his acquittal, Mr. Tshabalala instructed his attorney to sue the Minister of Justice for damages arising from alleged assaults by the Security Police while he was in detention. Captain Cronwright of the Security Police admitted in court during the trial that he had learnt that Mr. Tshabalala had been in the Klerksdorp Hospital for 12 days during his detention. During his evidence Mr. Madiya, too, claimed that he had been assaulted by the police.

**Trevor Bloem**

Trevor Bloem (21) of Noordgezicht Coloured Township was detained in February 1975. In November 1975 he was granted bail of R500. Until then he had been held incommunicado detention. He appeared in the Rand Supreme Court on 16 February 1976 charged under the Terrorism Act, alternatively under the Suppression of Communism Act, the Customs and Excise Act, and the Obscene Photographs Act.

He pleaded guilty to being in possession of two volumes of Sechaba (a banned periodical) and to escaping from custody, but pleaded not guilty to all the other charges. The prosecution alleged that between June 1974 and February 1975 Mr. Bloem conspired with other persons to leave the country in order to enable them to obtain military training, and training in political science, economy, philosophy, urban guerrilla warfare and terrorism and subversion. It was alleged further that he conspired with others to re-enter the Republic after completion of training and to organise or form trade unions or to politicise the masses, provoke unrest, organise strikes, commit acts of sabotage or, if necessary to fight the SA authorities.

Mr. Raymond Anthony Burgers and Mr. Patrick McGluwa, called as State witnesses and alleged by the State to be co-conspirators, refused to give evidence at the start of the trial. Mr. McGluwa alleged that he had been subjected to brutality while in detention and denied the accuracy of his statement to the police: "I was told what to say which was contrary to my knowledge. The contents of my
statement are the thoughts of the security police." Mr. Burgers and Mr. McGluwa had been held in detention since February 1975. They were committed to 10 days' imprisonment by Mr. Justice Theron for refusing to give evidence. They reappeared in court on 20 February and were sentenced to a further twelve months' imprisonment when they again refused to give evidence against Mr. Bloem. The trial was postponed until 26 February. On the following day Mr. Bloem was acquitted on the Terrorism Act charge but found guilty on three other charges. He was sentenced to six months' imprisonment, suspended for three

TRIALS UNDER SECURITY LAWS

years, for escaping from custody and was fined R500 for being in possession of Sechaba and pornographic playing cards. Mr. Justice Theron found that the State had not proved its case against Mr. Bloem on the Terrorism Act charge or the first alternative under this Act. The State abandoned the charge under the Suppression of Communism Act.

Hamilton, Wymers and Ramrock Trial

Three supporters of AFRO (.the anti-collaboration front), Mr. Christopher Wymers, Mr. Weizman Hamilton, and Mr. Johnny Ramrock, all detained in February 1975, appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on 20 November 1975, charged under the Terrorism Act, alternatively the Suppression of Communism Act. They were alleged to have conspired with certain people and organisations, listed in the indictment, with the aim of bringing about political, social and economic change in the country by violent means. They were granted bail of R500 each and the case was remanded until 15 March 1976. On this date the State drew the charges and Mr. Justice Irving Steyn pronounced the three to be free men. They were immediately redetained by Security Police under the Terrorism Act. It was later reported that Major General Geldenhuys, the Chief of Security Police, had indicated that other charges against them were being investigated.

Mr. Ramrock was held in detention for two months and when he was released in May he was served with a banning order.

At the end of June the other two were banned in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act from attending meetings for five years. On 7 July it was reported that the three men had left South Africa and were living in self-imposed exile in Botswana.

Grahamstown Terrorism Act Trial

Five men appeared in an East London court on 11 May, charged under the Terrorism Act. The accused, Mr. Sotomela Ndukwana (19), Mr. Vuyo Jack (20), Mr. Phumelele Sizani (22), Mr. Ngocola Hempe (19) and Mr. Goodwin Mda (19), were all members of the South African Students' Movement and students at Healdtown High School, Fort Beaufort. Mr. Ndukwana and Mr. Jack had been held in detention since October 1975. Various other students from the Healdtown school, possibly including the other accused, had been detained during February 1976. The men were remanded in custody to appear in the Grahamstown Supreme Court on 3 June. The five, accused on four counts under the Terrorism Act, were alleged to have attempted or planned to leave the Republic during 1975, to
undergo military training, and to have incited others to do the same. All five pleaded not guilty.
The first State witness, Mr. Vuyo Baleni of Port Elizabeth, I Post, 7 July.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
stated during cross examination on 4 June that he had tried to cut his wrists and arms with a razor blade and had been ill during February and May whilst at Fort Glamorgan Prison in East London. He claimed that he had repeatedly asked for medication for his nerves and was given some tablets by the warders. On 7 June, Mr. Baleni stood down as a witness and was admitted to the Fort England Mental Hospital for observation. Dr. A. J. L. Pentz, the medical superintendent of the hospital, told the court that he had examined the State witness and that he appeared to be in a "disturbed state of mind". The judge refused a request by the defence to adjourn the trial for a few days until Mr. Baleni's condition could be clarified. The following day, 8 June, Mr. Andile Ngaki was called as a witness and was remanded in custody under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. Mr. Tembani Pantsi, another Healdtown student who had been detained since October 1975, refused to give evidence when called as a State witness. As a result, the judge, Mr. Acting Justice Stewart, sentenced him to imprisonment for one month, plus a further 10 days for contempt of court because Mr. Pantsi had made a Black Power salute in court.
The next witness, Mr. Don Qupe, also refused to give evidence despite warnings of imprisonment under the Criminal Procedure Act. He was also sentenced to one month's imprisonment. On the following day Mr. Qupe elected to give evidence and the judge remitted his sentence. Mr. Qupe said that the coldness of his prison cell had made him change his mind. He also alleged, during his evidence, that members of the Security Police slapped his face and hit him in the stomach during questioning in East London. It is believed that by November 1976 Mr. Qupe was still detained under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. Mr. Ngaki appeared as a witness. He claimed that he had been in detention since 31 December, 1975. He alleged that, while being cross examined by the defence counsel, he had been threatened a few times by a White policeman and was afraid the latter would hit him. He had made four different statements to the police.
Dr. Pentz of the Fort England Mental Hospital reported on 9 June that he had again seen Mr. Baleni who had gone into a psychotic state, ripped off most of his clothes and needed psychiatric treatment. On 18 June Mr. Tamsanqa Nyati (20) gave State evidence, part of which was ruled inadmissible by the judge. He gave other evidence relating to the alleged routes to be used by the accused to go to Mozambique and Tanzania. On 21 June Mr. Wilberforce Sinxoi (20), a Healdtown student, who claimed to have been in detention since 2 January 1976, gave evidence for the State. Mr. Monwalsi Yako, Mr. Tosamile Billie (19), Mr. David Faas (19), who had all been detained in January or February 1976, gave State evidence relating to contact they had had with the accused and SASM while studying. Mr. Billie said under cross examination that many students at Healdtown during 1975
TRIALS UNDER SECURITY LAWS

felt that if they could get better education abroad, they would do so. There was
general dissatisfaction with Bantu Education.

On 28 June a former 5-year political prisoner, Mr. Z. A. Marawu (42) of East
London, was called as a State witness. Before he commenced his evidence the
judge warned him that he was being regarded by the State as an accomplice on
one of the charges. He was told that if he gave satisfactory evidence,
incriminating statements he had made would not be held against him. The witness
was alleged to have been an ANC contact who had said that three of the accused
who were trying to get means to leave the country for military training had
approached him for help. Two parents of the accused were called to give evidence
for the State relating to the disappearance of their sons. Because they felt that they
would be compromised by giving evidence against their children, the defence
admitted as evidence statements they had made to the police. The trial was
adjourned to 30 August.

During the adjournment Mr. Tembeni, the attorney acting for the five accused,
was detained under the Internal Security Act. Mr. M. Nettleton was asked by the
Cape Law Society to supervise Mr. Tembeni's practice.

When the trial resumed Dr. D. F. Anderson, superintendent of the Tower mental
hospital, was called by the State to report on Mr. Vuyo Baleni. Dr. Anderson said
that he had "certified" Mr. Baleni whom he classified as a hysteric, not always
fully responsible for his actions. Questioned by the defence, Dr. Anderson said
that in detention affinities built up between detainees and interrogators and
detainees became suggestible. The fact that Mr. Baleni was unwilling to give
evidence against his former friends but had been required to do so could have led
to a mental breakdown, he said. Asked by Mr. Justice Stewart to what extent
reliance could be placed by the court on Mr. Baleni's evidence, Dr. Anderson said
if Mr. Baleni did not appear normal in court he would question the reliability of
the evidence. Mr. Kies for the defence then asked: "To what extent can we then
place reliance on the evidence of other witnesses who have not broken down, but
were in solitary confinement?" Dr. Anderson said if the mode of giving evidence
was like that of a normal witness it should be reliable.

Sgt. H. P. Nicholson of the East London security police who gave State evidence,
denied several allegations that he had assaulted some of the accused or threatened
them.

The trial was further adjourned to 7 September. The accused gave evidence in
their own defence. Mr. Sizani, Mr. Hempe and Mr. Mda all maintained that they
had been primarily concerned with advancing their education overseas. They
stated that it was contrary to SASM policy to leave the country for any reason,
and their proposal to leave had been opposed by SASM officials.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

The accused claimed that Mr. Stanley Gqajela, also a Healdtown student, had
persuaded them to study overseas.
On 23 September all five were found guilty of influencing each other and others to undergo military training. On this charge they were each sentenced to the minimum of five years. Mr. Ndukwana, Mr. Jack and Mr. Mda were each sentenced to an additional five years, Jack and Mda to serve their sentences concurrently, and Ndukwana to serve his two terms consecutively.

Second Grahamstown Terrorism Act Trial

On 22 September, Mr. Christopher Faku, 20, and Mr. Mthatheleli Gaba, 20, appeared in the Grahamstown Supreme Court on two counts under the Terrorism Act. They were charged with attempting to undergo training which could be of use to a person intending to endanger the maintenance of law and order and with inciting others also to undergo military training. Mr. Phumelele Faku, an alleged accomplice, gave evidence for the State, describing a trip to Johannesburg with the accused and others. The accused were alleged to have gone on to Mafeking in order to enter Botswana. Other State witnesses alleged that the accused had attempted to recruit them for military training.

Mr. Coetzee, who appeared for the accused at the request of the Legal Aid Society, did not call any witnesses, nor upon the accused to give evidence in their defence. On 24 September Mr. Justice Smalberger passed sentence. Both accused were sentenced to five years' jail for attempting to go to Botswana to undergo military training. Mr. Faku was also found guilty on the charge of inciting others to undergo training and sentenced to a further five years' imprisonment on this count. The judge ordered that four years of this sentence should run concurrently with the first sentence. He ordered that Mr. Michael Faku be granted immunity from prosecution. In passing sentence on Mr. Gaba, the judge said he had played a minor role in the "inept, ill-prepared and ill-considered attempt." "I consider five years' imprisonment to be a severe penalty and, were it in my power, I would have imposed a lesser sentence or suspended a large proportion of the five years. I am obliged to give effect to the law even though I am unhappy that my discretion should be fettered to the extent that it is," the judge said. The judge said that in the case of Mr. Faku he was compelled by law to impose the minimum of five years' jail on each of the two counts. However, ten years in jail would be a sentence disproportionate to the seriousness of the offence, concluded Justice Smalberger.

Rabkins and Cronin Trial

Dr. David Rabkin, a sub-editor on the Argus newspaper Mrs. Rabkin and Mr. Jeremy Cronin, a lecturer in politics, science at the University of Cape Town, were all detained or

TRIALS UNDER SECURITY LAWS

28 July in terms of the Terrorism Act. Mrs. Rabkin was pregnant at the time of her detention and because both she and her husband were British subjects, official approaches were made by the British government, calling for her release or charge. British envoys in South Africa were allowed to visit her in detention. On 13 August Mrs. Rabkin was released on R20 000 bail. On 7 September all three were charged under the Terrorism Act and the Internal Security Act. They were alleged to have conspired with one another and with members or active supporters
of the Communist Party of South Africa, the African National Congress, Umkhonto We Sizwe and the Pan Africanist Congress and to have furthered the aims of these organisations by preparing or posting 14 pamphlets.

On 22 October Mrs. Rabkin pleaded not guilty of contravening the Terrorism Act but guilty of contravening the Internal Security Act. Dr. Rabkin and Mr. Cronin pleaded guilty to charges under both Acts. While pleading guilty Mr. Cronin said he had not been associated with five of the 14 pamphlets mentioned in the indictment. The prosecution accepted the plea. Various State evidence was led, relating to the preparation and distribution of the pamphlets as well as the alleged workings of the ANC. All three accused declined to give evidence and no defence witnesses were called. On 28 September the accused were convicted. Mr. Cronin and Dr. Rabkin read statements from the dock in which they explained the motives for their actions. Counsel for the defence gave an undertaking that Mrs. Rabkin would leave South Africa immediately if she were not jailed. The prosecutor asked the court to consider the death penalty for the offence because of the seriousness of the case. In delivering sentence Mr. Justice Diemont noted "with compassion" the situation of the families involved. Mrs. Rabkin was sentenced to the statutory minimum one year's imprisonment, 11 months of which were suspended. She would be deported as soon as she completed her sentence. Provision was to be made for her admission to a maternity home, if necessary before her release from prison. Dr. Rabkin received a 10 year sentence and Mr. Cronin seven years' jail.

NUSAS Trial

In December 1975 four NUSAS leaders, Glen Moss, 23, former SRC president at the University of the Witwatersrand, Mr. Charles Nupen, 26, former NUSAS president, Mr. Cedric de Beer, 23, NUSAS national executive member, Mr. Karel Tip, 30, former NUSAS president, as well as Mr. Edward Webster, 33, a sociology lecturer, were detained, charged under the Suppression of Communism Act, and released on bail totalling R7 000. Early in March they were served with a 16-page indictment sheet with one main count and three alternatives under the

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

Suppression of Communism Act and the Unlawful Organisations Act. The indictment detailed ten acts allegedly committed by them during the period between October 1973 and August 1974. They were accused of associating themselves with and conspiring to promote the policies of the SA Communist Party and/or the African National Congress. Most of the allegations arose from a campaign for the release of political prisoners, plans for which were allegedly made at a NUSAS seminar held at an Apple Farm Hostel in the Cape during December 1973. The State alleged that papers were presented which advocated student action towards an egalitarian society, action to effect reorientation of the existing educational system, reform of the university structure, the "catalysation and incitement of Black workers to industrial unrest", and "Black Consciousness" as a means of change.
An editorial in the Rand Daily Mail on 12 March claimed that the approaching trial had "serious implications" and that it struck "at the roots of working for change in this country".

The State opened its case on 2 April and Mr. B. Hlapane, an ex-ANC and SA Communist Party member, gave evidence. The defence lawyers had difficulty in obtaining permission to interview three Robben Island prisoners in order to obtain information to assist with their cross-questioning of Mr. Hlapane. After at first refusing, the Department of Prisons eventually permitted the interview.

Other State witnesses included Sergeant G. Horak who had acted as a police spy at the University of the Witwatersrand, and Mr. H. Reyneke, a past student of Natal University in Pietermaritzburg who had acted as a police informer while at the university. The latter admitted that the Security Police had typed out his reports for him and sometimes altered them. Professor A. H. Murray, formerly of the University of Cape Town, the State's expert witness on communism and terrorism, gave evidence relating to various documents. In July Lt. Derek Brune of the Security Branch was called by the State and he told the court that he had worked for the police before and during his career at the University of the Witwatersrand. He had served on the Students' Representative Council of that university for two years and he gave evidence relating to the activities of the Council. The State closed its case on 2 August.

On 9 August an application was made for the discharge of Mr. Webster on the grounds that he had no substantial connection with NUSAS. The application was refused.

Various witnesses, including Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, Director of Institute for Social Research at the University of Natal, Ms. L. Platzky, former SRC president at the University of Cape Town, and Sir Richard Luyt, principal at the same university, gave evidence for the defence. The Defence closed its case on 13 September. On 2 December the presiding magistrate, Mr. Steyn, acquitted the accused on all the charges against them. The State had failed to prove any offences in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act, he said. There had been no evidence that the accused men had had the ANC or the Communist Party in mind when working for change in the country. The campaign to release political prisoners could not have reasonably resulted in the actual release of the prisoners and therefore the existence of a conspiracy among the men became academic, he said.

**Trials Under Security Laws**

Mr. Steyn, acquitted the accused on all the charges against them. The State had failed to prove any offences in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act, he said. There had been no evidence that the accused men had had the ANC or the Communist Party in mind when working for change in the country. The campaign to release political prisoners could not have reasonably resulted in the actual release of the prisoners and therefore the existence of a conspiracy among the men became academic, he said.

**Variava and Khuzwayo Case**

Mr. Sadecque Variava, a Johannesburg teacher, detained towards the end of 1974, was originally one of the 11 accused in the SASO/BPC trial. At the end of June 1975 he was issued with a separate indictment. He was granted bail of R5 000 after nine months in detention. Mrs. Nomsisi Khuzwayo was detained in Durban in November 1975. She was charged under the Terrorism Act and released on R2 000 bail. She subsequently appeared in court with Mr. Variava. The case was
remanded on various occasions. The trial date was finally arranged for November 1976.

"Turfloop" Terrorism Act Trial
During May several students and teachers, some from the University of the North ("Turfloop"), were detained under the Terrorism Act. On 25 October charges in terms of the Act were laid against four of the detainees: Mr. Sibusiso Ndebele, a former teacher at the University of Swaziland, Mr. Tintswalo Mashamba, a philosophy lecturer at the University of the North, Mrs. Joyce Mashamba, a library assistant at this university and Mr. Percy Tshabalala, a Newcastle high school teacher.

The four were charged with participating in terroristic activities with the intent of furthering the objects and policy of the ANC and thus endangering the maintenance of law and order in the Republic of South Africa and/or portions thereof. The State alleged that the acts were committed during the period August 1975 to May 1976. Mr. Ndebele was alleged to have recruited ten persons to become members or supporters of the ANC and to have encouraged others to gather strategic information on SA to be used by the ANC. Mr. Mashamba was alleged to have made certain pamphlets available to Mr. Obed Tshukudu (also held in detention since May). The case was transferred to a Randburg Special Court where the State opened its case on 30 November.

Benjamin Louw
A student of the University of the Western Cape, Mr. Benjamin Louw (24), was charged in the Johannesburg magistrate's court on 22 September in terms of Terrorism Act. This followed his detention in August, which was his fourth in 18 months. It was alleged that between September and October 1975 Mr. Louw assisted people to leave the Republic for terrorist training. The case was remanded. On 5 November charges against Mr. Louw were withdrawn and he was released from detention.

Transkei Trial
On 20 October five young men, Mr. Dumisa Ntsebeza (27), Mr. Lungisile Ntsebeza (22), Mr. M. Silinga, Mr. M. Goniwe (30) and Mr. M. Mgobizi (22) were charged in the Umtata High Court under the Suppression of Communism Act. According to the indictment, between January 1974 and June 1976 the accused set up secret Marxist cells in the Transkei, received money for this and established a poultry farm at Cala to raise further funds for their purpose. Bail was refused. On 15 November defence counsel applied for a postponement until the next session of the Supreme Court because he was totally unprepared for the case. Chief Justice Munnik refused the application. On 22 November the five pleaded not guilty and State evidence was led.

Holiday Trial
Mr. Anthony Holiday (35), a journalist, was detained on 27 July. On 15 November charges were brought against him in the Pretoria Supreme Court, relating mainly to the publication and distribution of pamphlets promoting the objects and policies of the African National Congress and the SA Communist
Party. Mr. Holiday was alleged, between September 1969 and July 1975, to have recruited Mr. Harry Mashabela, a reporter for the Star newspaper, Mr. Patrick Weech, a Rand Daily Mail sub-editor and Miss Rosemary Arnold, a former librarian for S.A. Associated Newspapers, and to have established an underground ANC or SACP cell. The State alleged that he leased an office in which he prepared the pamphlets, that he received financial aid from either the ANC or SACP, that he consented to undergo training in subversive activities in England in 1969 and that he had trained those he recruited in counter surveillance measures. At the start of the trial, defence counsel alleged that Mr. Holiday was assaulted during two days of interrogation after his arrest in Cape Town. Investigating officer, Captain Fourie, denied this allegation. Mr. Weech and Mr. Mashabela, who were detained at the same time as Mr. Holiday, both gave evidence regarding their contact with the accused. When Mr. Mashabela was called to the witness stand, counsel notified the court that he had been instructed by Mr. Mashabela's mother to represent him. Mr. Justice Davidson overruled State objections that the counsel needed the Attorney-General's permission to consult the witness. However Mr. Mashabela declined to have representation. Both Mr. Mashabela and Mr. Weech were released from detention after giving evidence, although the former was subsequently re-detained for a short while.

At the completion of State evidence, counsel for the defence conceded that Mr. Holiday was guilty of producing twelve pamphlets. However he asked the court to amend the first Terrorism Act count to read that Mr. Holiday had committed the offence between October 1970 and November 1972. Counsel rejected the State submission that it had proved Mr. Holiday guilty of the other six acts of terrorism. Mr. Justice Davidson found Mr. Holiday guilty of producing and distributing the pamphlets, of recruiting people and of receiving financial assistance from the ANC. However he found there was no evidence of the accused receiving training in subversive activities while in London or that he had established a secret ANC or SACP cell in Johannesburg.

Mr. Holiday made a statement from the dock before sentence, in which he gave an account of his motivation and spoke of injustices in South Africa which he found reprehensible. He also described assaults inflicted on him during his detention and various threats made by his interrogators. The judge told Mr. Holiday it was extremely painful for him to have to pass sentence. Mr. Holiday was sentenced to six years' imprisonment.

Pietermaritzburg Trial

Towards the end of 1975 about 50 people were detained in various parts of Natal under the Terrorism Act. On 14 May ten of the detainees appeared briefly in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court on counts in terms of the Terrorism Act. They were: Mr. Harry Gwala (55), Mr. William Khanyile (40), Mr. Zakhele Mdlalose (51), Mr. Joseph Nduli (35), Mr. Cleopas Ndhlovu (42), Mr. Anton Xaba (42), Mr. John Nene (32), Mr. Vusimusi Magubane (32), Mr. Matthews Meyiwa (51) and Mr. Azaria Ndebele
The State alleged that the men were all members or active supporters of the ANC, and that they had recruited others to undergo training of a military or political nature outside SA to assist in the overthrow of the Government by violence. Mr. Nduli was alleged to have undergone training overseas.

On 2 July, before the trial was due to commence, Mr. Nduli and Mr. Ndlovu sought a rule nisi before Mr. Justice Van Heerden whereby the Ministers of Police, Justice, Prisons, Interior and Foreign Affairs would have been ordered to allow the two men to return to Swaziland because, they alleged, they had been kidnapped by the S.A. Police from that country. They also alleged that they had been tortured by the police. In responding affidavits, the police denied the allegations. Subsequently, documents were issued on both men under the Internal Security Act in terms of which they could not be released until they had been sentenced or acquitted. The Swaziland Government made it known that it would demand the immediate return of the two men if their kidnapping claim proved true.

On 9 July the court ruled that it had jurisdiction to try the men even if they had been arrested on Swaziland soil. When the trial commenced Mr. Nduli and Mr. Ndhlolvo appealed against the jurisdiction of the Court. The other eight pleaded not guilty to the charges. The State brought forward numerous witnesses who had been detained in terms of the Terrorism Act.

In September six of the accused sent letters to the Minister of Police demanding R40 000 damages, claiming that they had been assaulted, subjected to torture and electric shocks and sworn at by members of the Security Police. The case proceeded during October. During a recess in November the six filed a summons against the Minister of Police in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court, as no damages had been paid. The trial resumed at the end of November.

### TRIALS RELATING TO DISTURBANCES IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE COUNTRY

Following incidents of conflict in different parts of the country, a large number of people, mostly youths, were arrested and brought to trial. Most were charged with public violence or offences in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act. By 30 October the following cases of persons convicted had been reported in the Press:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offence</th>
<th>Adults (18 and over)</th>
<th>Adolescents (under 18 years)</th>
<th>Suspended</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public Violence</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riotous Assemblies</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incitement</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft, Housebreaking, etc.</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A total of 55 people were acquitted or had charges against them withdrawn. The following numbers of people had beer brought to trial, but their cases had not been concluded by the end of October:

**TRIALS UNDER SECURITY LAWS**
- Public violence: 1,632
- Riotous Assemblies Act charges: 736
- Arson and attempted arson: 198
- Sabotage: 32
- Various charges or charges unspecified: 160
- Perjury: 4
- Theft, malicious damage to property, etc: 137
- Intimidation to strike: 16

TOTAL: 2,915

Lawyers and legal experts expressed concern at the high rate of corporal punishment administered to juveniles found guilty of participating in illegal gatherings or other offences related to the disturbances. They argued that very often juveniles did not get a fair chance in court because they were not legally represented. Magistrates seldom delayed the cuts to allow children to appeal, nor were their parents always informed of their right to appeal. Professor Barend van Niekerk of the University of Natal's Department of Law said that this was "not so much a gap in the law as it is a lack of a sense of justice and common sense on the part of many people who apply the law". 1 It was pointed out that youngsters under 21, sentenced to up to ten cuts, almost invariably received the punishment at the end of the same court day, whether or not they decided to appeal against the sentence or the conviction.

In September a sentence of five cuts was imposed on an eight-year-old African child for attending an illegal gathering in Port Elizabeth. Mr. Leonard Masala, Soweto Urban Bantu Councillor, termed the sentence "ridiculous and brutal". Professor John Dugard, head of the law faculty at the University of the Witwatersrand, said that though the punishment was permissible in law it was extraordinarily severe and would probably have serious psychological effects on the child. 2

The Black Social Workers' Association, in a resolution passed at its annual meeting in October, condemned the National Council for Child and Family Welfare for its "deafening silence" on the detention of Black children since 16 June. It noted "with disquiet that no intervention on behalf of the children was available from the Department of Bantu Administration and Development as well as the SA National Council for Mental Health . . ." Mrs. Helen Suzman, justice spokesman for the Progressive Reform Party, condemned the high rate of corporal punishment meted out by the courts. "Severe and brutal sentences of this kind can I Sunday Times, 19 September.

2 Rand Daily Mail, 20 September.
3 Weekend World, 3 October.
only increase the hostility and tension of the present situation and leave a permanent blot on race relations in this country," she said. She termed it "cruel and devastating punishment that leaves permanent physical and mental scars. One wonders whether the magistrates ever paused to consider the repercussions of imposing sentences of this sort. It is barbaric, medieval and revengeful."4

Professor Dugard said that flogging had been universally condemned in the Western world as a "cruel and inhuman" punishment. South Africa was the only country to retain it. He also asked why the legal aid board had not been approached to arrange legal representation for the children.5

A senior policeman announced in September that students held in detention would be allowed to prepare for and write their end of year examinations. He would not reveal how many students this would involve.6

Sabotage and Other Security Trials related to Disturbances
By early December 25 people had been convicted of sabotage charges relating to disturbances in different parts of the country. Of these, 4 had been sentenced to ten or more years' imprisonment, 18 to five years', one to six years' and two to seven years' imprisonment. Thirteen were acquitted of sabotage charges. At the time of writing 74 people were facing charges of sabotage and their cases were proceeding. One person was sentenced to four years' imprisonment for conviction in terms of the Terrorism Act. Five people were facing charges in terms of the Internal Security Act and the Terrorism Act.

4 Weekend World, 3 October.
5 Ibid.
6 Rand Daily Mail, 22 September.

CONTROL OF PUBLICATIONS
On 1 April 1975 the Publications and Entertainments Act 1963, was replaced by the Publications Act, 1974, the provisions of which were described in the 1975 Survey. Accordingly, as from 1 April, the Directorate of Publications and its committee system replaced the Publications Control Board, right of appeal to courts of law was abolished, and the Publications Appeal Board was established.

STATISTICS FOR 19751
To the Board To Committees (Jan.-March) (April-Dec.)
Publications or Objects submitted
by members of the public ... 28 191
in terms of the Customs and Excise Act, 1964 ...... 339 1 039
by publishers .......... 201 182
by the police .......... 32 404
by the Directorate ...... 34
Decided undesirable ........ 315 1 066
Decided not undesirable ...... 247 660
Films examined
By the Board By Committees
rejected ............ ... 38 72
approved unconditionally ... 69 297
approved subject to excisions 24 73
approved subject to excisions and/or age restrictions 114 317
Public entertainments and proposed public entertainments considered
By the Board By Committees
rejected ... .... ... ... 1 4
approved unconditionally ... 4
approved conditionally ... 1 5
Periodicals of which every edition was declared to be undesirable in terms of the Publications Act ...............45
Periodicals or objects the possession of which was prohibited by committees ............ 78
1 Extracted from Reports of Publications Appeal Board, the Directorate of Publications and the Publications Board RP 118/1975.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
Appeals to the Courts until 31 March against decisions of the Board in respect of
Appeal Partially Upheld Rejected Upheld
Publications and objects ... 1
Films .... ... .... ... 8 18
Public entertainments ....... - - 1
Appeals to Publications Appeal Board after 1 April
Prohibition of possession of publications or objects Confirmed ........ 57
set aside ...
The Directorate lodged 19 appeals against decisions that objects or entertainments were not undesirable.
1 decision was confirmed
11 were set aside
7 were under consideration at the end of the year.

MATTERS RELATING TO THE PUBLICATIONS DIRECTORATE
The Minister of the Interior, in reply to a question in the Assembly,2 stated that up to 31 May 1976, the possession of 148 publications had been prohibited in terms of Section 9 (3) of the Publications Act. All these prohibitions had been confirmed by the Appeal Board. Of these prohibitions:
51 were banned in terms of Section 47 (2) a (indecent or obscene or offensive or harmful to public morals);
83 were banned in terms of Section 47 (2) e (prejudicial to
the safety of the State);
14 were banned in terms of two or more sub-sections.
The Minister also gave the names of those comprising the Directorate of
Publications in May: Mr. J. L. Pretorius, director; Professor R. E. Lighton, deputy
director; Mr. J. T. Kruger, Mr. S. F. du Toit and Mrs. M. J. van der Westhuizen,
assistant directors.3 On 31 March the Minister announced the names of 215
people who could be appointed to committees on a regional basis from time to
time by the Directorate of Publications. The lists applied from 1 April until 31
March 1977. The Minister noted "with pleasure" that considerably more English
speaking persons than the previous year had indicated that they were interested in
being included on the lists.4 The people on the lists had been chosen from 450
people who had been willing to serve.
a Assembly 25 May, Hansard 17 col. 1093.
' Star. 1 April.

CONTROL OF PUBLICATIONS
In August a member of a Pretoria committee of publications, Mr. John Price,
resigned because he claimed that his role had been one of merely reading material
for the committee. His comments were referred to the committee which then
made decisions without him. When Mr. Price protested at always being given
basic reading to do and suggested that other committee members also get a turn,
he received no more books to consider. He resigned as a result. 5

CONCERN AMONGST WRITERS AND ARTISTS
Members of the Afrikaans Writers' Guild, at its annual conference in May,
discussed the implications of censorship for Afrikaans writing. It was pointed out
that because of the fear of financial loss suffered from the banning of a book,
regular publishers were unwilling to touch controversial writers. This resulted in a
form of pre-censorship. Mr. Peter Randall, director of Raven Press pointed out
that censorship had cost his publishing firm between R28 000 and R30 000 during
the previous few years. The Guild established a fund to publish on merit, books
which publishers would not risk publishing. The Guild also appointed a
Committee to petition the Minister of Justice to release literary work written by
banned people.'
Professor Guy Butler, head of the English Department at Rhodes University,
speaking at a ceremony at which he received a CNA literary award for 1975,
warned that by depriving Blacks of their own writers to voice their aspirations and
angers, South Africa had left them "dangerously susceptible to foreign
demagogues". I

CENSORSHIP BY LOCAL AUTHORITIES
The Bantu Urban Areas Act, 1945, empowers officials of the Administration
Boards to demand a private viewing of any form of entertainment to determine
whether, in their view, it is suitable for public showing to Africans. During the
year under review, entertainers and artists were reported to be dissatisfied with the
control exercised by the cultural section of the West Rand Bantu Affairs
Administration Board.'
Various plays were banned in different areas in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act (see Section on Prohibition of Gatherings). In August the Department of the Interior prevented the staging of a two-day concert in Pietersburg. No reason was given, although alternative dates were offered to the organisers.  
9 The Newcastle Town Council blocked the staging of the production
1 Star, 3 August.
. Star, 24 May.
7 Star, 9 April.
8 Rand Daily Mail, 13 May.
9 Rand Daily Mail, 3 August.
149

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
"Umabatha" by refusing to allow Whites to attend a performance at the Indian Civic Centre.10

CONTROL OF THE PRESS
The South African Society of Journalists, at its national congress in May, condemned the way in which the South African Press had become "unwilling victims of a conspiracy of silence" by being unable to report what happened in the Angolan war as a result of military censorship. The society said: "As journalists, we insist on the right to public enquiry and public debate on the Angolan war, and we demand to know the facts... The Government has subverted the Press and its role as watchdog of the public interest, and the honesty and integrity of the Press has been brought into question."  
"" The society protested against four main issues: the way in which the South African Press was abused by the State in that only information satisfactory to the Government was released to accredited journalists; the way in which the SABC was on many occasions given preferential treatment over other sections of the Press; the way in which, on occasions, foreign pressmen were given information not available to SA journalists; the way in which SA pressmen were precluded from movement in the war area.

Mr. Kruger, Minister of Justice, speaking in the Assembly in May, warned that "a certain type" of press comment could not be tolerated by the government. Press freedom was a privilege, he said.2
The South African Press Council had an increased number of complaints during the year under review, compared with the previous year. By June the council had held four hearings for cases that had not been resolved through preliminary negotiation. Nine cases were still pending. The Council operates in terms of the 1974 revised Newspapers Press Union's code of conduct.3

In June a disagreement arose between the Minister of Defence, Mr. P. W. Botha, and two Windhoek newspapers, over the reporting of information relating to security force movements in South West Africa (Namibia). The Minister notified the Newspaper Press Union that the provisions of the co-operative agreement between his department and members of the union would with immediate effect no longer apply to the Windhoek Advertiser and the Allgemeine Zeitung. The Minister brought an urgent application before the Judge President, asking for an interdict to prevent further distribution of a particular issue of the Allgemeine
CONTROL OF PUBLICATIONS
termination of the agreement, his newspaper could give its readers more candid,
balanced and objective reports free of "burdensome, bureaucratic nonsense".15
During disturbances in the Witwatersrand area, pressmen were on several
occasions barred from riot-torn areas. In one case in August two newsmen from
the Star were arrested and fined for entering Alexandra Township,
Johannesburg."6
Mr. Peter Magubane, a Rand Daily Mail reporter, was rep
ported to have been
assaulted by police on 10 August in Alexandra. Other pressmen reported to have
been seriously interfered with by the police during the unrest, included Mr. Enoch
Duma of the Sunday Times, Mr. Duma Ndlovu of the World and Mr. Dan
Tleketle of the World."
During the latter half of the year a substantial number of journalists were
detained. (See Section on "Detentions in terms of the Internal Security Act".) The
editor of the World, Mr. Percy Qoboza, in response to the detention of journalists,
stated in September that the situation was leading to serious doubts about press
freedom in South Africa. Mr. Hobday, national president of the S.A. Society of
Journalists, said that the arrests might indicate "a concerted campaign by the
Government to reduce the effectiveness of the press as black journalists have a
greater capacity to report what is happening in black townships".18
Is Rand Daily Mail, 29 June.
10 Star, 10 August.
17 Rand Daily Mail, 11 August
18 Daily Dispatch, 25 September.

GROUP AREAS AND HOUSING FOR THE WHITE, COLOURED, AND
ASIAN PEOPLE
PREVENTION OF ILLEGAL SQUATTING AMENDMENT ACT
No. 92 OF 1976
Terms of the Amendment Act
1. Section 1 of the principal Act of 1951, as amended, provided that (with certain
exceptions):
(a) no person shall enter any land or building without lawful
reason, or remain there, without the permission of the
lawful owner or occupier; and
(b) no person other than an African shall enter any land sel
aside for Africans without lawful reason, or remain there,
without the permission of the responsible authority.
In terms of the 1976 Act, the maximum penalties on conviction of an offence against these provisions were increased, from £25 or three months' imprisonment or both, to R200 or six months or both. Any person convicted of an offence under these provisions who, after conviction, continued to commit the offence, was previously liable to maximum penalties of £1 or seven days' imprisonment or both in respect of every day that he did so. These penalties have been increased to maxima of R100 or seven days or both.

2. Section 3 of the principal Act provided that a court which convicts any person of an offence mentioned above may, in addition to any other penalty inflicted, make an order for the summary ejectment of the person from the land, building, or area concerned, and an order to ensure the demolition of any structures illegally erected on the land by the person concerned.

Three new sub-Sections have been inserted.
(a) The owner or lessee or person in charge of any land is prohibited from erecting or allowing the erection of any building or structure on this land if in terms of any law the local authority's prior approval is necessary but has not been given. If such approval has not been obtained, the owner or lessee may not permit the building or structure to be occupied, nor may he permit the presence therein of persons in circumstances which, in the opinion of the local health authority, may endanger health. If it is proved at a prosecution that persons occupied the building or structure concerned or were present therein in circumstances which might endanger health, it will be deemed that they did so with the consent of the owner or lessee unless the contrary is proved. An owner or lessee convicted of a contravention of these provisions will be liable to maximum penalties of R500 or twelve months or both. Unless the court orders otherwise, the convicted owner must demolish the building or structure concerned at his own expense within seven days of any period allowed for an appeal. If the owner does not do so he will be guilty of a further offence and liable on conviction to maximum penalties of R100 or seven days or both in respect of every day that he thereafter fails to demolish the building or structure. If a building or structure concerned is not demolished by the convicted owner, the local authority of the area may do so and recover the costs from the owner.
(b) The owner of land may without an order of court demolish any building or structure which is erected on his land without his consent, and remove the material from the land. Alternatively, such action may be taken at the expense of the owner by an authorized officer of the relevant local authority, Department of Community Development, Bantu Affairs Administration Board, or Department of Bantu Administration and Development. At least seven days' written notice of intention to demolish a building or structure must be given to the person who erected it or caused it to be erected, if his whereabouts are known.

If it is brought to the notice of an owner of land that a building or structure has been erected on his land without his consent, he must notify the local authority or the Department of Community Development. If he fails to do this he is liable on conviction to maximum penalties or R200 or six months or both.

(c) The Minister of Community Development may declare that any person in a stated area who intends engaging in service a person of a specified population group who will in consequence be brought into the area, must first obtain a certificate from the local authority to the effect that proper housing is available.

The Minister's declaration will be made known by notice in the Gazette and by publication at least once in both official languages in a newspaper circulating in the area concerned.

Any person who acts in conflict with such a declaration will be guilty of an offence and liable, on conviction, to a maximum penalty of R500 or twelve months or both.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

3. Section 4 of the principal Act prohibited the collection of fees in connection with the illegal occupation of land or buildings, and the organisation of such illegal occupation. The maximum penalties on conviction for an offence against this prohibition were previously £100 or twelve months or both, but have been increased to R500 or twelve months or both.

4. (a) Section 6 (1) of the principal Act provided that any local authority may, and if directed by the Minister of Justice or in the case of Africans by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development shall ... establish in the area over which it has jurisdiction an emergency camp for the purpose of the accommodation of homeless persons and may issue regulations, which shall be subject to the approval of the Governor-General, providing for the administration, maintenance, sanitation and health of the said emergency camp, and the control thereof, particularly the control of trading.

The Amendment Act made certain minor changes.
The Department of Community Development was substituted for Justice. The Ministers may designate officers of their Departments to exercise their powers. Besides a local authority, a Bantu Affairs Administration Board may establish an emergency camp. Regulations for such camps will be issued by the Minister concerned (not the local authorities or Boards), and reference to approval by the Governor-General was deleted.

(b) Regulations issued may, inter alia, provide penalties for contravention of their provisions. The maxima of such penalties were increased.

(c) Regulations for emergency camps issued by local authorities prior to the commencement of the new measure will be deemed to have been issued by the appropriate Minister.

5. It was previously an offence to obstruct a police officer or other authorized person in the carrying out of his duties in terms of this Act. The definition of an "authorized person" has been widened in accordance with the provisions described earlier; and it has also been made an offence to obstruct an owner in the carrying out of his obligations under the Act. The maximum penalties on conviction for a contravention of these provisions were increased from £100 or a year or both to R500 or a year or both.

Application of the Bantu (Prohibition of Interdicts) Act

In terms of Proclamations R62/1976 and R83/1976, of 9 April and 14 May respectively, the provisions of the Bantu (Prohibition of Interdicts) Act of 1956 were made applicable to all orders, instructions, notices, or other instruments applicable to Africans.

PREVENTION OF ILLEGAL SQUATTING

that are issued under the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act and relate to emergency camps, the unauthorized erection of structures on private land and the demolition of illegal structures, and the introduction of persons for employment in stated areas if proper housing is not available.

In other words, no court of law may issue an interdict which will have the effect of suspending the execution of such orders.

Parliamentary debate

The Minister

When introducing the Amendment Bill at its Second Reading, the Minister of Community Development said' that surveys by his department had disclosed the following facts:

(a) approximately 21 600 Coloured families in the Cape Peninsula and its environs were squatters or shanty dwellers, and more than 120 000 people were living in these shanties;2

(b) in certain of the concentrations of squatters, about 25 per
cent of the people had come from rural areas;
(c) in the concentrations of squatters that had been surveyed,
more than 60 per cent of the people had previously lived in municipal dwellings
but had moved away as a result of the non-payment of rent or because they could
not or would not accept the responsibility or discipline associated
with the occupation of a dwelling in a proper scheme.
The way of life of the squatters tended to degenerate into a sub-culture or custom
out of which the people were unable to extricate themselves. It was consequently
clear that the provision of housing alone was not the answer, but that control
measures were also necessary. There were unfortunately people who encouraged
squating, leasing land at relatively very high rentals, and failing to provide basic
services, such as water or sanitation. Such squatter camps threatened the safety
and health of the residents, and were also breeding grounds for crime and
vagrancy.
Temporary squatter camps attracted even more squatters, necessitated fruitless
expenditure on the provision of services, and tended to become permanent.
The solution to the squatter problem should be tackled in two ways, the Minister
said. The first, and in his opinion the more important, was the provision of an
adequate number of proper dwellings with the necessary services. Secondly, there
had to be strict control over the erection of new squatter huts.
The Minister announced that, of a total of R 112 000 000 which had been placed
at the disposal of the National Housing Fund
1 10 May, Hansard 15 cols. 6346-56.
2 In reply to a question in the Assembly on 5 March (Hansard 6 cots. 470-1) the
Minister gave the number of persons involved as about 108 300.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
for the 1976-7 financial year, more than 60 per cent had been allocated to housing
schemes for Coloured people. He gave information (included later in this chapter)
about housing schemes recently erected or in progress in various centres.
So far as the Cape Peninsula and its environs was concerned, since 1 August
1974, 2675 squatter families had been accommodated in proper houses.7 The
programme was being greatly expedited. The Minister's Department had reached
an agreement with the City Council of Cape Town and the Divisional Councils of
the Cape and Stellenbosch to launch a crash building programme according to
which about 10000 dwelling units for Coloured families would be constructed
annually as soon as the programme got under way. During 1975, in the early
stages of the scheme, 4 546 dwelling units were constructed, a further 4 355 being
under construction at the end of that year.
The department was investigating the provision of ultra-lowcost housing to meet
the needs of the type of squatter who had virtually no income.
About two years previously, the Minister continued, 80 per cent of new houses
completed in the Western Cape had to be set aside for the resettlement by his
department of families displaced under the Group Areas Act. The remaining 20
per cent were used for the purposes of local authorities, that is, clearing shanty
areas, relieving overcrowding, and catering for the growth of the population.
Since then, his department had reduced its quota first to 50 per cent, then in November 1974 to 25 per cent. The remaining 75 per cent would be used for the purposes of local authorities with the proviso that half (i.e. 371 per cent) would be set aside for the accommodation of squatters.

Returning to the Bill, the Minister said that the erection of squatters' huts which had been completed prior to 15 November 1974 would be condoned. But shanties established after that date would have to be demolished.

The Minister indicated that he did not think his department would need to use the punitive powers to be conferred on it. The new legislation would act as a deterrent.

Views of the Opposition

On behalf of the UP, Mr. Lionel Murray moved, as an amendment to the Minister's motion that the Bill be read a second time, "to omit all the words after "That" and to substitute "the order for the Second Reading of the... Bill be discharged and the subject of the Bill be referred to a Select Committee for inquiry and report."

3 In this reply to the question referred to earlier, the Minister said that there had been about 13 375 persons involved.

4 Col. 6372.

PREVENTION OF ILLEGAL SQUATTING

Speaking for the PRP, Mr. René de Villiers moved "to omit all the words after "That" and to substitute "this House declines to pass the Second Reading of the ... Bill because, inter alia
(a) it is purely a punitive measure and contains no positive suggestions for coping with the problem of squatting;
(b) its implementation could severely harm race relations at a time when South Africa can ill afford it;
(c) it removes the restraining hand of the courts in respect of the demolition of squatter settlements.""

In the course of his Second Reading speech, Mr. Murray urged the re-introduction of site and service schemes. Later, at the Committee stage, he moved that people who had obtained employment should be allowed to occupy shanty dwellings until they could find proper accommodation.

Dr. A. L. Boraine (PRP)7 pressed for the improvement of existing camps rather than their demolition. He pointed out that many Coloured people believed the new measure was going to restrict their movement from country areas to towns, introducing influx control for members of their population group. Large numbers were being forced off the land as a result of mechanisation in farming. This matter was again raised by Mrs. Helen Suzman (PRP) at the Committee stage. The Minister admitted9 that the measure would limit the mobility of some Coloured people, but said he did not want people to come to cities if they were going to have to live in misery there. Those who wished to find urban employment could stay temporarily with friends or relatives, then, on securing work, could apply for housing.
Dr. F. van Zyl Slabbert (PRP) pointed out that, in the course of his speech, the Minister had said nothing about African squatters. Little progress was being made with housing for urban Africans: he doubted whether the Government's programme would ever catch up with existing shortages. People who could obtain employment but were unable to find State accommodation should be helped to provide homes for themselves. Mr. Graham McIntosh (UP) asked for an assurance that the Department of Bantu Administration and Development would not use the measure against African squatters such as those at Crossroads (near the DF Malan Airport), many of whom were in the Western Cape legally.

17 March, Hansard 16 col. 6890.
6 Hansard 16 col. 7065-8.
7 Cols. 6418-28.
8 Cols. 7077-81.
Cols. 7081-7.
10 Cols. 6394-6404.
11 Cols. 7235-7.
12 In his speech, Dr. A. L. Boraine estimated that, if Africans were included, the population of squatter camps in and around Cape Town was nearly 200 000.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
Representations by others
Large numbers of organisations and persons objected to the terms of the Bill. The executive committees of the Vrygrond, Lourdes Farm, and Snake Park squatter camps prepared a statement in which they pointed out that the people concerned had not been consulted. Their final paragraph was, "We feel an ignored, unwanted, and shunted about part of the community."

It was pointed out in various Press reports that a squatter whose house was to be demolished could in the past apply to the Supreme Court for an interdict. Squatters who were faced with such a threat had had a measure of success with such applications, thus thwarting the demolition of shacks. It was recalled that on 5 August 1975, Mr. Justice Van Winsen, in confirming an urgent interdict restraining a Bantu Affairs Administration Board from demolishing pondoks, in effect laid down that the breaking down of people's shacks without a court order was illegal. But the new amendments to Section 3 of the Act and the application of the Bantu (Prohibition of Interdicts) Act to orders issued under the Prohibition of Illegal Squatting Act removed the necessity for an owner of land or an official to obtain an order of court.

The Institute of Race Relations issued a Press statement, RR 58/1975, objecting to certain of the provisions of the Bill. It urged that squatters' structures should not be demolished if alternative accommodation was not available.

Raid on an African squatters' camp
Late at night on 2 June, officials of the Peninsula Bantu Administration Board, backed by the police, raided a small African squatters' camp in the Bel-Air area,
in Bellville South. The Press was subsequently told that it was a crime prevention raid prompted by complaints from local residents. The object was to investigate the presence of Africans who were living in the camp illegally. Residents of the Snake Park camp, nearby, were reported to have arrived on the scene and to have attacked with sticks and stones, injuring two officials of the Board. Police reinforcements were summoned, and warning shots fired. About 31 Africans were detained for questioning: some paid admission of guilt fines for pass law violations.'5

Attempt by the Cape Divisional Council to remove squatters
Early in June (Before the new Bill became law) the Cape Divisional Council applied for a court order authorizing the Peninsula Bantu Administration Board or the Council to remove more than 10 000 squatters from the Crossroads camp, transfer them to
13 Rand Daily Mail, 24 May.
14 e.g. Norman West in the Sunday Times Extra, 4 April. 15 Rand Daily Mail, 3 and 4 June; Star, 3 June

PREVENTION OF ILLEGAL SQUATTING
another area, and demolish their shanties. The Council maintained that the health situation at the camp was "critical" and could seriously endanger the health or safety of the public.
This application was refused by the Chief Magistrate of Wynberg. The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act did not, in his opinion, contemplate the removal of so many people at once, he said. It was clear that some of the squatters were legally in the Peninsula area, while others were not. Proper identification of those who should be removed would be impossible, in view of the number of residents. The fact that no alternative accommodation was available was another consideration. He had no power to prescribe an alternative to the eviction of the squatters; but the establishment of an emergency camp might be of assistance as far as the health hazard was concerned.16 On 29 June, Crossroads was declared an emergency camp in terms of the new Act.
In terms of the regulations drafted to govern the camp, each household head had to pay R10 a month for the services provided by the Divisional Council. The services included health inspections, collection of refuse and nightsoil, and provision of communal water taps.'
The Financial Mail reported an estimation that 40 per cent of the men at Crossroads possessed permanent urban residential rights, that another 40 per cent were contract workers who should be accommodated in "bachelor" quarters in the townships, and that 20 per cent were in Cape Town illegally. Most of the women and children at Crossroads were thought to be there illegally
In July the Peninsula Bantu Affairs Administration Board estimated that there were 20 000 squatters in 13 camps of 4 413 pondoks in the Cape Peninsula, most of whom had settled since the beginning of the year. The Director of the Board said that the situation had been aggravated by employers who engaged "illegal" Blacks at a low wage without regard to family, accommodation or food. In March,
224 Cape Town employers were convicted of employing workers in the area illegally.3
Dr. Van Zyl Slabbert, M.P. for Rondebosch, said that not a single additional family housing unit had been built at Nyanga, Langa and Guguletu over the previous two years. This resulted in residents breaking the law out of necessity.4
The Minister of Community Development said in the Assembly that from 1 August 1974 until the end of 1975, 1 873 squatter families consisting of 9 365 persons were provided with residential accommodation in the Divisional Council areas of the Cape and Stellenbosch. In addition 802 families of 4 010 persons were accommodated.16 Rand Daily Mail, 12 June; Star, 25 June.
1 Rand Daily Mail, 30 July.
2 Financial Mail, 2 July.
3 Financial Mail, 9 July.
4 Financial Mail, 2 July.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
modated in the Cape Town City Council area of jurisdiction. The Minister estimated that at the end of 1975, 21 600 Coloured families consisting of about 108 300 people were living as squatters in these areas. The Theron Commission estimated that 30 000 Coloured squatter units existed throughout South Africa.7
Prosecution of Dr. F. van Zyl Slabbert, M.P.
While the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Bill was before Parliament, on behalf of the PRP Dr. Van Zyl Slabbert, M.P., went with the Rev. David Russell and four Press reporters to visit a squatter camp between Nyanga East and Guguletu where shanties were being demolished. An inspector of the Bantu Administration Board found them there and ascertained that with the exception of Mr. Russell none of the party had a permit to be in a proclaimed African area. They were charged with this offence.
Counsel for the defence told the magistrate that he believed it was Dr. Van Zyl Slabbert's function under the country's constitution to investigate all aspects of legislation before Parliament. It was not merely a moral obligation, but an obligation under law on a Member of Parliament.7
Dr. Van Zyl Slabbert was found guilty of entry into the area without a permit, and was cautioned and discharged.

PERSONS DISQUALIFIED IN TERMS OF THE GROUP AREAS ACT
Replying to questions in the Assembly, the Minister of Community Development said that, since the implementation of the Group Areas Act until the end of 1975, the following numbers of people and families had been moved from their homes and resettled in group areas:1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cape</th>
<th>Transvaal</th>
<th>Natal</th>
<th>O.F.S.</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Families</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>811</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons</td>
<td>1 351</td>
<td>1 547</td>
<td>3 000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5 898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families</td>
<td>47061</td>
<td>8694</td>
<td>2018</td>
<td>1061</td>
<td>58834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons</td>
<td>244718</td>
<td>45009</td>
<td>10494</td>
<td>5518</td>
<td>305739</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
During 1975 the following numbers of families and persons were removed from their homes in terms of the Act:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Families</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5 631</td>
<td>677</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By the end of 1975, the following numbers of families and persons were still to be moved from their homes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Families</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**EFFECTS OF GROUP AREAS ACT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Families</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons</td>
<td>29281</td>
<td>3 385</td>
<td></td>
<td>60 788</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

29281 3 385

By the end of 1975, the following numbers of families and persons were still to be moved from their homes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Families</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons</td>
<td>89 340</td>
<td>11 690</td>
<td>642</td>
<td>342 1 266</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

89 340

11 690 60 788

642 3210

342 1 266

57

211

1 930 10036

1 918
The following persons were moved in terms of the Group Areas Act from the end of 1975:

from business premises its implementation until

White ...... Coloured ...... Indian ...... Chinese ......

Cape Transvaal Natal O.F.S. Totals
3 8 10
38 33 11
13'9 668 470
3 - -

O.F.S. Totals
-- 21
-- 82
-- 1277
3

By the end of 1975 the following persons were still due to be moved from business premises:

Cape
... ... 48
... ... 195
... ... 897
... ... 617

Transvaal
48
2 332

Natal
12 4
552

O.F.S. Totals
- 60
- 247
- 3781
- 617
The Minister was asked to indicate the total cost involved in removals from the commencement of the Act to 31 December 1975. He replied as follows:

"Ninety per cent of the families which had to be moved came from depressed and/or slum areas and alternative accommodation would have had to be provided for them. The cost involved in the resettlement of disqualified persons is actually negligible because housing would have had to be provided in any event, and in the exceptional cases where housing which was still habitable has had to be vacated, it has been utilised by families which needed to be housed."

The Minister of Planning said in May that the total extent of group areas thus far proclaimed was 741 818 ha for Whites, 80 756 ha for Coloured people and 36 878 ha for Indians.

In September an Indian and a Coloured person were appointed to the Group Areas Board by the Minister of Planning. They were Mr. I. J. Stober and Mr. R. Moodley.

The Coloured Representative Council passed a motion in September, calling on the Government to repeal the Group Areas Act.

ESTIMATED SHORTAGE OF HOUSING

The Minister gave the following estimated shortage of housing as at the end of 1975, including families who wanted better accommodation than the premises where they currently lived:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cape</td>
<td>2300</td>
<td>45000</td>
<td>1600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>6 500</td>
<td>2100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>1300</td>
<td>5000</td>
<td>16000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.F.S</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>1 300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6700</td>
<td>57800</td>
<td>19700</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The Department of Community Development is not responsible for the housing of Africans. The situation for Africans in various towns is described later.)

In reply to a question in the Assembly the Minister gave the following figures for the numbers of families on waiting lists for economic and sub-economic housing in the major urban areas at the end of 1975:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Sub-Sub-Sub-Economic economic Economic economic Economic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Town</td>
<td>1 540</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>18 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durban</td>
<td>1 750</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>3 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>1 100</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>3 400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>976</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ixiamaritzburg</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Elizabeth</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>5 250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kimberley ... ....41 41 32 - 7
East London 450 220 1 100 510 190 50
Bloemfontein 460 120 800 251 -
7 017 968 33 132 10 871 13 327 4775
6 Assembly 4 May Hansard 14 col. 933.
7 Star, 7 August.
8 Rand Daily Mail, 29 September.
9 Assembly 10 February Hansard 3 col. 148.
10 2 March, Hansard 6 cols. 447-8.

HOUSING
The Minister emphasised the fact that duplication of names on waiting lists occurred because many applicants had their names entered on the lists of both the department and of local authorities. It was therefore difficult to make an accurate estimate from the lists of the number of dwellings required.

DWELLING UNITS PROVIDED IN 1975
During 1975 the following dwelling units were made available by the Department of Community Development and local authorities:11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cape</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>10508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal</td>
<td>2938</td>
<td>1988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.F.S.</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister said in February that at the end of 1975 there were 2 626 dwelling units for Whites, 11 819 for Coloured, and 1 794 for Asians under construction.

There were also large housing schemes which had been approved but for which funds could not be made available at the time.12

The Minister gave the following additional information regarding housing provided by his Department and local authorities during 1975-6:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Houses</td>
<td>8 428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flats</td>
<td>4845</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Estimated number of dwelling units to be provided during 1976 were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15500</td>
<td>5500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Speaking in the Assembly,3 the Minister stated that the following numbers of dwelling units had been financed through the National Housing Fund:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assembly</th>
<th>Hansard 3 col. 148.</th>
<th>12 Ibid.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10 May, Hansard 15 col. 6349.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>3339</td>
<td>8243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>5580</td>
<td>13172</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The 1975 annual report of the Secretary for Community Development stated that during the financial year 1 April 1974 to 31 March 1975 an amount of almost R46-million was spent on Coloured housing compared with about R30-million for the 1973-4 financial year. During the nine months from April to December 1975 about R56-million had been spent.

Speaking in the Assembly in May the Minister announced that the Treasury had approved in principle the use of foreign capital for the provision of housing, on certain conditions, among them that the total amount involved might not annually exceed 10 per cent of the amount appropriated for the Department of Housing, and that if the source of finance wished to undertake the construction work itself, it would have to tender against others on a competitive basis. The Minister said that foreign loans of this nature had been offered and were being considered. However, a R50-million overseas loan offer to finance housing in Durban, mainly for Indian and Coloured people, was rejected in September by the Department of Community Development. Another scheme, in terms of which local builders were to raise foreign loans for priority mass housing projects and the Department was to finance repayments through 10 per cent of its housing budget, was scrapped by the Department in October. It was estimated that about R60-million would have been injected into the scheme over a period of five years. It was reported that the scheme had been rejected as a result of Government concern about the country's financial image in the face of massive overseas borrowings and continued recession.

In July the Department of Community Development scrapped all new State housing projects throughout SA until the start of the next financial year in March 1977, because of a shortage of funds. A spokesman for the Department said that its allocated funds had been used to meet existing contractual commitments. Money could only be supplied for certain urgent development schemes, like Mitchell's Plain and Atlantis housing projects for Coloured people in the Western Cape.

SOME COMMENTS ON THE SHORTAGE OF HOUSING
Mr. L. Murray, UP community development spokesman, commenting on the announcement by the Department in July, 14 RP 48/1976, page 2.
15 10 May Hansard 15 col. 6349.
16 Rand Daily Mail, 3 September.
" Rand Daily Mail, 5 October

EFFECTS OF GROUP AREAS ACT
claimed that the financial situation was a cumulative result of the way in which the Department had been used to implement the Group Areas Act. He cited the example of District Six in Cape Town, where R23-million had been spent to acquire land and demolish buildings, without the land being resold or developed.

In November Senator Eric Winchester (PRP) published a report on Coloured and Indian housing in which he claimed that the Group Areas Act had been the greatest single factor responsible for the housing crisis in the Coloured and Indian
communities. He said that no solution to the problems of housing would ever be found unless it was immediately accepted that no further Group Area removals would be permitted while there was a backlog in housing.

The Minister of Planning and the Environment said in November that within the next 20 years another 20 cities the size of Pretoria would be needed to house the projected population increase. The Minister of Community Development said in September that if the current rate of providing housing could be maintained, the Coloured housing shortage would be eliminated in five to seven years. Houses for Coloured people were provided at the rate of 25 000 a year, he said.

**INCOME LIMITS FOR SUBSIDISED HOUSING**

In his report for the year 1975 the Secretary for Community Development stated that the family income ceilings for subsidised housing had been revised as follows: Sub-economic Housing

White families ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... R200 p.m.
Coloured and Asian families ....................... R100 p.m.

**Economic Housing**

White families without children ... ... ... ... ... R380 p.m.
Families with one or two dependent children .......... R440 p.m.
Families with up to 4 children ... ... ... ... ... R500 p.m.
Families with more than 4 dependent children .......... R540 p.m.
Coloured and Asian families, irrespective of the number of children ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... R400 p.m.

In addition the Minister of Community Development announced in the Assembly in May that the sub-economic income level for Coloured families had been raised from R100 to R200 p.m. to put it on a par with the White income limit.

**EFFECTS OF THE GROUP AREAS ACT ON INDIAN TRADERS**

In the report mentioned above, the Secretary for Community Development said that during 1975, 873 business premises in 31 business centres had been established for Indian concerns displaced as a result of the Act. Questioned in the Senate in June the Minister of Community Development said that a total of 5 078 Indian traders had become disqualified occupants of premises in terms of the Group Areas Act, of whom 1 277 had been resettled and 3 801 remained to be resettled. A total of 27 shopping centres and plazas had been erected by the Department and local authorities, providing 849 shopping units. A total of R24 484 366 had been spent in establishing these shopping units. A further R5 243 562 was to be spent on 238 shopping units currently under construction in 6 different areas. A further 29 shopping centres were under investigation.
Opening the 1976 session of the Coloured Representative Council in September, Senator Marais Viljoen announced the introduction of a series of measures to eliminate discrimination against Coloured and Asian people. Adjustments in Group Areas practices were among the measures. Coloured and Indian traders would be allowed more freedom to trade outside their group areas. General industrial areas would also be open to Coloured and Indian entrepreneurs to establish their industrial undertakings and these areas would not have a "group character". Departments would also give more sympathetic attention to the question of compensation when property was expropriated as a result of group area or other planning.

Coloured and Indian community leaders initially welcomed the commercial freedoms apparently provided by these concessions. Mr. I. F. Mayet of the S.A. Indian Council said that the freedom provided to Coloured and Indian businessmen was a major step in the advance of the Coloured and Indian people towards complete equality. But he appealed to the Government to stop "the wasteful spending of millions of rands . . . on the building of subsidised shopping centres for Indians and Coloureds."

Mr. J. A. Carrim, an executive member of the Indian Council, described the concessions as "virtually meaningless". He was talking after the executive committee met with the Minister of Community Development to obtain clarity on the announcement made by Senator Marais Viljoen. Mr. Carrim said that the Government had only committed itself to reviewing areas which in terms of Section 19 of the Group Areas Act could be used by all race groups subject to the granting of permits. He said that, while the new arrangements might allow Indians access to industrial areas, what they were really interested in was unrestricted access to trading areas in the central business districts of towns and cities.

In October two Indian traders, whose applications to trade in the centre of town had been approved by the Krugersdorp Town Council, were refused permission by the Department of Community Development. Mr. Nanabhai, a member of the Azaadville Indian Consultative Committee, complained that this was directly contrary to Senator Marais Viljoen's statement.

In the 1975 calendar year the Industrial Development Corporation provided financial assistance to 12 Indians to establish manufacturing or service concerns in proclaimed urban Indian group areas and in three industrial areas. A total sum of R1 070 000 was granted, and employment for 1 001 Indians and 35 Africans was estimated to have been created through the grants.

Johannesburg
In reply to a question in the Assembly, the Minister of Community Development gave the following figures for housing provided in the Johannesburg municipal area during 1975:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Houses</th>
<th>Flats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>Coloured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provided by the Department</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provided by the Local Authority</td>
<td>539</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of these dwelling units, 515 houses and 430 flats were built in Eldorado Park. No units were built for Indians. In March the Minister said that 234 economic houses were being constructed in Lenasia (Indian) at a cost of R1 258 319, the first 30 of which were to be completed by 31 March. Tenders for the construction of a further 150 dwellings were to be called for during the first half of 1976. The Johannesburg City Council had become responsible for all services in Lenasia. The Department had granted the Council loans totalling R4 million to provide and maintain tarred streets and storm water drainage in parts of Lenasia. During the year the Council revised plans for a 150 ha park area in Lenasia to include a variety of amenities including four artificial lakes. A hospital and out-patients' clinic were planned to be built in Extension 5 of the township.

1 10 February, Hansard 3 col. 144.
2 18 March, Hansard 8 col. 583.
3 17 January.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

Dr. E. Jammime, director of the Coloured and Asian Division of the Johannesburg City Council, warned in July that with the city's Coloured housing backlog standing at 4 500, a "dreadful" situation was developing. He said that the natural population increase made 700 additional houses for Coloured families necessary in Johannesburg each year, a figure greater than the 600 to 650 units being provided annually. He added that as a result of the huge influx of Coloured people to Johannesburg in search of work, Johannesburg had almost the second largest Coloured population in South Africa. In October the Johannesburg Indian Management Committee set the backlog of Indian homes at 3 500 and calculated that the population growth in the following three years would add another 3 000 home-seekers. The Department of Community Development planned to build only 2 500 houses for Johannesburg's Indian community over this period. In July new Coloured and Indian group areas were proclaimed about 40 km south of Johannesburg to the east of Lenasia. The areas were expected to accommodate Indian and Coloured towns of up to 350 000 people each. The Lenasia Management Committee asked the Johannesburg City Council to incorporate the areas adjoining Lenasia.

In April about 20 Coloured families in Eldorado Park were reported to have been evicted from their homes for failing to pay their rent. Most of the families were allowed to return after settling their arrear rents but complained of the humiliation...
of having their furniture removed. A residents' action committee was formed to protect families from possible further evictions by creating a relief fund to help pay arrear rents.8 In August the Eldorado Park Tenants’ Association petitioned the Department of Community Development against an increase from R26 to R58.61 in the rentals for sub-economic houses in the area. Residents also complained that the houses had no hot water systems, baths, electric stoves or adequate plug facilities and that the houses were badly built with inadequate ventilation, leaking roofs and continually blocked drains.9 Riverlea residents also protested against increases in rents, some of which were doubled. Early in October 200 Coloured people left their dwellings in Kliptown and Klipriviersoog and occupied 30 new houses at Eldorado Park. They claimed that their Kliptown structures had become uninhabitable because of flooding resulting from poor drainage and leaking roofs.10 The Department of Community Development laid a complaint of trespass against the occupants and police warned them to move out by 8 October. By then they had grown in number to 600 and occupied further houses. On 13 October 101 heads of the families involved appeared in the Soweto Magistrate's Court, charged with illegally occupying the houses. The hearing was remanded to 5 November. Dr. Jammine of the Johannesburg City Council said that the council was investigating the possibility of an urban renewal programme for Klipriviersoog.11 On 20 October the Department of Community Development made an urgent application in the Rand Supreme Court for the eviction of 240 of the 600 squatters. On 22 October the Department agreed to postpone its application in order to allow the occupants of the Eldorado houses to arrange their legal defence. In January nearly 200 Indian shopkeepers from Pageview, Johannesburg, due to be removed from this traditional Indian area which had been declared a White group area, were given until 30 June to transfer their businesses to the Johannesburg Oriental Plaza.”” In March the Minister of Community Development refused a further extension of time. He announced in the Assembly that of the 170 traders required to move to the Oriental Plaza by 1 July, 150 had already signed lease agreements.13 In April it was reported that shopkeepers who had not signed a Plaza lease agreement were threatened with eviction by officials of the Department of Community Development.”” In June the Johannesburg City Council estimated that the Oriental Plaza would cost R16.5-million, about R3.2-million more than expected.’"
July, although most of the traders had opened shops at the Oriental Plaza, they had not closed their Pageview shops. On 13 July Department of Community Development officials, supported by police with dogs, evicted two traders. This move met with resistance from traders in the area, who called it an "uncalled-for show of force by the authorities". Subsequently the Department offered the traders free transport to the Plaza for their goods and fittings. By 20 July it was reported that about 30 of the traders had either been evicted or had voluntarily closed their old shops. One trader instructed legal counsel to apply to the Supreme Court for an interdict against the Department of Community Development. On 20 July traders worked out an agreement with the department's legal representatives. Mr. Rashid Jada, chairman of the Pageview Chamber of Commerce, said that it was agreed that those who had left their Pageview shops would not return, that

- 11 Star, 13 October.
- 12 Star, 30 June.
- 13 23 March, Hansard 9 col. 629.
- 14 Star, 8 April.
- 15 Star, 24 June.
- 16 Rand Daily Mail, 14 July.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
the 30 foodshop owners would be allowed to remain as long as Indian people lived in Pageview, and that most of the remaining traders would be able to remain in their old shops until 3 January 1977, but would have to sign agreements that they would leave by that date."

Other Witwatersrand Areas
Early in the year new group areas for Indians were declared adjoining the towns of Nigel, Delmas and Alberton. In June the Minister of Community Development said in the Assembly that a further 5 900 ha would be made available to Coloured people and a further 3 100 to Indians on the Witwatersrand. The Minister said that during 1975, 463 houses had been built for Coloured and Indians in the Witwatersrand area excluding the municipal area of Johannesburg.

In July the St. Antony's technical training centre near Boksburg was notified that within three months it would be required to bar Africans, because it was situated in a Coloured group area.

In August Indian teachers in Krugersdorp were reported to be dissatisfied with a proposed site outside the town on which they were to be resettled. However, they negotiated with the Department of Community Development and the Krugersdorp Town Council and alternative sites were discussed. In October two Indian traders whose applications to trade in the centre of town had been approved by the Krugersdorp Town Council, were refused permission by the Department of Community Development. An Indian doctor was also refused permission to have a consulting room in Krugersdorp.
The report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year 1 July 1974 to 30 June 1975 said that the Pretoria City Council was erecting 400 economic houses in the Laudium township, all of which had been allocated to prospective buyers. On 30 June 1975 there were 800 families on the housing waiting list in this area. According to the Minister of Community Development the following sums were allocated for housing in Pretoria from the National Housing Fund, 1976-7:

R 420 000 for Indians
R 580 000 for Coloured people.
R 1 000 000 for Whites.

17 Star, 21 July.
1 Hansard 21 col. 10178.
2 18 March, Hansard 8 col. 583.
3 Rand Daily Mail, 7 July.
4 Star 5 August.
5 Star, 1 October.
2 Assembly 10 May, Hansard 15 col. 6350.

GROUP AREAS AND HOUSING
Other Transvaal towns
The following group areas were declared in December 1975:
In the Heidelberg district - for Indians
Near Warmbaths - Coloured group area
Near Brits - Coloured group area.
Western Cape
The Minister of Community Development said in the Assembly that during 1975, 4 546 family housing units were built in the Cape Peninsula with assistance from his Department. Of those units, 289 had been used to rehouse people removed from areas zoned as White group areas. He said that in February a further 4 355 dwelling units were in various stages of construction. The Minister stated that R24 500 000 had been appropriated from the 1976-7 National Housing Fund for Coloured housing and R345 000 for White housing in the Cape Town area.2 The Cape Town City Council had requested an amount of R37-million from the Government for Coloured housing projects but the Minister said in March that, due to a shortage of funds, only R15-million was expected to be granted.3 The City Council announced in August that the projected 2 000 houses to be built during the year for Coloured people would be cut to 1 000 because of the shortage of Government funds for housing. During 1977, 4 100 houses would be built instead of the planned 6 000. This figure would be increased in 1978 to 6 488.4 The shortage of housing for Coloured families in the Peninsula at the end of 1975 was estimated to be 38 000.

In reply to a question in the Assembly" the Minister said that since the proclamation of District Six in Cape Town as a White group area, 341 Indian families consisting of about 1 705 persons had been removed. Of these families, 282 had been moved to Rylands and 59 to Cravenby. He said that an additional 136 Indian families consisting of about 680 persons remained to be moved. (Figures for Coloured people have been given in past Surveys.) It was reported in
February that Indian leaders were negotiating with the Minister of Community Development and Indian Affairs to have part of District Six declared an Indian group area. The Minister said in March that 89 White families, 63 Indian, and 120 Coloured families were living in the portion of District Six which was zoned for Coloured occupation. He

1 9 February, Hansard 4 col. 306.
2 Assembly 10 May, Hansard 15 col. 6349.
3 Assembly 2 March, Hansard 6 col. 432.
4 Cave Times, 27 August.
5 Assembly 9 February, Hansard 4 col. 306.
6 31 March, Hansard 10 col. 712.
7 Star, 7 February.
8 Assembly 9 March, Hansard 7 col. 515.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
said that none of the District Six properties acquired by his Department at a total cost of more than R22-million had been sold, but that attention was being given to "positive steps for the sale of properties". He added that the value of all properties held by his Department was worth more than R150-million.9

In March the Department of Community Development announced that private contractors would be able to undertake development for Whites in District Six.1" This discounted speculation that the Government might declare other parts of District Six as Coloured areas.

The first completed section of the R500-million Mitchell's Plain Coloured housing project, situated on 3 200 ha east of Cape Town on the Cape Flats, which was originally intended to accommodate about 250 000 people within ten years, was officially opened by the Prime Minister in March. The project was developed by the Cape Town City Council in conjunction with the Department of Community Development, which provided funds. The scheme included homes and flats to suit varying income levels, intended to provide home-ownership for middleincome Coloured families on a large scale. By July it was reported that about 1 000 houses in the R10 000-R20 000 price range had been sold but that difficulty was being experienced in finding further occupants as most Coloured families could not afford the rentals or repayments. The distance of the project from most workplaces meant greater transportation costs, which most could not afford. The Financial Mail suggested that the money used for Mitchell's Plain could have been equally well spent on upgrading existing council tenancy schemes."

A smaller housing scheme at Atlantis (formerly known as the Mamre Complex) was undertaken by the Department of Community Development in conjunction with the Divisional Council of the Cape.2 During the year the Department sent circulars to Coloured owners of property in Somerset West (which had been declared a White group area) inviting them to sell their properties to the Community Development Board and to buy vacant stands in the Coloured group area at Firgrove.13 The Minister of Community
Development said that the Coloured people remaining at Somerset West had been told that if they sold their houses at a higher price than the basic value as set by the Group Areas Board, they would not have to surrender part of the profit to the Board. They could also sell their houses to the Board at market value and not at the basic value."4 It was reported that 3 000 White inhabitants
9 Assembly 23 March, Hansard 9 col. 646.
10 Star, 31 March.
11 Financial Mail, 23 July.
13 Assembly 24 February, Hansard 5 col. 340.
14 Assembly 18 May, Hansard 16 col. 6967.
172

GROUP AREAS AND HOUSING
,.of Somerset West had signed a petition to the Government, urging that the Coloured community be allowed to stay.'5
Other Cape Areas
The Minister of Community Development said in June that 17 emergency camps had been proclaimed for Coloured persons in the Cape Province, 16 catering for 5 191 persons in the Gordonia magisterial district and one for 430 persons at De Aar. The Minister said that the camps in question were established, almost exclusively along the Orange River "to be able to deal with the highly exceptional conditions which prevailed in very extensive areas."16
In reply to a question in the Assembly 17 the Minister said that in the Port Elizabeth complex the following accommodation had been provided:
Coloured Indian
Low cost and sub-economic ... 7 166 177 Economic ................ 5503 296
Erven for self-help ........ 942 460 Flats ... ... ... ... ... 81 24
The Minister said that amounts of RI 500 000 for Indian and R3 500 000 for Coloured housing in the Port Elizabeth area had been appropriated from the National Housing Fund for 1976-7.i In Uitenhage, the Minister said, 348 Indians were resident in proclaimed Indian areas totalling 14,7 ha.9
During August a three-man committee headed by Mr. Justice Steyn investigated the possible incorporation of East Griqualand into Natal. At the time of writing, the committee had not presented its report.
Durban
In reply to a question in the Assembly, the Minister of Community Development estimated housing shortages in the Durban complex as at 31 December 1975 to be as follows:
White....... 1 100
Coloured ...... 4000 Asian ....... 13 500
During 1975 the following dwellings were made available by the Department and the local authorities:
15 Star, 28 June.
16 Assembly 15 June, Hansard 20 col. 1228. 17 18 March, Hansard 8 col. 584.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

White  Coloured  Asian
Houses ...... 4 18 360
Flats ........... 102 348 306

The Minister said that housing schemes in the area were gaining momentum. On 31 December 1975 there were 116 dwelling units for Whites, 437 for Coloured people, and 1496 for Asians in the course of construction. He added that further large schemes for Asian and Coloured people would be commenced during 1976, as for example, the construction of 602 dwelling units for Coloured people at Mariannhill. The Minister said that in 1976-7, amounts of R6 000 000 for Indian, R1 830 000 for Coloured, and R260 000 for White housing in the Durban area had been appropriated from the National Housing Fund.

In March 500 Indian families living in the Springfield Tintown near the Umgeni were flooded out when the river burst its banks. Twenty people perished in the floods. The Minister of Community Development announced in the Assembly that the affected families were to be rehoused through a relief grant of R2 500 000 from the Treasury.

The Durban City Council planned to provide 94,050 houses at the Phoenix housing scheme for Indians, north of Durban, by the end of the year. Some families from Tintown were resettled in this area. In September it was reported that an additional R8.5-million was to be allocated from Government funds for the city's Black housing programme. Tenders were to be called for the provision of 1,233 houses as part of the Phoenix development scheme.

Other Natal Areas

The report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year July 1974 to June 1975 indicated that the Verulam Town Board had adopted a plan for the erection of 294 sub-economic and economic dwellings for Indians. In Tongaat the construction of 583 units in the town's third housing scheme for Indians was under way. In Ladysmith, 189 sub-economic and 205 economic houses were due for completion by December 1975.

In September the Department of Planning and the Environment announced that the Wyebank area of Kloof would be proclaimed for Indian occupation. It was reported in the Press on 1 November that the Government had decided to withdraw two proclamations issued in 1969, in terms of which Indians and Coloured people living in Zululand were to be concentrated in

GROUP AREAS AND HOUSING
areas south of the Tugela River. The Minister of Planning and the Environment denied the accuracy of this report and said that the Cabinet had merely approved investigations to be made by the Group Areas Board to set aside group areas in the region, which might involve amendment or withdrawal of the proclamations.7

Orange Free State
The Welkom City Council in conjunction with the Department of Community Development was reported to be building 200 houses in the nearby Coloured township of Bronville. The Coloured population was stated to be about 2,500.8

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN GROUP AREAS
Coloured
Replying to a question in the Assembly on 18 May, the Minister of Coloured Relations said that there were then 109 Coloured management committees constituted in the Cape and one in the Transvaal, four Coloured local affairs committees in Natal, seven consultative committees in the Transvaal, and four in the O.F.S.1 He said that all the management committees had both elected and nominated members. Two of the local affairs committees in Durban and Pietermaritzburg had elected members only. The rest had nominated members only.2

A committee of inquiry into the establishment of autonomous local authorities in Coloured group areas, appointed by the Minister of Coloured, Rehoboth and Nama Relations, met in July for the first time.‘ On 1 October seven consultative committees in the Transvaal were reconstituted as management committees, in Pretoria, Barberton, Boksburg, Klerksdorp, Potchefstroom, Standerton, and Vereeniging. It was announced that another 30 Coloured consultative committees in the province would be able to rise automatically to management committee status when they so desired. Communities which had been administered by the Administrator of the Transvaal were transferred to the control of the Coloured Persons’ Representative Council.4

A notice published in the OFS Provincial Gazette in September indicated that all Coloured consultative committees in that province would be converted into management committees, with provision for them to become fully elected bodies.’

The Klerks7 Rand Daily Mail, 5 November.
8 Rand Daily Mat, 3 August.
1 Daily News, 19 September.
2 Daily News, 2 September.
3 Cape Times, 21 July.
4 Star, 13 August.
5 Rand Daily Mail, 13 September.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
dorp Coloured local affairs committee was transformed into a management committee in November.’

In August Mr. Albertus Pop of the Johannesburg Coloured Management Committee called for direct representation of Coloured people on the Johannesburg City Council. He said that all Black residents of Johannesburg
should have "a meaningful say in the administration of the affairs of this city which belongs equally to all of us".7

In April the Durban City Council gave approval for members of Indian and Coloured local affairs committees to sit in at Council committee meetings and full Council meetings. In June it was decided that these members would be free to speak on all matters at the meetings.8 It was reported in September that the Council had proposed that Indian and Coloured representatives should have a formal advisory voice on the Council. The Council was awaiting provincial approval.9 In September, Mr. C. Koekemoer, Durban city councillor, speaking at the University of Natal, called for a multi-racial council in Durban on which Blacks would have direct representation and votes. He called on the Provincial Executive Committee to amend the Local Government Ordinance to make this constitutionally possible.10 The Natal Municipal Association at its annual meeting in October passed a resolution calling for local affairs committees to be led to "absolute autonomy"." A non-racial consultative assembly to include representatives of all the White, Indian and Coloured local authorities in the region was planned for the greater Durban area by the end of the year, according to a member of the Natal Executive Committee. The aim of the assembly would be to co-ordinate development by the various authorities and to ease friction between the races.12

Delegates to the congress of the Association of Management Committees held in Kimberley in July deplored the lack of say by Coloured and Indian communities in municipal affairs.13

Indians
The Minister of Indian Affairs said in the Assembly that as at 6 February, two Indian town boards were constituted in South Africa, in Verulam and Umzinto, and one borough council in Isipingo. There were 17 local affairs committees of which 16 in Natal had elected members only. There were 8 management com-6 with 6

Star, 3 November.
Post, 25 August.
8 Rand Daily Ma.l, 15 June.
9 Daily News, 19 September.
10 Daily News, 2 September.
12 Sunday Times, 26 September.
13 Rand Daily Mail, 2 July.

GROUP AREAS AND HOUSING
mittees of which two in the Transvaal and four in the Cape had elected members only. One management committee in the Cape had both elected and nominated members. There were also 30 consultative committees, all in the Transvaal."4 In March it was reported that Indian community leaders in the Transvaal had formed an Association of Management and Consultative Committees to channel problems of member-bodies to the South African Council and other relevant authorities. The association also intended to combine with the two corresponding bodies in the Cape and Natal to form a national body. In Natal, the provincial
council member for local government, Mr. Derrick Watterson, said in an interview that he was determined that most Indian areas of Durban should have autonomous councils.15 However, Mr. Barry Naidoo, chairman of the Pietermaritzburg Indian Local Affairs Committee, claimed that, except in the larger urban settlements, independent local authorities for Indians were not a practical proposition. He called rather for balanced representation on a single local council by members of all racial groups.6

In June the Westville Town Council adopted unanimously a proposal to allow Indian candidates to stand for election to the council. A referendum on the matter was to be held amongst Westville residents."7

In September the Marburg Rate Payers' and Civic Association rejected autonomy for the Indian area of Marburg and Port Shepstone, as proclaimed by the Natal Province on 1 August. Dr. A. Ganat, chairman of the Association, said that the Indian people had been pioneers in Port Shepstone and Marburg but now they had been "excised from the main areas and ditched to commit economic suicide in the new autonomous area."8

It was reported in October that following the Province's refusal to consider its representations, the Association intended seeking a Supreme Court order setting aside autonomy for the area."

In October the Durban City Council decided to have the new Indian area at Phoenix excised from Durban and to appoint a caretaker town board. Indian leaders in Durban condemned this move towards autonomy as a plan to "foist mini-homelands on to the community." Mr. A. Rajbanzi, S.A. Indian Council member, said that "by giving the Indian areas so-called autonomy" the City Council was "actually seeking to ensure a solid White majority in the multi-racial city government"."

11 February, Hansard 3 col. 184.
Post, 11 September.
1 Natal Witness, 5 June.
1 Rand Daily Mail, 30 June.
Daily News, 13 September.
Daily News, 29 October.
Sunday Tribune, 17 October.

TRANSPORT SERVICES

The following contributions were made by employers to the Bantu Transport Services Account in terms of the Bantu Transport Services Act:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Contributions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1974-5</td>
<td>R6 297 463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 April to 31 December 1975</td>
<td>R5 888 137</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following amounts were paid from the account to subsidise transportation costs for Africans and provide loans to conveyors in areas declared in terms of the Act:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Contributions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1974-5</td>
<td>R6 452 924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 April to 31 December 1975</td>
<td>R5 556 948</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
During the 1976-7 fiscal year, the Department of Transport allocated R27 700 000 for the subsidisation of railway services carrying commuters between Black townships and urban centres.

The Minister of Transport said in the Assembly on 3 March that the special resettlement train fares over certain distances would be abolished and would be aligned with normal suburban third class fares. This would involve an average increase of 10 per cent in these fares.

He later said that according to the estimates for 1975-6, the Government would have had to pay R26.3 million for the resettlement services. He said that despite the abolition of the special fares in some cases, the subsidy would remain unchanged as a result of an increase in costs and other factors.

Speaking in the Assembly, Mr. H. van Rensburg (PRP) raised the question of conditions on the train service between Soweto and Johannesburg. He pointed out that the crime rate on the trains was increasing, that trains were packed and criminals were reported to be assaulting and robbing passengers. Commuters travelling on Fridays were often deprived of their pay packets. He also mentioned incidents in which Whites on trains pelted Black passengers waiting on platforms with water, packaging materials, and similar missiles. Mr. Van Rensburg called on the Minister to ensure that such incidents did not take place.

Transport Services

The Minister, speaking in the budget debate, said that to relieve some of the pressure on Johannesburg station, two additional lines were to be built from Soweto to a new terminal station for Africans east of Braamfontein at a cost of R14.3-million. A railway spokesman later said that part of the twin-line link would be underground and would later serve the Coloured community of Grasmere and Indians at Lenasia.

KwaThema Bus Boycott

On 1 March the Putco bus company increased fares between KwaThema township and nearby Springs from 10c to 15c each way. The increases did not apply to weekly tickets. When Putco took over the service in 1975 the fare had been 6c each way. As a result of the increase thousands of township residents chose to walk the distance of 10 km to work and back and a widespread bus boycott developed in the township.

The KwaThema Advisory Board applied to the Department of Transport to subsidise the bus service in order to allow the increase to be withdrawn. The
Secretary of Transport replied that this was impossible. He said later that if the fare increase was necessary, it would be unwise for Putco to revert to uneconomic fares. He suggested that boycotters might have been "reacting to agitators". On 16 March a three-man Government committee was appointed to investigate the boycott. Professor L. Schlemmer, Director of the Institute for Social Research at Natal University, called on the Government and employers to pay the 20 per cent increase required by Putco. From the end of March, car owners who were transporting passengers to and from KwaThema without the necessary licences were systematically stopped and fined by police.

Speaking in the Assembly on 7 April, Mr. R. Lorimer, PRP spokesman on transport, called on the Government to take urgent action to ease "a highly explosive emotional issue". The Government would have to subsidise fares, he said." By 13 April it was estimated that the bus line had lost about R200 000 as a result of the boycott. A meeting was held between KwaThema leaders and Putco managers. The bus line agreed to introduce new bus stops requested by the leaders, to refund unused weekly tickets if adequate reasons for their non-use were provided, to discuss the relocation of selling points for tickets, and to form a joint transport committee with KwaThema representatives. However, the following day 3 000 residents decided at a mass meeting to continue the boycott until the increase was withdrawn. After further meetings with Putco management and strict police action against non-licenced taxis the boycott began to break on 20 April, although some residents continued to walk during May. The increased fares were maintained.

In June, Putco bus fares on the Witwatersrand and in Pretoria and the Vaal Triangle were all increased by 10 per cent. Although the company required a 20 per cent increase the Government subsidised the fares by only 10 per cent. A new fare structure, involving reductions and increases in different areas, was introduced by Putco in Natal on 28 June. Comment on Transport Mr. J. D. Lloyd, Senior Planning Officer of SA Railways, said at a conference on urban transport, held in Cape Town, that about R125-million would have to be spent annually over 14 years to provide rail links between cities and Black resettlement areas such as Mitchell's Plain near Cape Town. He pointed out that some of the lowest paid workers were housed in resettlement areas at extreme distances from their work. As a result it would not be possible for the services to these areas to be financed from fares, and ever-increasing subsidies therefore seemed inevitable.' Mr. Rupert Lorimer (PRP), speaking in the Assembly, claimed that it was unreasonable to expect the thousands of Black people who
were forced by Government policy to live considerable distances from their places of work, to have to pay the resultant high transportation costs. Mr. J. Driessen, former Secretary for Transport, suggested in November that bus and train services should become racially integrated where feasible in order to reduce costs. He also advocated staggered working hours to ease traffic peak periods. His proposals were welcomed by various civic leaders. Mr. Alf Widman, PRP leader in the Johannesburg City Council, said that his party would desegregate the city's bus service if it won municipal elections in 1977.

19 Putco is the major bus company in these areas. 14 Rand Daily Mail, 16 June. 's Financial Mail, 25 June. 1 Rand Daily Mail, 27 April. 2 Ibid, 4 May. 3 Star, 17 November; Rand Daily Mail, 18 November.

URBAN AFRICAN ADMINISTRATION GOVERNMENT POLICY

The number of registered African workers (excluding those in agriculture, mining and quarrying, all foreign African workers, and the unknown but appreciable number of African workers employed without the requisite registration) was stated by the Minister of Bantu Administration on 30 June 1975 to be 2 854 552. The Bureau for Economic Research re Bantu Development (BENBO) estimated in June that at least 1.2 million Africans were "permanently absent" from the homelands. However, the chairman of the Bantu Affairs Commission, Mr. P. T. C. du Plessis (MP), said at a Press conference, after this figure was published, that Africans were in the urban areas for purposes of labour only. An editorial in the July issue of Volkshandel, official journal of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, called for Blacks in White cities to be allowed a healthy family life, the right to own homes, improved education and training, and better job opportunities. In August the Transvaal Chamber of Industries submitted a memorandum to the Prime Minister calling for changes in government policy towards urban Africans and detailing provisions which discriminate against Africans and which contribute "in no small measure to their feelings of discontent". The Chamber pointed out that "City Blacks see themselves as permanent urban dwellers and not as 'homelanders', and industry needs them on a permanent basis. They should therefore be officially recognised as such". The Chamber recommended that ownership of township land should be transferred from the Bantu Affairs Administration Boards to fully elected Black municipal councils, which would then be able to sell stands to the citizens. The Prime Minister said in October that he completely rejected the view that urban Blacks should be considered separately from homeland Blacks, and ruled out any new political dispensation for urban dwellers. BANTU AFFAIRS ADMINISTRATION BOARDS

Urban African affairs outside the homelands fall under the control of Bantu Affairs Administration Boards, all-White bodies, 22 in number. These Boards are considered by the African urban people to be the direct agents of government policy. The property
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

of the Boards was a consistent target for arsonists and stonethrowers in all areas of unrest during the latter half of the year. The Boards are appointed by, and directly responsible to, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development and his department. Because the Boards are required to be financially self-sufficient and are expected to provide all the services and infrastructure which city councils or peri-urban boards previously had done (in a few cases themselves subsidising the costs), many of the boards have experienced financial difficulties. Increasingly they have become financially dependent on the profits from beer and liquor sales, of which they have virtual monopolies in the townships, and on rentals and rates paid by township dwellers. Consequently significant rent increases have been necessary in some townships during the period under review. Housing shortages exist in most urban areas.

In May, Mr. Sam Moss, MPC, then a member of the West Rand Administration Board, criticised the way in which the Boards were constituted because they were extensions of the Government and would never fight the central authority for money for development. "The Board is constituted to carry out policy and those in top posts will never buck the Government because they owe their positions to it," he said. Sources within the Bantu Administration Department were reported to have admitted that the Boards faced serious problems. Because all urban Black administration had been centralised, public servants in Pretoria tended to equate the needs of an area the size of Soweto with those of a small township in the Northern Cape, it was reported. The Boards were hurried into existence and, particularly in the case of Soweto, inexperienced staff had to fill positions requiring enormous resources. Because the Boards were self-financing, some could not pay the same wages and salaries as the local authorities had done.6 Mr. Moss was dropped from the West Rand Administration Board in June at the end of his three-year term of office. In an interview he again criticised the Board system because all decisions were subject to the approval of the Minister of Bantu Administration, because Africans had no representation on these bodies, and because the Boards were "financially hamstrung".7

During July various meetings took place between certain urban African leaders and the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. On 14 July the Deputy Minister of Bantu Affairs, Mr. Cruywagen, said he was willing to consider greater powers and responsibility for Urban Bantu Councils. He rejected any possibility of Black representation on Bantu Affairs Administration Boards. He said later that change would be considered.

Star, 14 May. I Star. 30 June.

URBAN AFRICAN ADMINISTRATION
in regard to the Boards' sources of revenue (possibly implying that they might receive support from Government funds). The Deputy Minister praised the Boards for executing their duties "in the present climate where they are often reproached for matters which are not their concern".

Mr. J. C. de Villiers, chief director of the West Rand Administration Board, giving evidence before the Cillie Commission of Inquiry, called for the Boards to be given maximum self-determination so that they could make decisions on a local level. He also suggested the creation of a separate department of "Urban Bantu Administration", the maximum use of experienced Black staff on all possible levels of township administration, and the appointment of a commission of inquiry into all facets of urban African administration.

In evidence before the Cillie Commission, the chief director of the Central Orange Free State Bantu Affairs Administration Board, Mr. P. Smit, stated that although the Boards apparently had power, all their actions had to have the approval of the Minister. He said that there was need for the Boards to have increased authority because they had a better understanding of local conditions and the people than the central authorities possessed.

URBAN BANTU COUNCILS
Throughout the year under review, more particularly subsequent to the township disturbances beginning in June, the role played by the various Urban Bantu Councils and Advisory Boards has been debated.

In July the Minister of Justice, Mr. J. Kruger, spoke in favour of urban Blacks having self-government in their urban areas. The Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr. M. C. Botha, announced in August that the Government was planning to give Blacks greater opportunities to control their own affairs in their own residential areas. The director of the West Rand Administration Board, Mr. J. C. de Villiers, said in July that the conferring of real powers of local government on the Soweto Urban Bantu Council had been approved. He stressed that this plan had been drawn up before the Soweto disturbances.

The Government made it clear that although more powers would "probably" be given to Urban Bantu Councils, improved methods of linking urban Blacks to their homelands would have to be found.

8 Star, 14 July; Rand Daily Mail, 31 August.
9 Star, 23 October.
10 Rand Daily Mail, 13 November.
1 Star, 24 July.
2 Star, 7 August.
' Sunday Express, 12 August.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
Black community leaders and Urban Bantu Councillors repeatedly called for the complete abolition of the councils and advisory committees and their replacement by fully representative councils vested with real powers. Councillors had suffered strong criticism and even physical attacks on their property by some of those who regarded them as government stooges. In August, the leader of the Soweto
Progressive Party, Councillor L. Mlonzi, said that the suggested additional powers for a UBC "would not improve a dummy institution . . . it will remain that way no matter the additional powers". He called for Soweto either to become part of Johannesburg with Black Soweto councillors sitting on the Johannesburg council, or for it to be given municipal status. At a meeting between the Cillie Commission and representatives of various East Rand Bantu Councils a spokesman said that young people "call us the Useless Boys' Club and lack confidence in us because they know we have no power".

In September the Prime Minister rejected the possibility of urban Africans participating in an inter-Cabinet Consultative Council, together with Coloured and Indian leaders. He again emphasised the fact that Africans would have to exercise political rights in homelands.

In October, the Soweto Urban Bantu Council voted to call on the Government to grant it municipal status, to do away with township superintendents, to give it control over housing, transport and trading and a direct say in educational matters such as the building of schools and crèches, and to confer on it absolute control over health services and amenities and control of finances.

HOMELAND CITIZENSHIP FOR URBAN AFRICANS
The Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr. M. C. Botha, said in the Assembly in April that preferential treatment would be given in employment contracts, housing, hospitalisation and other matters to those Africans who lived in White areas but who sought a healthy relationship with their homelands. He told the Press later that Africans who did not accept homeland citizenship would be "less welcome" in White areas. The Minister reiterated this concept on various occasions during the year. In August he said that "all Bantu persons in the White area, whether they were born there or not, remain members of their respective nations... the basis on which the Bantu is present in the White area is to sell their labour here and for nothing else.

In October the joint Bantu Advisory Boards of the Port
5 Rand Daily Mail, 18 August.
6 Ibid, 9 September.
I Star, 13 September.
8 Star, 13 October.
9 Daily Dispatch, 29 April; Rand Daily Mail, 21 October. 10 Rand Daily Mail, 21 August.

AFRICAN BUSINESSES IN TOWNS
Elizabeth area proposed that all urban Africans qualifying for urban residential rights should be granted full South African citizenship."

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development issued a statement on 20 October in which he reaffirmed the Government's adherence to a policy of linking all urban Africans to the homelands. "It is irrefutably true and ethnologically correct that each Black nation basically remains one entity even if its people happen to be in their homeland and in the White area of South Africa."

The Minister also said that "Bantu persons in the White areas, even if they are to be there always, remain secondary to the White persons (whose homeland it is), in
the same way as the Whites are secondary to Blacks in the Black homelands'. The Minister did recognise the necessity for urban Africans to "be treated as communities", and to have "the amenities which they require as human beings". He also proposed a system of increased self-government through elected councils and other organisations.

The Minister went on to say that community councils functioning within the areas of Bantu Affairs Administration Boards would have to be linked with the homeland governments by means of representatives or deputies appointed by these governments. The deputies would have power to constitute councils to take care of the interests of the homelands and to strengthen the ties between the homelands and their dispersed people in the White area. The community councils would increasingly be given powers and duties previously held by the Administration Boards, and a well-organised system of traditional disciplinary courts (legotla) would be connected with these councils.

**TRADERS AND PROFESSIONAL PERSONS IN URBAN AREAS**

As described on page 83 of last year's Survey, on 1 May 1975 the Minister announced that restrictions imposed in 1963 and 1969, respectively, on the activities of African traders and of African professional persons in urban areas were to be removed.

The increased freedom of action then foreshadowed was, however, not embodied in revised regulations published in terms of Government Notice R764 of 7 May. These regulations applied to various categories of traders as well as to medical practitioners and attorneys. They laid down that applicants must qualify to remain in the area in terms of Section 10 of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act; that a trader should not carry on more than one business, whether or not of the same type; and that no site should be allotted to any trader who had trading or business interests outside the "Bantu residential area". (These conditions had been in force since 1963.) But the new regulations added that a prior condition for the granting of a business or professional site would be that the applicant, or the partners in the case of partnerships, or the shareholders in the case of a company, should all be in possession of homeland citizenship certificates.

African traders and professional men strongly attacked the Government's move to force them to take out homeland citizenship before they qualified for trading rights. After the regulations had been published, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration announced that African businessmen would be allowed a period of grace of up to a year to obtain their homeland citizenship documents if they could show that, for reasons beyond their control, they could not do so at once. He added that the new regulations would not affect African business or professional men already established in urban areas.
The executive council of the Association of Chambers of Commerce issued a statement on 18 May condemning the new provisions and stating that all businessmen—of whatever races—should ultimately be permitted to participate fully in private enterprise.

On 20 August a delegation from the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce met with the Deputy Minister to discuss matters relating to African business in urban areas. A change in Government policy was announced. Delegates were given an assurance that African businessmen would not, after all, be required to be homeland citizens before they were granted business licences in the urban areas. Businessmen could apply for authority to trade in an increased range of commodities. Those in towns would be able to establish other outlets in the homelands without losing their urban trading rights. The Deputy Minister undertook to investigate the possibility of African businessmen establishing small industries in the urban areas. He undertook to meet with the NAFCOC executive annually and to urge all Administration Boards to co-operate and consult with NAFCOC’s local and regional branches on all matters affecting Black business interests.

HOME OWNERSHIP IN URBAN AREAS ON LEASEHOLD STANDS
In a statement made on 1 May 1975, the Minister said that, from a date to be announced later, restrictions that had been imposed in 1968 on home ownership by Africans in urban townships outside the homelands would be removed. Africans would still not be granted freehold title to land in these areas, but, if they qualified to remain in an area, would again be able to buy houses situated on land belonging to Administration Boards.

HOME OWNERSHIP ON LEASEHOLD STANDS
or to lease vacant plots and build their own homes. Owners would again be able to sell or bequeath their houses to other qualified Africans.

Later, however, on 28 October 1975, the Secretary for Bantu Administration said that those wishing to own houses would first have to become citizens of a homeland. The right of occupation of a stand would be for 30 years which, upon expiry, might be extended for up to another 30 years.

On 27 January the Minister stated in the Assembly that a further condition for the granting of a lease would be that the person concerned rendered services within the area concerned. The Deputy Minister added during February that home ownership would not be allowed in the Cape west of the "Eiselen Line" because that region was regarded by the Government as a preferential area for Coloured employment.

Various organisations, including the Black Sash, warned that the homeland citizenship requirement had serious implications as once an African lost his SA citizenship he lost the limited security allowed to people in terms of Section 10 of the Bantu Urban Areas Act. In July a delegation of urban African leaders...
presented a memorandum to the Deputy Minister, recommending that homeland citizenship should not be a prerequisite for buying houses in urban areas.7

The Minister announced on 13 August that the homeland citizenship proviso had been dropped from the leasehold scheme. The scheme applied to houses already built, as well as to the erection of houses on vacant stands. In the case of existing houses the purchase price would be determined by taking into account the cost of erection and the replacement value of the houses and would be subject to the approval of the Department of Community Development in respect of houses built with Government funds.

Initially it was not clear how the new home leasehold scheme was to be financed and who would receive the money from sales. The Housing Act stipulated that profit from the sale of houses built with funds from the Department of Community Development should flow back to the Department. Administration Boards would thus not be able to use all the profits to fund further houses and services. Building societies could not provide direct loans to Africans with only leasehold rights, but were considering making loans available through the Administration Boards to Africans wanting to build their own homes or to make improvements to their existing houses.9

4 Hansard 1, Question col. 3.
5 Assembly, Hansard 4 col. 247.
6 A line running from the coast a little to the west of Port Elizabeth to the Free State border near Colesburg.
7 World, 26 July.
8 Star, 14 August.
9 Rand Daily Mail, 19 August.

A SURVEY OF IRACE RELATIONS, 1976

The West Rand Administration Board announced that, as from 23 August, Africans in the Board's area of jurisdiction would be able to lease their houses for an indefinite period, and not for only 30 years. Prospective leaseholders would be required to pay a deposit of one-quarter of the price of a house, which was set at its replacement value. The replacement value of the standard four-roomed Soweto house, the 51/6 model, was calculated at R1 300, which meant a deposit of R325. Mr. J. C. de Villiers, chief director of the Board, said that the deposit would be paid into a "revolving fund" which in turn would be used to finance the building of new houses to meet the shortage. Building societies, through the Board, and employers might provide Africans with loans for the required deposit.

Chairman of the Board, Mr. Manie Mulder, said that the Bantu Labour Regulations of 1965, limiting the sum an employer could lend an African employee to R60, would "not be allowed to become a snag". The more than 20 000 houses in Soweto which would be available for immediate sale were houses built from non-state funds, mainly from money made available by the mining houses.10 The Board also announced that widows and divorcees, who had not previously been allowed to rent houses in African townships, would be considered on merit for building or leasing houses under the scheme, if they had permission
from the Commissioner of Bantu Affairs. Various employers announced that they would provide their workers with loans to enable them to take out leases. In September the leasehold scheme had been introduced in the Vaal Triangle area as well as in certain Reef townships but was still not operative in the Central Transvaal area which includes townships around Pretoria. A member of the Krugersdorp Urban Bantu Council criticised the price of R1 300 per house as set by the West Rand Administration Board as being too high for houses in the Krugersdorp area. It was reported that the scheme was not operative in the Cape Midlands or Eastern Cape areas. By October the East Rand Administration Board was not able to clarify conditions for leasehold in its area. On 18 September the West Rand Board announced that it had already received 11 526 inquiries about the leasehold scheme, eleven houses had been leased for cash, and 81 sites had been allocated to residents to build their own homes. The West Rand Board announced in October that people would have to pay cash if they wanted the Board to erect new houses for them on vacant stands. Loans were no longer available.

10 Rand Daily Mail, 21 August.
11 Sunday Times, 22 August.
12 World, 8 September.
13 Rand Daily Mail, 7 September.
14 Daily Dispatch, 1 October.
15 Beeld, 18 September.

HOME OWNERSHIP ON LEASEHOLD STANDS
By November the position of the houses financed by the Department of Community Development had still not been clarified and no houses in that category were available for lease. On 14 November the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development announced that Africans could own their houses "for all time", could sell them and buy other houses, and bequeath their homes to their children. Mr. De Villiers of the West Rand Board said that only in the case of houses bought from the Board, as opposed to those bought from other Africans or built from their own funds, did the Board retain the right to buy the property should it become available within five years of purchase. This was to prevent speculation, he said."

It was announced on 19 November that a group of fifteen leading businessmen, White and Black, were to launch a fund to assist Africans to acquire home ownership and to provide social and educational facilities in urban townships.

HOUSING PROVIDED
The Minister of Community Development said in the Assembly that during 1975, 9 808 houses had been provided for Africans throughout the Republic. He estimated that 10 000 houses would be built during 1976 if funds were available.'8

SOME NOTES ON URBAN AFRICAN ADMINISTRATION West Rand Administration Area
The population and housing situation in its area as at 30 June was set as follows by the West Rand Administration Board:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Families on Housed Hostel Housing</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Population Totals</th>
<th>Units waiting lists</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greater Soweto</td>
<td>604 562</td>
<td>43 6752</td>
<td>648 237 100 662</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>- 9218</td>
<td>9218</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexandra</td>
<td>34018</td>
<td>4720' 38738</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexandra (Coloured population)</td>
<td>5 504</td>
<td>5 504</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kagiso/Mumsieville</td>
<td>33 534</td>
<td>4 860 38 394 5 337</td>
<td>476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohlakeng (Randfontein)</td>
<td>20256</td>
<td>3 276 23 532 3 015</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bekkersdal (Westonaria)</td>
<td>9 455</td>
<td>1 085 10 540 921</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>707329</td>
<td>66834 774163 109935</td>
<td>10888</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Star, 12 November.
17 Sunday Times, 14 November.
18 9 March, Hansard 7 col. 515.
1 Information supplied by Board.
2 Male: 42 889, Female: 786.
3 Male: 2 523, Female: 2 197.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

The Board reported that, during the year 1 July 1975 to 30 June 1976, 575 houses were built in Greater Soweto. The acting director for administration said in October that the average rental throughout the Board area (including house and site rent) was R10,88 per month. An amount of R1,10 was charged monthly for water. It was reported in August that a new standard four-roomed house in Soweto cost R20,95 a month for rent, services and water.

In March the Johannesburg City Council voted to contribute R2,7-million over five years towards housing in Soweto. An initial grant of R200 000 was made to a revolving fund from which people who qualified to buy homes could borrow money to enable them to do so.

Mrs. Helen Suzman (PRP), speaking in the Assembly in April, warned that Soweto and other townships were turning into "gigantic overcrowded slums". She said that as a result of the housing shortage in Soweto, there were, on the average, 14 people living in every house. She suggested that most unofficial estimates of Soweto's population ranged between 1,3 and 1,4 million. She criticised the official estimate as being far too low.

It was estimated in April that 3 050 families still living in Alexandra remained to be removed in accordance with the policy decision that the area should be used entirely for hostel accommodation. During 1975 the Administration Board removed 41 families-1 to homelands and 30 to Klipspruit in Soweto. Sixteen
hostels built by employers, in addition to two large hostel complexes run by the
Administration Board, had been established in Alexandra. The Board also
accommodated some migrant workers in Alexandra houses expropriated from
African landlords. It was reported that some were living ten to a room in these
houses. The Minister of Bantu Administration said in the Assembly in February
that 11,257 men and 177 women in Alexandra lived in "other accommodation" as
distinct from hostels and family housing units. This figure would include those
single persons accommodated in appropriated houses. Community leaders
deplored the bad social conditions in the area resulting from these arrangements.
It was also reported that "temporary" hostels built by employers provided very
little beyond basic shelter with no heating systems or cooling facilities in some
cases.8

Because of the shortage of housing in Soweto, many individuals and families had
become lodgers with housed families. The West Rand Board required a lodger's
fee of R1 to be paid for every non-dependant accommodated in a house. The
Board
* Financial Mail, 29 August.
5 Assembly 28 April, Hansard 13 col. 5536.
6 Star, 20 April.
2 February, Hansard 2 cols. 41-2.
Star, 20 April.

URBAN AFRICAN ADMINISTRATION
budgeted to receive R280,000 in lodgers' fees during the financial year 1976-7.1
This reflected the large number of registered lodgers. In February a dispute arose
when the Soweto Urban Bantu Council accused the township managers of
demanding payment of lodgers' fees by children staying with their parents. The
UBC called on the Board to account for the money and repay it where
necessary."0 The Board's chief director, Mr. J. C. de Villiers, wrote in a letter to
the World newspaper that children under 18 were all regarded as dependants and
not liable to pay lodgers' fees."

During the year WRAB was strongly criticised for its increasing dependence on
the profits of beer and liquor sales for a large portion of its income. An analysis of
the Board's 1976-7 budget showed that of its income, excluding appropriations
for capital expenditure, 20,75% was derived from beer and liquor profits, 22,59%
for the composite levy on employers," and 48,06% from rents and rates paid by
residents.

During the Soweto disturbances students repeatedly used slogans calling for fewer
beershalls and more educational facilities. All of the Board's beer halls and all but
one liquor store were destroyed during the disturbances. Subsequently the Soweto
Students' Council called on residents to stop drinking alcohol as a token of
nourning for those killed and arrested during the disturbances.
Subsequent to the June disturbances, Soweto's murder rate increased by 40 to 50
per cent with as many as 18 people reported murdered on some days. In September
alone, 145 murders were reported.14
Cleansing and health services in Soweto were disrupted by disturbances in June and subsequently were not restored to complete normality. In October Johannesburg's Medical Officer of Health warned that the danger of an epidemic in Soweto was rising day by day because people were not going to the clinics. As a result half the normal cases needing treatment or immunisation were being unattended. It was reported that blocked sewers were overflowing into the streets and germ-carrying flies and dents were breeding by the swarm." Garbage was accumulating in the streets because collection services had been discontinued in some areas. The Soweto Students' Council made an attempt to get students to clean the streets.

WRAB minutes of meeting, 2 April, page 24.
Star, 27 February.
World, 5 June.
Employers are required to pay R1.80 a month for industrial workers housed in the West Rand Board area, R1 for domestics and R0.40 for farm labourers.
Rand Daily Mail, 1 October.
Rand Daily Mail, 7 October.
"Sunday Times, 10 October.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
East Rand Administration Area
Flat rentals were increased in this area in February, entailing a doubling in some cases. The chairman of the East Rand Board said in February that R30-million would be needed over the following six years to provide the necessary accommodation for Africans in his area.

It was reported in August that the Board was planning again to increase house rentals, commencing early in 1977. The East Rand Urban Bantu Council Liaison Committee condemned the proposed increase and deplored the fact that the UBC's had not been consulted. The Board's income had dropped seriously as a result of damages to beerhalls and liquor outlets during the disturbances.

The chief director of the Board, Mr. F. E. Marx, reported in November that the leasehold scheme had not been introduced in the area because the Department of Community Development owned most of the houses.

Central Transvaal Administrative Area
According to the Administration Board, the population of townships in this area was stated in October to be:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Housing</th>
<th>Hostel waiting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atteridgeville</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mamelodi</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brits</td>
<td>4987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warmbaths</td>
<td>2012</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
No new housing units had been built in these townships over the previous five years. However, the Board's chief director reported that houses were being erected at a rate of approximately 1 200 per annum at Mabopane East, to the north of Pretoria, by the Board on behalf of the SA Bantu Trust. Rent and service charges for an average four-roomed house amounted to R11.32. A Bantu Advisory Board had been constituted in each of the townships. It was reported in February that the Board was planning to build single living quarters for 15 000 men and women in Mamelodi. An estimated backlog of accommodation for 30 000 single men and 10 000 single women existed in I Star, 3 February.

2 Rand Daily Mail, 27 January.
3 Ibid, 27 August.
4 Ibid, 5 November.

192

URBAN AFRICAN ADMINISTRATION
February. A hostel scheme for a further 10 000 men was planned for Mabopane.5

Eastern Transvaal Administration Area
The township population was given as follows by the Bantu Affairs Administration Board in October.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Over 18</th>
<th>Under 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelspruit</td>
<td>3 713</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ermelo</td>
<td>2789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barberton</td>
<td>2982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleven other townships</td>
<td>6 680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>16 164</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Families

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Housing Provided on Property</th>
<th>Home</th>
<th>Hostel</th>
<th>Waiting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>of Board Ownership Totals</td>
<td>Population lists</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelspruit</td>
<td>514</td>
<td>514</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ermelo</td>
<td>889</td>
<td>692</td>
<td>1581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barberton</td>
<td>837</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All other townships</td>
<td>2 154</td>
<td>1 146</td>
<td>3 300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>6 391</td>
<td>3 416</td>
<td>13 84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The large housing shortage listed for Nelspruit was a result of the fact that the entire population was due to be removed to a new township called kaNyamazane, where 630 housing units had already been built. An Urban Bantu Council at Ermelo and 9 Bantu Advisory Boards at the other townships had been constituted.

Western Transvaal Administration Area
According to evidence before the Cillie Commission in November there was a waiting list of 1,860 people without houses in the Jouberton township near Klerksdorp. A resident who gave evidence to the Commission said that the acute housing shortage was a major cause of frustration among Africans in the Western Transvaal. The Administration Board for this area did not provide figures for purposes of this Survey.

Northern Transvaal Administration Area
The township population in this area, as given by the Bantu Affairs Administration Board in October, was as follows:
Star, 6 February.
6 Cape Times, 3 November.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 18 years of age</td>
<td>7,116</td>
<td>7,173</td>
<td>14,289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 18 years of age</td>
<td>13,537</td>
<td>7,666</td>
<td>21,203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>20,653</td>
<td>14,839</td>
<td>35,492</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There were 2,852 houses in the area, and 3,046 beds had been provided in hostels. The Board reported that 107 families were on the waiting list for houses. On 1 November a general rent increase of 10% was imposed throughout the area. Subsequently site and house rentals for a four-roomed house ranged from R6.55 to R8.57. The Administration Board reported that 5 Advisory Boards and three "Surveillance Committees" had been constituted in its area of jurisdiction.

Southern Orange Free State Administration Area
The following information was supplied by the Administration Board:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Families</th>
<th>Houses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>On built in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing waiting past</td>
<td>69,723</td>
<td>6,237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hostel</td>
<td>5,104</td>
<td>579</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>2,604</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other 19 townships

Rentals (site and house) for a four-roomed house in the Bloemfontein area ranged from R7.35 (economic) to R9.00. In other areas the rent for a similar house ranged from R4.50 to R6.44.

Central Orange Free State Administration Area
The population in this area was stated to be as follows in November by the Administration Board: Under 18 years Over 18 years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Welkom</td>
<td>7,943</td>
<td>8,123</td>
<td>12,239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Odendaalsrus</td>
<td>3,916</td>
<td>4,140</td>
<td>4,378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>1,754</td>
<td>2,084</td>
<td>2,604</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other 19 townships</td>
<td>15,477</td>
<td>17,442</td>
<td>17,831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>29,090</td>
<td>31,789</td>
<td>38,451</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Welkom</td>
<td>7,943</td>
<td>8,123</td>
<td>12,239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Odendaalsrus</td>
<td>3,916</td>
<td>4,140</td>
<td>4,378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>1,754</td>
<td>2,084</td>
<td>2,604</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other 19 townships</td>
<td>15,477</td>
<td>17,442</td>
<td>17,831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>29,090</td>
<td>31,789</td>
<td>38,451</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6 Cape Times, 3 November.
There were 16,000 family housing units under the jurisdiction of the Board. The Chief Director reported that many prospective house owners had submitted applications to erect their own homes.

Urban African Administration

and that an increasing number of houses were being built. The Departments of Community Development and Bantu Administration had approved new housing schemes in several townships but their materialisation was dependent on the availability of funds. In November 1,356 families were on waiting lists for houses. Over the previous twelve months 183 houses had been erected. A total of 7,550 persons were accommodated in hostels in the area. Three Urban Bantu Councils and 18 Advisory Boards had been constituted.

Northern Orange Free State Administration Area

Statistics for this area, given by the Administration Board in October, were as follows:

Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adult</th>
<th>Under 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kroonstad</td>
<td>11,448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bethlehem</td>
<td>6,609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parys</td>
<td>3,510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other 22 townships</td>
<td>20,444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>42,011</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Housing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kroonstad</th>
<th>Bethlehem</th>
<th>Parys</th>
<th>Other 22 townships</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4,477</td>
<td>3,113</td>
<td>1,550</td>
<td>10,623</td>
<td>19,763</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>607</td>
<td>1,056</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>1,008</td>
<td>2,825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4229</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>3,668</td>
<td>8,672</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Site and house rentals for a four-roomed house in the area ranged from R7.35 to R8.02. Urban Bantu Councils had been constituted at Kroonstad, Bethlehem and Parys, and Bantu Advisory Committees at the other 22 townships. During the year 1975-6, 653 houses were erected.

Northern Cape Administration Area

The Administration Board sent the following information in October:


A Survey of Race Relations, 1976
Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Over</th>
<th>Under</th>
<th>Hostel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Totals</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vryburg 6000 6589 7322 5267 12589 1441 409
Postmasburg 2885 3130 3 105 2910 6015 801 156
Upington 4117 3406 4256 3267 7523 849 360
Other 10 townships 3 4855 5080 5333 4602 9935 2022 160
Totals 17857 18205 20016 16046 36062 5113 1085

The Board reported that 379 families were on waiting lists for houses in its area of jurisdiction. Over the previous year, 330 housing units had been erected. Rentals had been unaltered since 1974. Site and house rentals for a four-roomed house ranged from R7.48 to R9.00, although most structures were 2 or 3 roomed.

Eight Bantu Advisory Boards had been established in the various townships.

Diamond Fields Administration Area
The population of the townships in this area was stated to be as follows by the Administration Board in November:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Under</th>
<th>Over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kimberley .......... 14649 15057 19984 21891 71581 Other 14 townships ... 8976 10054 9819 9829 38678</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals ... 23625 25111 29803 31720 110259</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Board reported that there were 7,169 housing units in Kimberley township and 4,391 in other townships. In Kimberley 597 families were on the waiting list for houses while in the other townships 3,575 families were on waiting lists. A total of 1,492 people were accommodated in six hostels in the area. Twelve Urban Advisory Boards had been constituted. In November De Beers Company handed over 110 family houses in Ipopeng Extension near Kimberley to the Administration Board to be used by the company's African mineworkers. A total of 250 such houses were to be built at a cost of R2.5 million. On 30 November the Administration Board announced that it had decided to "sell" all its houses to residents in the area.

Karoo Administration Area
According to figures provided by the Administration Board in November, the total population in the 22 townships under its administration was 55,885. The total number of housing units within the area was 7,743, and 919 families were on waiting lists for houses. There was no hostel population. Sixteen Bantu Advisory Boards had been constituted in the townships.

Cape Peninsula Administration Area
The Administration Board gave the following information in October:

Population
The Board reported that 10092 family dwellings were available in these
townships and that 37 330 persons were accommodated in hostels. The Minister
of Bantu Administration and Development said in the Assembly in April' that of
the 34 551 males accommodated in Peninsula hostels at that time, 9 072 qualified
for permanent urban residence.2 This reflected the extent to which migrant labour
was used in this region. The Board estimated in October that 1 404 families,
including persons currently accommodated as lodgers, were on waiting lists for
houses. During the previous year no new housing units had been built in the
townships. Advisory Boards had been established at Langa and Nyanga and at
Guguletu. An Urban Bantu Council was to be re-elected early in 1977. Site and
house rentals for a four-roomed house in the area ranged between R8,62 and
R10.17.3

The Minister of Bantu Administration said in April4 that approximately 10 000
Africans were squatting illegally at Crossroads in the Peninsula. He said that 197
persons-3 men, 80 women, and 114 children, had been removed from the area
since 1 January 1975. Since that date 431 men and 939 women had been
prosecuted for being in Crossroads illegally. (The squatting situation is discussed
earlier under Group Areas.)

1 18 February, Hansard 4 col. 271.
2 In terms of Section 10 (1) (a) or 10 (1) (b) of the Bantu (Urban Areas)
Consolidation Act.
4 Assembly 30 April, Hansard col. 923.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
Cape Midlands and Eastern Cape
The Government again announced in March that the 7 000 people living in the
Grahamstown Fingo Village would be moved to a township to be built at
Committee's Drift, about 42 km from Grahamstown. This plan had, over a number
of years, been very widely opposed. The Minister of Bantu Administration said in
the Assembly that the Government would help Fingo Villagers to settle in Ciskei
areas other than at Committees Drift, if they so desired, but he insisted that it
would not be possible to undertake the resettlement scheme without use of
Committees Drift.
However, the Ciskei government, within whose area of jurisdiction the
Committees Drift site was situated, refused to accept the scheme to establish a
town there. It was reported in June that the Government had decided to build a
township just outside the border of the homeland instead. It would be
incorporated as part of the Ciskei at a later date. The site was in the same arid
valley as the original one, which was described as a "virtual desert" by Ciskeian Chief Minister, Mr. L. Sebe. But the owner of the new site was reported to have refused to sell it to the Government."

It was reported in August that the Cape Midlands Bantu Administration Board would defer the removal of the villagers while "the tense situation in South Africa prevails". The Board said that tenants and lodgers in the portion of the village that had been proclaimed an Asian group area would not be required to move to temporary housing as had been planned.'

Port Natal Administration Area
As at 4 November the population and housing situation was as follows:

Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male Under 18</th>
<th>Female Under 18</th>
<th>Male Over 18</th>
<th>Female Over 18</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KwaMashu (Durban)</td>
<td>34095</td>
<td>36096</td>
<td>44751</td>
<td>30067</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chesterville (Durban)</td>
<td>2718</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>2494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamont (Durban)</td>
<td>4670</td>
<td>5797</td>
<td>6356</td>
<td>6919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ningizimu hostel complexes</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other seven townships</td>
<td>1573</td>
<td>1806</td>
<td>1435</td>
<td>1490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>43056</td>
<td>46873</td>
<td>55036</td>
<td>42169</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rentals in the Durban area ranged from R5.35 in KwaMashu to R13.07 in Chesterville. Urban Bantu Councils had been constituted at KwaMashu and Ningizimu (including Lamont and Chesterville) and Bantu Advisory Boards at five of the other townships.

It was reported in September that the Government was to spend R100-million in providing facilities and housing in a new township at Mqumalanga (Hammarsdale). The township was planned to consist of 10 units of 1 800 houses
each. About 5 000 houses had already been built. Sites were also available for people to build their own houses.' According to a report in August, the Durban City Electricity Department, in conjunction with the KwaZulu Government, was examining the possibility of supplying electricity to the homes in Umlazi, which had a population of more than 250 000. (Umlazi falls under the KwaZulu Government. KwaMashu is scheduled to become part of the homeland during 1977.)

A large township was commenced during the year at KwaNgendezi to serve the Pinetown industrial area.4 A large hostel complex at KwaDabega also serves Pinetown. The two areas fall within KwaZulu.

Drakensberg Administration Area

The Administration Board furnished the following statistics:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Township</th>
<th>Housing Units</th>
<th>Hostel Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imbali</td>
<td>27 592</td>
<td>3 298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sobantu Village</td>
<td>12 104</td>
<td>1 091</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estcourt</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2 964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ladysmith</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>29 451&quot;</td>
<td>3306</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SA Digest, 17 September.

4 Assembly 2 February, Hansard I col. 44.

Ashdown, Euhlalakahle. Brunville, Howick, Nkanyezi, Steadville. East St., Church St., Mooi River, Greytown, Colenso.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

The Board estimated that 2 000 families in this area were on waiting lists for houses. During 1974-5, 1 500 houses were built. Eight Advisory Boards had been established in the area.

Other Areas

No reports had been received from the Administration Boards for the Transvaal Highveld, Southern Transvaal, East Rand, Western Transvaal, Vaal Triangle, Northern Natal, Cape Midlands, Eastern Cape, and South Western Cape at the time of going to Press.

TOWNSHIPS WITHIN HOMELANDS

Large numbers of African workers are housed in townships within the homelands bordering on "White" industrial areas to which they commute daily for employment. This occurs extensively in areas like Zwellitsha and Mdantsane in the Ciskei, the Edendale-Swartkops area and Umlazi in KwaZulu, and Mabopane in BophuthaTswana. It was estimated that the total population of homeland towns in 1975 was 973 036.1 It is Government policy to develop a large urban population in the homelands, a significant proportion of which will commute to "White" areas for employment. A transportation study drawn up for the Pretoria City Council estimated that by the year 2000, about 331 000 Africans would be commuting daily to the Pretoria metropolitan area from the homelands north of the city.'
Little information has been published about the housing situation in these homeland urban centres. However; population concentrations coupled with housing shortages have led to the development of large squatter settlements in at least two areas: Edendale-Swartkops in KwaZulu with some 250,000 squatters, and Winterveld in BophuthaTswana with about 350,000. BENBO estimated that in 1974 there was a shortage of 42,954 houses in the homelands and most towns had long waiting lists. It was estimated that the average number of residents per house in homeland townships increased from 6.4 persons in 1970, to 7.5 persons in 1975. This was ascribed to subletting and to the accommodation of relatives as a result of serious housing shortages. BENBO suggested that to alleviate this situation Africans themselves and possibly also employers could be involved in building houses which workers could own. Authorities could then concentrate on the provision of services, financial loans and possibly building materials.4

1 BENBO, Black Development in South Africa, page 124.
2 Star, 21 April.
BENBO op cit, pp. 124-5.
4 Ibid.

200

AMENITIES FOR BLACK PEOPLE IN WHITE AREAS
HOTELS
In reply to a question in the Assembly in February1 the Minister of Justice gave the following information regarding hotels that had applied for international status:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Granted</th>
<th>Refused</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cape ...</td>
<td>5 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFS ....</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal .....</td>
<td>9 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal .........</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister said that international status was granted subject to certain conditions, inter alia, that any form of dancing at the hotels in question should be restricted to persons who were members of the racial group within whose area2 the hotel was established, that men-only bars should remain reserved for the population which had previously been admitted, and that the use of any swimming pool in the hotel should be restricted to bona fide guests of the hotel. Only between 5 and 15 per cent of the hotel's beds could at any one time be occupied by Blacks.'

The Minister said at the end of February that a total of 20 hotels, one restaurant and one theatre had been granted international status. In June the Minister said that of the 29 hotels then granted international status, 6 were five-star, 6 four-star, 12 three-star, 4 two-star and one one-star. He pointed out that international status was only granted to make facilities available "where no such facilities existed for Black people who nevertheless needed to stay in a hotel".'
Mr. Sonny Leon, leader of the Labour Party, claimed that the "opening" of several hotels through the new scheme did not signal a move away from racialism but was rather an attempt to hoodwink the outside world. He said that absolutely nothing was being done to move away from racism at grassroots level and that token concessions were being made by the Government at a time of national stress.6 Other Coloured community leaders

1 18 February, Hansard 4 cols. 262-3.
- In terms of the Group Areas Act, 1966.
- Assembly 13 February, Hansard 3 col. 218.
- Assembly 26 February, Hansard 5 col. 371.
- Assembly 21 June. Hansard 21 col. 10028.
- Evening Post, 10 February.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976 said in May that hotels thus far granted international status had not benefitted the average Black traveller because they were far too expensive and existed only in major cities. They called for cheaper hotels along national roads to provide overnight stops.7

In June the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Dr. A. Treurnicht, was reported to have said that only foreign Blacks could be served in an international hotel. Officials of the National Liquor Board and the Federated Hotel Association of SA said subsequently that anyone could enjoy the use of an international hotel and the "ordinary" hotels in SA were open to foreign Blacks with passports.'

HOLIDAY RESORTS

Early in the year a commission of enquiry, with Mr. S. W. van Wyk as chairman, was instructed to investigate the opening of the Van Wyk's Rust Pleasure Resort (20 km outside Johannesburg) to Indian and Coloured people from November 1975. It was pointed out to the Commission that there were about 100 000 Coloured people in the Johannesburg area without pleasure resorts in the city or on the Reef. The Chairman pointed out that the resort did not fall within a White group area but in a controlled area and it was Government policy for recreational facilities for Coloured and Indian people to be built in such areas which were not proclaimed for any specific race groups.'

In September the Minister of Planning and Environment, Dr. S. W. van der Merwe, said that the interim report and recommendations of the Commission would be kept in abeyance. He nevertheless warned that the Government could not condone the unlawful use of the resort by mixed groups of Coloured, Indian and White people.

BANTU BEER AND LIQUOR

The Bantu Laws Amendment Act, No. 4 of 1976, amended the Bantu Beer Act of 1962. In terms of the amendments, in addition to general dealers, employers of more than 25 Africans over the age of 18 years who operate outside the area of jurisdiction of any local authority and who are authorised by the Minister to do so, may sell and supply packaged Bantu beer or beer powder, provided that the beer or powder is acquired from a local authority or the Bantu Investment Corporation or the Xhosa Development Corporation. The Act also authorised the holder of a Bantu eating house licence who has been permitted by the Minister to do so to
supply packaged Bantu beer acquired from a Bantu Affairs Administration Board of a
Eastern Province Herald, 1 May.
Rand Daily Mail, 8 June.
Rand Daily Mail, 24 February.
2 Rand Daily Mail, 25 September.

THEATRES
corporation to a person bona fide having or about to have a meal in the eating house.
A Liquor Amendment Bill was held over until 1977. Its object was to repeal
Section 94 of the principal Act, which provided that (with certain exceptions) no one shall sell, supply or deliver any liquor to any African.

THEATRES
The Minister of Community Development said in the Assembly that during 1975, 1 485 applications were received from Coloured people and/or Asians to attend functions in White group areas. Of these, 1 343 were granted, 101 refused and 41 applications withdrawn by the applicants.1 Later the Minister said that during 1975, of 117 applications to perform before racially mixed audiences, 37 were refused, and of 148 applications to perform before Indian and Coloured audiences, only six were refused."
In June the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Dr. A. Treurnicht, refused to allow performances of "The Black Mikado", a show with a multiracial cast. The Minister said that such performances were directly contrary to Government policy and if the producers proceeded with them, the Government would have to "consider ways and means to prevent such conduct".3 The organisers of the show changed the venue to a private hall.
The Minister of Community Development said in the Assembly in June that the Government's policy on open theatres and mixed entertainment was to be referred to a Cabinet committee for further clarification. But he made it clear that it was still Government policy to strive for each community to have its own facilities in its own areas.'
The Theron Commission report recommended that local authorities and proprietors should be given control over the question of mixed audiences.
The Minister of National Education and Sport, Dr. P. G. Koornhof, speaking in East London, indicated that he was rescinding the restriction which prevented Black audiences using theatres erected with a government subsidy unless Ministerial permission had been obtained. He also said that Blacks would be allowed to attend presentations at civic theatres in terms of the existing permit control system, and the procedure to be followed would be determined in consultation with the management concerned." It was announced subsequently that Durban's
18 March, Hansard 8 col. 592.
2 Star, 7 April.
Star, 3 June.
4 Rand Daily Mail, 24 June.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
NAPAC-owned Alhambra Theatre would be opened to mixed audiences. I
The Cabinet committee appointed to investigate ways of streamlining the theatre permit system met in October and the Minister of Community Development said that a decision on whether theatres would be opened to all races would be reached by the end of the year.'"PETTY APARTHEID"
Committees to improve relations
During the year various public relations committees for the promotion of better race relations between White and Coloured people were established throughout the country by the Minister of Coloured, Rehoboth and Nama Relations. In June the Minister gave a list of centres in which these committees had been established as at 17 May:
- Western Cape .... 16 OFS .......... 10
- Southern Cape .... 14 Transvaal 8
- Eastern Cape ...... 9 Natal ......... 1
- Northern Cape ... 7
During the latter half of the year, various private groups of individuals formed committees in different parts of the country to explore possibilities of improving race relations. Amongst these groups, one in Natal brought together businessmen, academics, churchmen, community leaders and representatives of various organisations like the S.A. Institute of Race Relations. In Cape Town, Professor H. W. van der Merwe, director of the Institute for Intergroup Studies, launched a drive for the drawing up of a programme to eliminate racial discrimination. He advocated the emergence of a strong "middle group" of people to play a crucial role as a communication link between the "establishment" and the Black community leaders. In Lenasia a group of civic leaders was formed to involve the Indian community in a national campaign to promote better race relations. The Lenasia People's Party, led by Dr. R. A. M. Salojee, promoted the campaign.
Action taken by Government Departments and Local Authorities
An application for the annual Witwatersrand Agricultural Show to be completely multi-racial was again turned down by the Department of Community Development.
7 Rand Daily Mail, 11 November.
8 Daily News, 3 September.
9 Star, 4 October.
"0 Star, 4 October.

ELIMINATION OF "PETTY APARTHEID"
In January the Administrator of the Cape, Dr. L. Munnik, warned city councils that if they followed the example of the East London council, which opened its lending libraries to all races during 1975, he would cut off their subsidies. He said
that there was no objection to reference libraries being used by all races. It was announced that the Provincial Administration had refused to pay the annual R172 000 subsidy to East London libraries, as a result of the city's multi-racial stance. Mr. Munnik accused the Council of seeking a confrontation for political reasons. 1

During 1975 the Sandton Town Council asked the Department of Bantu Administration for permission to provide recreation centres for Blacks in the town. In reply to a question in the Assembly, the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr. M. C. Botha, said that permission had been refused because it was considered that such facilities should, in terms of policy, be sited in the African residential area of Alexandra.2 The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Dr. A. Treurnicht, said in February that provision for various sport and recreation facilities would be made in the new layout of Alexandra to serve the township's residents and the African workers in White areas such as Randburg and Sandton. He said that Alexandra then had three soccer fields, four tennis courts, a boxing ring, weightlifting facilities in a gymnasium, and a cinema.3 In June the Sandton Town Council approved a plan for a recreational park for Africans.4

In September the Postmaster General, Mr. L. Rive, announced that apartheid signs at post offices throughout the country would gradually be scrapped. However, he said that the basic pattern of separate service for the different race groups would be preserved, although he could see no objection to a limited number of Blacks being served at counters "traditionally used" by Whites, as long as the service flow was not disrupted.5

During July the SA Institute of Race Relations Border Regional Committee made representations for better bathing facilities for Blacks along the East London coast. It condemned the fact that the Beacon Bay Council had closed the entire Bonza Bay beach to all Blacks. The only beach set aside for Africans in the area was a stretch of 1 km at Kiwane which was 50 km from Mdantsane township, and could not be reached by bus. As a result of the committee's representations a joint investigation was instituted by the City and Divisional Councils involved. 8

1 Sunday Times, 18 January.
2 Assembly 27 January, Hansard 1, Question col. 8.
3 Star, 7 February.
4 Rand Daily Mail, 29 June.
5 World, 9 September.
6 Daily Dispatch, 4 August.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
In September, the member of the Natal Provincial Executive Committee in charge of local government made it clear in an interview that Natal was no longer considering the carving up of the province's coast into more than 100 beaches for the different race groups.7

In September the Cape Town City Council proposed establishing a community centre for Blacks in Sea Point. The Signal Hill Civic Association, representing
White residents near the proposed site of the centre, objected to the proposal because they felt it might attract an undesirable element.8

In August the West Rand Bantu Affairs Administration Board turned down an application by the Randburg Town Council to build a restaurant and public toilet in the town centre for Africans. The Council asked the Board to reconsider the application and intended to apply to the Minister of Bantu Administration if the permission was not forthcoming.9

In November the Mayor of Durban, Dr. G. Hollis, called on the Government to allow multi-racial restaurant and cafe and toilet facilities in central city areas and in major shopping centres "in the interests of good race relations among all the people"." Durban restaurants were reported to have served Black customers. Many others were willing to do so if it could be shown to be legal. Mr. Harry Pitmann, MP (PRP), said he was confident that there was no law to stop Blacks from being served. I"

**THE PASS LAWS**

**PROSECUTIONS UNDER THE PASS LAWS**

The Report of the Commissioner of the SA Police for the year ended 30 June 1975 contained information about certain of the cases sent for trial under laws restricting the movement of Africans:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Curfew regulations</th>
<th>Registration and production of documents</th>
<th>Bantu Urban Areas Consolidation Act, not elsewhere specified</th>
<th>Bantu Administration Act, not elsewhere specified</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1973-4</td>
<td>95 219</td>
<td>194 187</td>
<td>166 179</td>
<td>20335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974-5</td>
<td>66 320</td>
<td>143 862</td>
<td>150 713</td>
<td>25519</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 1974-5 total represented 28.3 per cent of all the cases sent for trial in that year, and was equivalent to 989 trials for every day of the year (Sundays and holidays included). The decrease in the number of prosecutions between the two years indicated above is due, in part, to the increasing number of such cases referred to Aid Centres, and the small proportion of those which resulted in prosecutions (see below). The Police Commissioner's report gave no details of the exact nature of the charges concerned. It would appear that other matters besides infringements of the so-called pass laws were involved.

Questioned in the Assembly,2 the Minister of Police said that during 1975, 218 982 men and 50 003 women were arrested in the Republic for offences relating to identity documents and influx control. Totals for the main urban areas during 1974 and 1975 were as follows:

2 31 March, Hansard 10. col. 711.

**A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976**
Men     Women
Cape Peninsula ........  11,797  20,830  8,422  13,665
Port Elizabeth ........  912   608    1,090  354
East London ..........    -  1410    -  1148
Pietermaritzburg ........  3,260  468    1,199  107
Durban ..............  8,209  6,474  2,479  1,497
Bloemfontein .......  5,415  2,702  1,678  232
Johannesburg .......  77,498 55,842 10,912  5,160
Soweto ..............    -  3607    -   564
West Rand ...........  4,346  1,623  832   2375
East Rand ..........  13,709  1,3991 2369  3,361
Pretoria ..........    10,789 33,588 11,595  5,943

In reply to another question the Minister said that during the period 1 July 1974 to
30 June 1975, 64,732 cases of infringement of curfew regulations were sent for

trial.'

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development gave\' the following
figures of persons tried and convicted during 1975 at the Bantu Affairs
Commissioners' courts in Fordsburg (Johannesburg) and Langa (Cape Town), in
connection with offences relating to influx control:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fordsburg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tried</td>
<td>20,110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convicted</td>
<td>19,725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average daily number of cases heard</td>
<td>95 105</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In December 1975 regulations were introduced which streamlined some
administrative procedures for influx control documents. One of the procedures
eliminated was the need to have affidavits completed before a Commissioner of
Oaths. Speaking in the Assembly, the Minister of Bantu Administration and
Development said that the Government had undertaken to discuss with certain
African homeland leaders the degree to which influx control measures could be
modernised and improved without abolishing the whole system.5 The Deputy
Minister, Dr. Hartzenberg, said in September that during the 1977 session of
Parliament the Government would increase the penalties for employers of
unregistered Africans in "White" urban areas.

A resident of Alexandra Township, Johannesburg, Mrs. R. Mabasa, appealed
during the year to the Appellate Division against a 1975 judgment in the Rand
Supreme Court which had confirmed the contention of the West Rand
Administration Board that she and her two sons had no right to live with her
husband because they did not qualify under Section 10 (1) (c) of the
3 Assembly 2 March, Hansard 6, col. 457.
4 Assembly 9 April, Hansard 11, col. 812.
5 Rand Daily Mail, 30 April.
208

PASS LAWS   209
Urban Areas Act to be within the prescribed area. This decision was overruled by Appeal Court judge, Mr. Justice Muller, who found that there was no provision in the Alexandra regulations that the wife of a holder of a residential permit who ordinarily resides with him must qualify under Section 10 (1) (c). The regulations only required that the wife of a qualified man should be domiciled in the area. The judgment indicated that township superintendents would no longer be entitled to refuse permission for wives to live with their husbands solely on the grounds of the absence of Section 10 rights but would also have to look to particular township regulations.

**AMD CENTRES**

In reply to a question in the Assembly the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development gave the following figures for Africans referred to each Aid Centre during 1975:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Benoni</td>
<td>5 979</td>
<td>2 277</td>
<td>714</td>
<td>702</td>
<td>1 884</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bloemfontein</td>
<td>7 260</td>
<td>2 106</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 692</td>
<td>72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boksburg</td>
<td>7 731</td>
<td>3 450</td>
<td>702</td>
<td>1 698</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brakpan</td>
<td>4 560</td>
<td>2 316</td>
<td>447</td>
<td>549</td>
<td>822</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durban</td>
<td>8 643</td>
<td>7 455</td>
<td>444</td>
<td>3 639</td>
<td>1458</td>
<td>300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germiston</td>
<td>40 887</td>
<td>21 717</td>
<td>2 328</td>
<td>10 368</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>42 012</td>
<td>21 141</td>
<td>5 406</td>
<td>13 476</td>
<td>4 473</td>
<td>327</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Town</td>
<td>13 467</td>
<td>2 574</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kimberley</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Klerksdorp</td>
<td>2 184</td>
<td>627</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>3 300</td>
<td>168</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East London</td>
<td>1 218</td>
<td>432</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>762</td>
<td>171</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pietermaritzburg</td>
<td>618</td>
<td>555</td>
<td></td>
<td>183</td>
<td>1 005</td>
<td>99</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Elizabeth</td>
<td>5 580</td>
<td>4 731</td>
<td>897</td>
<td>636</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>49 536</td>
<td>39 867</td>
<td>8 103</td>
<td>25 677</td>
<td>12 722</td>
<td>4 284</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Randfontein</td>
<td>936</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Springs</td>
<td>7 053</td>
<td>2 220</td>
<td>642</td>
<td>849</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vereeniging</td>
<td>20 232</td>
<td>7 032</td>
<td>882</td>
<td>2 466</td>
<td>249</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welkom</td>
<td>1 347</td>
<td>960</td>
<td>612</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witbank</td>
<td>1 872</td>
<td>1 434</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>1 377</td>
<td>117</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>221 537</td>
<td>121 314</td>
<td>21 636</td>
<td>61 242</td>
<td>31 775</td>
<td>5 718</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>54.76</td>
<td>9.77</td>
<td>27.64</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was reported in January that the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner for Johannesburg, Mr. F. B. du Randt, had issued instructions that the Johannesburg Aid Centre should stop assisting people outside its terms of reference. In an interview he said that the primary function of an aid centre was "to interview the Bantu arrested for contravening one of the control measures", and that it was a misunderstanding of the function of the centre "if it goes out of its way to circumvent red tape and procedure for any individual". Mr. Du Randt felt that the centre was taking over some of his functions as Bantu Affairs Commissioner. The Black Sash condemned this and claimed that the Aid Centre
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
had in the past provided valuable help and advice to Africans.8 The Star
newspaper, in an editorial, deplored the Commissioner's attitude and praised the
officials at the Johannesburg centre who often went to great lengths to regularise
the position of Africans and to keep families together.
PRODUCTION OF REFERENCE BOOKS ON DEMAND
In reply to a question in the Assembly, the Minister of Justice replied that it was
the exception rather than the rule for an African with a valid reference book to be
arrested if he did not possess the book on him at the time of being asked. Mr.
Kruger admitted that such arrests did take place from time to time but
departmental directives stated that where an explanation could readily be verified,
the person should not be arrested. Asked whether he had considered allowing
Africans to report to the local police stations with their reference books within a
certain time of being asked by the police to produce them, the Minister said it had
not been considered, that no legal provision existed for it, and that it would be
unpractical.0
REHABILITATION INSTITUTIONS
The 1975 Survey described the proclamation issued that year which made
provision for Rehabilitation Institutions to be established in the homelands for the
"treatment and training" of Africans "endorsed out" of urban areas. The proposed
scheme was strongly condemned by various organisations and individuals. In
reply to a question by Mrs. Suzman in the Assembly, the Minister of Bantu
Administration and Development said in February that no such institution had
been established in terms of the proclamation."
FOREIGN AFRICANS
The following numbers of citizens of other African states were reported by the
Minister of Bantu Administration and Development to be working in the Republic
in May:1
Angola: 623 Mozambique: 150 738
Botswana: 37 016 Rhodesia: 8 895
Lesotho: 152188 Swaziland: 16390
Malawi: 39 308 Zambia: 914
The Minister said that the workers concerned were contracted for periods not
exceeding 2 years. As indicated in the 1975 Survey, large numbers of foreign
Africans were still
8 Star, 15 January.
9 Star, 16 January.
10 Assembly 21 May, Hansard 16, col. 1056.
11 2 February, Hansard 2. col. 42.
1 Assembly 5 May. Hansard 14, col. 961.
MIGRANT LABOUR
being employed illegally in towns, their employment not having been registered. In April the Department of Bantu Administration and Development announced that all male Rhodesian Africans employed illegally in any part of South Africa other than the Western Cape had until 13 May to regularise their position. Their employers were asked to register them and draw up prescribed employment contracts. This deadline was extended to 31 July and then finally to 30 September. A Rhodesian official estimated in June that between 40000 and 100000 Rhodesian workers were employed illegally in South Africa.

New deferred pay regulations for Rhodesian workers came into effect on 1 April in terms of an agreement between the Rhodesian Department of the Interior and the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. According to the regulations, between 33 and 66 per cent of wages earned could be deferred and, through the Bantu Administration Boards, transferred to Rhodesia, where workers or their dependants could withdraw the money. This arrangement was seen as an attempt by South Africa to help bolster Rhodesian foreign exchange.

MIGRANT LABOUR
In January the Interdenominational Committee for the Witwatersrand Industrial Mission convened a conference on Migrant Labour in South Africa. Various speakers, including the Rev. Joop Lensink of the NG Kerk in Africa, attested to the degrading conditions of hostel life for most migrant workers. The migrant labour system was condemned by speakers for being inimical to family life and fatherhood. The then Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, the Very Rev. Desmond Tutu, warned that South Africa could not go on "systematically destroying African family life" without in the end reaping "a whirlwind in the form of violence that is colour blind".

In November the National Council for Marriage and Family Life held a symposium at Unisa on the Migrant Labour System. The Deputy Minister for Social Welfare and Pensions, Mr. Punt Janson, together with other speakers, condemned the system's inhumanity. The Minister suggested temporary housing, recreational facilities, less restrictive legislation and better transport as ways of helping migrant workers. A committee to represent the Government, private enterprise, welfare, and migrant workers was formed at the symposium.

BLACK SASH ADVICE OFFICES
The Black Sash (in some cases in association with the Institute of Race Relations) continues to run advice offices in Athlone (Cape Town), Johannesburg, Durban, East London, and Grahamstown, at which Africans who find themselves in difficulties under the pass laws or who have other problems are given free advice. The Johannesburg Advice Office reported that in the year ended January 1976 it conducted an average of 24.2 interviews per day. Of the 1106 new cases attended
to, 248 or 22.4% were successfully closed. The office reported that nearly 300 of all its cases involved married couples who could not get permission to live together.

213

GENERAL MATTERS
TAXATION

Replying to a question in the Assembly on 10 February,’ the Minister of Finance said that the following amounts had been paid in direct tax during the 1974 financial year:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. liable</th>
<th>Amount paid</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>R687.2 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>R 11.65 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>R 10.71 million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said2 that during the 1974-5 financial year the following sums were collected from Africans in the Republic (including areas under homeland governments):

- R in tax based on income: 28 272 618
- in fixed tax: 7 651 929
- in hospital levies: 62033
- 35986580

In reply to another question3 the Minister said that 87 546 persons were registered in the 1974-5 financial year in terms of Section 30 of the Bantu Taxation Act. In May the Minister said that during the 1975-6 financial year 2424 142 Africans paid tax on income and 3 151 404 paid fixed tax. He said that the total amount paid was not then known but should have been in the order of R49 000 000.4

According to the reports of the Controller and Auditor General for the financial year 1974-5, general levies, local taxes, tribal levies and quitrents totalling the following sums were paid in the various homelands:

I Star, 11 February.
2 Assembly 6 February.
3 Assembly 25 May, Hansard 17 col. 1094. 4 Assembly 13 May, Hansard 15 col. 1006.
5 Reports of the Controller and Auditor General for the financial year 1974-5,

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>246991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>681 046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td>.361 377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basotho Qwaqwa</td>
<td>12737</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td>82 545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu</td>
<td>66427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BophuthaTswana</td>
<td>29 982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1610218</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development announced in the Assembly in February that a committee had been appointed to investigate the African tax structure in close collaboration with the homeland governments. He said that homeland governments had responsibility for direct taxation of Africans and would have to approve any changes.

An editorial in the Rand Daily Mail of 19 April criticised the manner in which most Africans were singled out for heavier taxation than was paid by other racial groups. It pointed out that this form of discrimination bore most harshly on the lower-paid, for as African incomes rise, the differentiation lessens. The following features of the tax system were described. Africans started to pay income tax when their earnings rose above R360 a year, whatever their age or size of family. Whites, Coloured people and Indians then only started to pay tax when their income reached R700 a year or R2 800 for a married man with three children. All African men paid a "head" tax of R2.50 a year. Africans were denied the deductions allowed to other groups as a matter of course, such as abatements for children and dependants, medical and dental expenses and life insurance premiums. African women were treated as single people. African householders in urban areas paid a compulsory monthly levy towards the cost of building schools for their children. The editorial condemned all these forms of discrimination as "thoroughly objectionable and totally indefensible".

LEGAL STATUS OF AFRICAN WOMEN

Speaking in the Assembly in February, Mrs. Helen Suzman (PRP), called on the Government to review the position of African women in Natal, who were subject to the Natal Code of 1891. She pointed out that the code made a Zulu woman a perpetual minor under the guardianship of a husband, son or brother. She asked whether the Government was to implement the fundamental alterations to the code that were recommended by a select committee appointed by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in 1975. (See 1975 Survey.) The Deputy Minister of Bantu Development said that the Government intended to wait until the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly made a request for changes to the Natal Code.

The Bantu Laws Amendment Act, No. 4 of 1976, repealed the Natal Code of Bantu Law (No. 19 of 1891). However, the schedule to the Act was replaced by the Republic's Proclamation R195 of 1967, entitled the "Natal Code of Bantu Law", the provisions of which were similar to those of the 1891 Act. This will remain in force unless amended by the State President. In terms of Section 27 (2) of this proclamation, an African woman is deemed a perpetual minor, although a Bantu Affairs Commissioner's court is empowered at its discretion to free an unmarried, widowed or divorced woman from the control of her father, to grant her property rights and to give her control over the property of her minor children.
In June the All Indian Women's Conference recommended a uniform marriage law for all Indians, irrespective of caste and religion. The Muslim personal law, in particular, was viewed as placing the woman in a legally inferior position to men.4

In September a National Convention to Advance Women's Legal Rights was held at the University of South Africa. A variety of speakers called for the revision of laws which discriminate against women.5

TRAINING CENTRES FOR COLOURED CADETS

The training centre for Coloured cadets at Faure in the Western Cape was described on page 181 of the 1970 Survey. The September issue of Alpha described the purpose of the camp as being "to awaken idealism and develop sound work habits among Coloured youths between 141 and 17 years, who have left school prematurely and as a result of poor scholastic achievements, an unstable and undisciplined way of life, and a lack of zeal, are unemployed, and thereby to mould them into good, stable and happy workers". The magazine reported that camp members received an allowance of 50c per working day during their time at the camp.

The organisation called Campaign against Racial Discrimination issued a report on the cadet camp during 1976. Cadets from the camp were interviewed and claimed that discipline was extremely strict and that they were under continuous supervision. Coin- Hansard 2 col. 582.

The Theron Commission Report gave the following account of evidence regarding the centre: "It was repeatedly mentioned that despite intensive nationwide dissemination of information about the obligation (for youths) to register, there is as yet a large group of young men who do not do so. According to witnesses, the apparent reluctance to attend this institution is due to the stigma which attaches itself to boys who have been there. Compulsory service, which applies to all young men and in which the boys at the centre will be included, will be more acceptable".

COLOURED DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

The Minister of Coloured, Rehoboth and Nama Relations said in the Assembly in February' that 14 persons were on the Board of Directors of the Coloured Development Corporation, of whom two were Coloured persons. He said that as at 30 September 1975, the total share capital of the Corporation was R13 861 500. He later gave the following details of undertakings assisted by the Corporation:'
Total amount

Number invested

R

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Private undertakings</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>14 908 867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corporation undertakings</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>15 479 234</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The information that follows, relating to the Corporation's activities, has been compiled from the annual report for the year ended 30 September 1974.

The total assets of the Corporation were stated to be R20 310 000, of which R5 260 000 was derived from the Corporation's diamond concessions. On completion of the projects which it had commenced the Corporation would have provided 16 supermarkets, approximately 130 shops of various types, 9 cinemas, and factory facilities for more than 70 manufacturers. These were leased to Coloured businessmen. Since its establishment in 1962 and up to 30 September 1975, the Corporation had

9 February, Hansard 3 col. 130.
Senate 25 March, Hansard 6 col. 42.

RURAL COLOURED AREAS

granted 584 applications for financial assistance, representing 45.5% of the applications considered. The total amount granted over this period was R13 988 074, including R438 805 to businessmen in SWA. In addition, the Corporation had spent R28 732 325 on its own projects. During the financial year ending September 1975, applications amounting to R3 662 261 were approved.

The Corporation's trading subsidiaries were the Spes Bona Bank Ltd., with branches in several cities; Sadevcor Ltd., Superama, Ltd., a supermarket company with various branches, and Landdrost Hotels (Pty) Ltd., used as a training centre for Coloured personnel.

The Corporation had purchased a rock lobster packing factory at St. Helena Bay, used by Coloured fishermen in the area. The report stated that during the year, training courses were provided in the motor and meat industries and that a general management course for businessmen was run annually. Four companies with which the Corporation had contracted had advanced from prospecting for diamonds to active mining.

In August Mr. Hannes Verster, general manager of the Spes Bona Bank, resigned over a controversial loan of R152 000 to Transterra mining group owned by Mr. Jan Haak, "an untried and highly speculative White-controlled company" according to the Financial Mail.' The Transterra mining group had become insolvent in July. Mr. Colin Eglin, PRP leader and Mr. Sonny Leon, leader of the Labour Party, called for a full inquiry into the loan. The Cape Town Coloured community was reported to be angry about it. Mr. Andre van Heerden, Coloured Development Corporation liaison officer, said that there was no legal bar to prevent the bank from doing business with anyone.'

RURAL COLOURED AREAS
The Rural Coloured Areas Amendment Act, No. 28 of 1976 amended Section 30 of the principal Act of 1963, which dealt with regulations which may be made by a board of management of a Rural Coloured Area in regard to such matters as are controlled by these boards.

The principal Act provided that the Minister might make standard regulations which could be adopted in their entirety or in part by a board, without alteration, as regulations for its area.

The amended Act adds that, with the Minister's approval, a board may make such amendments to the standard regulations as it may deem necessary.

It is specified that regulations issued must be promulgated in the Gazette.

The Theron Commission Report set the total area of all the:

:1 Financial Mai%, 23 July. 4 Sunday Tinze., I August.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1t976

Rural Coloured Areas at 1,7 million ha, with a total population of 58 252, which represented 11.1 per cent of the total rural Coloured population and approximately 2.9 per cent of the total Coloured population in South Africa. Eleven of the areas were situated in the Southern Cape, ten in the North West Cape and two in the O.F.S. The report noted that there was no individual land ownership in the areas, all land being in the name of local management committees. It was noted that although the eleven South Cape areas consisted of only 2.1 per cent of the total land area, they accommodated 42.5 per cent of the total population of the areas.

While the largest area of 513 919 ha had a population of only 2 700, the smallest area of 54.8 ha was populated by 2 280 people. The report questioned whether there was justification for continued large subsidies from Government funds in the large Northern Cape areas unless more work opportunities within more reasonable travelling distances were established.

According to the report, housing, welfare services, public service and community amenities were poor or inadequate in some of the areas.

In reply to a question in the Assembly,2 the Minister of Coloured, Rehoboth and Nama Relations, said that during the 1974-5 financial year the following amounts were received by local Boards of Management in Coloured Rural Areas:

R19 068 in terms of prospecting and mining royalties
R 6 310 in terms of diamond concessions.

The Coloured Development Corporation received R 1 457 639 in terms of diamond concessions. Prospecting rights for base metals in these areas had been granted to 29 White and 6 Coloured companies and mining rights to 4 White companies.

INDIAN BRIDES

In June the Indian Council Executive made strong representations to the Minister of the Interior to lift the restrictions on the entry of foreign Indian brides into SA. The Minister was reported to have told the committee that there were many problems and that the matter would not be resolved immediately. However, he undertook to have further discussions about the matter.

CHINESE PEOPLE
In reply to a question in the Senate, the Minister of Community Development gave the following figures for Chinese families seeking permission to live in "White" areas:
2 10 February, Hansard, 3, col. 165.
218

CHINESE PEOPLE
To Occupy To Purchase
Families granted permits ...  606     514
Families refused permits ...  252     212
The Minister pointed out that a large number of those who were refused permits had applied years previously. Subsequently some had re-applied and had been granted them.

Mr. C. Mulder, Minister of the Interior, said in April that while ways of alleviating the practical problems of the Chinese community had been discussed, one difficulty appeared to be the question of their present exclusion from any voters' roll. Ministerial opposition to the granting of political rights to Chinese people was reported to be based on the view that if the franchise was extended to the Chinese, there would be no ideological justification for excluding the Indian and Coloured people from the common roll.'

In terms of a proclamation2 in May Chinese people were excluded from the restrictions on Asiatics in terms of the 1928 Liquor Act. This change entitled them to drink in White bars and public lounges and to have the same rights as Whites in liquor consumption.
I Rand Daily Mail 30 April.
2 Proclamation 80/1976 of 14 May.
219

220
THE AFRICAN HOMELANDS
AREA AND EXPENDITURE
AREA OF THE HOMELANDS
In the Assembly on 26 April,1 the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development revealed that the exact areas of the homelands were unknown. The land reserved for African occupation in 1913, and also the State land which was vested in the S.A. Bantu Trust in 1936, had not all been properly surveyed at the dates concerned, and surveys had not yet been completed. The areas had originally been determined mainly with the aid of apparatus and data from maps then available. The extent of the released areas demarcated in 1936, within which land could be acquired for enlarging the homelands, was not exactly known either. Techniques had improved, however. New land acquired by the Trust was properly surveyed.
Subject to these qualifying remarks, the Minister gave the estimated area of each homeland, using round figures.
More detailed (but, in some cases, considerably different) estimated figures were contained in a publication entitled Black Development in South Africa, published by Benbo2 in 1976. They reflect the position in 1973, as compared with the situation that will obtain when consolidation has been completed in terms of plans that were approved by Parliamentary majorities in 1974 and 1975.3

Hectares

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1973</th>
<th>After completion of consolidation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>3 871 287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td>942079</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu</td>
<td>3 273 367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BophuthaTswana</td>
<td>3799392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td>2247551</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>618156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>633 110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qwaqwa</td>
<td>48234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swazi</td>
<td>208 381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndebele</td>
<td>20234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15661791</td>
<td>17006000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Lansard 13 cols. 881-91.
2 The Bureau for Economic Research re Bantu Development, within the Department & Bantu Administration and Development. Page 23 Table 3.4.
3 See 1975 Survey, prags 115 et seq.

REMOVAL SCHEMES

The Ciskei will be smaller in size, according to these figures, presumably, partly because its former districts of Hershel and Glen Grey are to be ceded to the Transkei in return for land further to the east. It was not explained why KwaZulu, too, will be smaller. In general, however, the table shows that the total area of the homelands will be augmented by some 1 344 209 ha. The publication indicates that this will be made up as follows:

(a) outstanding quota land promised in 1936, less about 61 100 ha to be held in reserve for minor boundary adjustments; plus
(b) compensatory land for black spots and "badly situated" outlying parts of existing African areas, to be excised.

This will involve considerable exchange of land between whites and blacks.

The Minister indicated in the Assembly on 22 March that 271 641 ha of land had been purchased during 1975, leaving 952 600 ha (of the total quota of 6 209 857 ha decided upon in 1936)1 still to be acquired. On 28 April he reiterated (as the Prime Minister did on several occasions during the year under review) that no further land beyond the outstanding quota and the compensatory land would be added to the homelands.

BLACK SPOTS AND "BADLY SITUATED" PARTS OF HOMELANDS
In the publication quoted earlier, Benbo stated that in 1975 the black spots to be excised measured 157 100 ha, while the "badly situated" outlying parts of existing African areas were 788 700 ha in extent.

Questioned in the Assembly about the removal of Africans from such areas and their resettlement elsewhere, the Minister said that since the scheme was first introduced and until the end of 1975 an estimated total of 42 325 families, consisting of about 211 626 people, had been moved and resettled. Figures for the two most recent years were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Families</th>
<th>People</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>989</td>
<td>5 226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>4102</td>
<td>24612</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As described on page 136 of last year's Survey, among the people moved in 1975 were about 2000 Tswana of the Baralong tribe, who were required to leave Majeng in the Mayen Reserve near Warrenton in the Northern Cape (which would eventually be inundated when a dam had been completed). They were offered another, larger, area at Vaalboschhoek within the Bophuthathansard 9 cols. 622-3. A considerable portion of the land acquired in the early years was State-owned land which was transferred to the Trust.

Table 3.3. The exact date in 1975 was not given, but it would appear that it was early in the year.

1 April, Hansard 10 col. 721.

222 A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

Tswana homeland. Some of the people moved voluntarily, but others did so under strong protest.

About nine months later, in February, groups of women and children began returning to Majeng, stating that conditions at Vaalboschhoek were completely unsatisfactory. The first ten women to arrive were arrested, found guilty of trespass, and sentenced to R30 or 60 days' imprisonment. They elected to go to jail. A second group of 42 women was sent back to Vaalboschhoek: their case was, apparently, referred to the magistrate of that area, stationed at Taung. Then a third batch of 27 women was arrested. They appeared before Mr. A. J. Groenewald in the Barkly West magistrate's court, but were not prosecuted because both the prosecutor and the defending counsel agreed that a solution to their problem must be found.

Afterwards, Mr. Groenewald told a Press reporter he recognised that the women's grievances were genuine. The new area was swampy, heavy rains had damaged the crops and caused houses to collapse. Because of mosquitoes, animals had died. Nevertheless, he made it clear that Majeng was now a "prohibited area".

Chief Lucas Mangope, Chief Minister of BophuthaTswana, told the Press that he had raised the matter with the Minister, who had visited Vaalboschhoek and had agreed to the removal of the people to a better place. Land for the purpose was being sought.'
Another scheme which has been strongly resisted was the removal of more than 45,000 members of the Bakolobeng tribe from farms near Lichtenburg in the Western Transvaal to alternative land at Deelpan in the Delareyville district. They lodged firm protests, maintaining that the suggested new area was swampy and unsuitable, and that they did not want to move, but a State President's order was handed to their representatives, requiring the people to leave their existing farms by 1 September." (The date was subsequently extended to 15 September.) In the August issue of Race Relations News Mr. Peter Kerchhoff, Chairman of the Institute's Pietermaritzburg branch, described a removal scheme, devised by the Republic's officials, for the removal of hundreds of African families from Roosboom, a few kilometres from Ladysmith, to the homeland township of e'Zakheni, some distance away along the road to Newcastle. It was planned that the resettled people would build their own wattle and daub type houses, but the sand in the new area proved unsuitable for building purposes. They were living either in tents or in 3 m < 3 m corrugated-iron huts lent by the Department. Amenities were very inadequate. Considerable hardship had resulted.

'Re' Rand Daily Mail, 19, 21, and 25 February, 9, It, and 12 March. 10 Rand Dail Mail, 10, 12, and 24 May. 9 and 10 July.

ADDITIONS TO AFRICAN HOMELANDS

EXPENDITURE ON THE ACQUISITION OF LAND

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Development said in the Assembly on 20 February 1 that since 1 January 1949 the Trust had spent R201,156,174 on the acquisition of land.

The Minister stated on the same day' that the expenditure since 1 April 1975 had been R57,383,303. Shortly afterwards3 he explained that this was very considerably more than the amount allocated for the purpose in the main Budget for 1975-6. The Treasury had indicated that a further sum would be made available in the Additional Appropriation Bill, and an amount of R30,000,000 had finally been decided upon. Besides this expenditure by the Trust, the Minister said, the Adjustment Committee in the Transkei4 had spent R7,067,521 during the same period.

A sum of R30,000,000 was voted in the main Budget for 1976-7.

Two legislative measures were introduced during the year under review with the object of facilitating land purchase. The Land Bank Amendment Act, No. 109 of 1976, provided that "The bank may, on such conditions as the board may determine, advance money to the South African Bantu Trust... to repay any money owing to the bank by a person whose land has been acquired by the said Trust. The repayment of any money advanced ... and the payment of interest thereon shall be deemed to be guaranteed by the Government."

The Bantu Trust and Land Amendment Act, No. 10 of 1976, provided that when the Trust acquires any land it may, in lieu of paying forthwith the consideration therefor, furnish a promissory note in respect thereof or a portion thereof, or borrow money to pay such consideration, or undertake to pay any debt of the owner in connection with such land.
However, in a Press interview during July, the Deputy Minister said the Government had abandoned the plan to "buy by instalments", which involved procedural delays. Instead, it was offering farmers about 40 per cent cash and 60 per cent Government stock. This stock matured in 20 years, meanwhile paying a high annual interest rate.

As an additional method of speeding up the process, the Trust was concentrating initially on buying "compensation land" for resettlement, because the sale of the vacated land would provide a source of income. The remaining quota land would be bought later.

The Government hoped to complete the whole process within ten years from 1975, the Deputy Minister stated. The total cost

1 Hansard 4 col. 302.
2 Col. 287.
3 Hansard 6 col. 2230.
4 See 1966 Survey, page 133.
5 RP 2/1976 Vote N.
6 Star, 30 July.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

would possibly be some R750-million. Of this, about R250-million might be recouped from the sale of vacated land.

(It would, however, seem that the target date for completion of the programme may have to be revised. Due to the economic recession the Department's planned budget for land purchase in 1976 had to be cut.)

A "senior spokesman" of the Department of Agriculture told the Press that sworn appraisers were employed to value land earmarked for purchase by the Trust. Their evaluations were scrutinised by the Land Tenure Board, which made recommendations via the Secretary for Agricultural Credit and Land Tenure to the Department of Bantu Administration. The Department of Bantu Administration was not obliged to follow the recommendations, but used them as a basis for offers made to farmers. (There is a different process for purchases of property from Whites in the Transkei, described on page 133 of the Survey of Race Relations for 1966.

There was much criticism in the Assembly and in the Press during February and March of certain land deals at Port St. Johns and other parts of the Eastern Cape.

It was stated that the proper procedure had not been followed, and that certain White owners had been paid sums far in excess of the amounts that they had themselves paid for the properties, not long before.

EXPENDITURE IN THE HOMELANDS A. 1974-5

The Report of the Controller and Auditor-General for 1974-51 gave the following information about expenditure from governmental sources in the homelands during that year. The figures for the Department of Bantu Administration and Development apparently include expenditure from grants made to homeland governments from the Central Consolidated Revenue Fund.

Bantu Admin. S.A. Bantu Other Govt.2 Combined and Trust Depts. total
## EXPENDITURE IN AFRICAN HOMELANDS

Excluded from these figures are expenditure by the SA Railways and the Postal Administrations, also by the Bantu Investment Corporation, Xhosa Development Corporation, and Bantu Mining Corporation.

Figures showing sources of revenue in the homelands in 1974-5 have been extracted by the writer from the exchequer accounts shown in the Controller and Auditor-General's reports on each of the homeland governments.

Balance at Grants from 1.4.1974 Consolidated Revenue Fund

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homeland</th>
<th>Internal Revenue</th>
<th>1974-5 Expenditure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>63 542 379</td>
<td>4 721 214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td>217 998 383</td>
<td>120 479 679</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu</td>
<td>59 433 723</td>
<td>30 524 555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BophuthaTswana</td>
<td>28 522 217</td>
<td>15 332 499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td>23 751 727</td>
<td>12 175 846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>90 299 389</td>
<td>2 003 572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>89 833 899</td>
<td>3 111 262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qwaqwa</td>
<td>20 516 299</td>
<td>10 044 138</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table that follows, extracted from the same reports, shows expenditure in 1974-5 by the homeland governments and by the Republican Government on services rendered in the homelands (excluding expenditure by the SA Administrations).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homeland</th>
<th>1974-5 Expenditure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Railways</td>
<td>84 274 394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postal</td>
<td>26 365 003</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7 Star, 17 March.


Audit, Community Development, Justice, Police, Prisons, Public Works, Transport.
Expenditure by the Corporations is not dealt with in reports by the Controller and Auditor-General. However, the Benbo report, quoted on page 220, gave the following estimated figures for 1975-6:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Corporation</th>
<th>Estimated Costs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bantu Investment Corporation</td>
<td>R 59 769 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xhosa Development Corporation</td>
<td>R 38 774 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bantu Mining Corporation</td>
<td>R 3 303 000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Expenditure in South West Africa is probably included.

C. 1976-7

The State Budget for 1976-71 was drawn up in a new way. In previous years it had been divided into a Consolidated Revenue Account and a Loan Account. These accounts will in future be combined in a State Revenue Account. Items of anticipated expenditure for 1976-7 and thereafter will, in consequence, not be strictly comparable with Budget figures for previous years.

The Vote for the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, as subsequently revised, included a grant-in-aid to the SA Bantu Trust Fund of R209 203 000; an amount of R131 314 000 to be paid to homeland governments (see later); R2 671 000 to be paid to provincial administrations for the construction of access roads to homelands; and R22 632 000 (of which R527 500 was recoverable) for Bantu Administration in South West Africa.

Besides these amounts, the Department would pay the salaries and expenses of White staff seconded to the service of homeland governments, the estimated costs being:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of seconded personnel</th>
<th>Estimated costs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
EXPENDITURE IN AFRICAN HOMELANDS

The budget of the SA Bantu Trust was:

- Purchase of land
- Compensation to Whites in the Transkei
- Development of homelands in the Republic by the Trust
- Health services and hospitalization in homelands in the Republic
- Services in East Caprivi (part of South West Africa)

R

An additional amount of R25 000 was added later: its purpose was not stated.

The revised method of making State contributions to the expenses of homeland governments was described on page 121 of the 1975 Survey. Estimated amounts for 1976-7 were:

Annual grant

R

Additional grant

R

Total

R
The total for additional grants was increased by R8 291 000 in the Supplementary Estimates, the reason for the increase not being stated.

* Vote N.

228

THE TRANSKEI

TRANSKEI CONSTITUTION AMENDMENT ACT No. 3 OF 1976

When introducing this measure in the Assembly, I the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that it was in partial preparation for independence, planned for later in the year.

The number of chiefs in the Transkei Legislative Assembly was increased from a maximum of 69 to 70, to make provision for one from the district of Port St. Johns. Besides these, there would be the five paramount chiefs, making a combined total of 75 ex-officio members.

There would be 75 instead of 50 elected members, thus, for the first time, resulting in parity between the ex-officio and the elected members.

Among matters that were reserved from legislation by the Legislative Assembly, in terms of the principal Act of 1963, were the appointment, accrediting, and recognition of diplomatic and consular officers and the negotiation, conclusion, or ratification of international conventions, treaties, and agreements. The Amendment Act added "with countries other than the Republic". In consequence, the Transkei would be able to negotiate treaties with the Republic.

The Amendment Act repeated that no issues shall be made out of the Transkei Revenue Fund except in pursuance of a warrant signed by the Minister of Finance of the Transkei, but deleted a proviso that "no such warrant shall have effect unless it is countersigned by the Controller and Auditor-General or a person acting under his general or specific authority".

Civil aviation was added to the subjects in respect of which the Transkeian Legislative Assembly had power to make laws.

Mrs. Helen Suzman (PRP) pointed out that elections, planned for later in the year, would take place with Proclamation 400 of 1960 still in force. Inter alia, this empowered a magistrate or commissioned officer of the police to prohibit the holding of gatherings in any particular place. It was rendered an offence to make a statement calculated or likely to have the effect of subverting the authority of the government. Persons could be detained without trial if this were deemed to be in the public interest.

The Minister replied that the Transkeian Government would itself decide whether or not the Proclamation should be rescinded before the elections. (In fact, as described later, it was extensively used.)

STATUS OF THE TRANSKEI ACT, No. 100 OF 1976
Terms of the Bill
The first draft of the Bill laid down that as from 26 October 1976 the Transkei would be a sovereign and independent state, and would cease to be a part of the Republic of South Africa. The Republic would cease to exercise any authority over this territory. As described later, during the course of the Parliamentary debate the words "26 October 1976" were deleted and replaced by the words "a date determined by the State President". (In fact, 26 October was decided upon.) Any laws in force in the territory immediately prior to independence, including the Transkei Constitution Act of 1963 as amended, would continue in force until repealed or amended by the Transkeian Government, but, unless otherwise agreed by the two governments concerned, would be administered by Transkeian officials.
Laws made by the Transkeian Government would not have to be sent to the State President for assent.
All treaties, conventions, and agreements binding on the Republic immediately prior to the date of Transkeian independence and capable of being applied to the Transkei would be binding on the Transkei unless denounced by the Transkeian Government.
Treaties, conventions, and agreements entered into between the Republic and the Transkei would remain in force.
The following categories of persons would become Transkeian citizens, and cease to be South African citizens:
(a) every person who was a citizen of the Transkei at the date of independence;
(b) every person born in the Transkei of parents one or both of whom were citizens of the Transkei at the time of his birth;
(c) every person born outside the Transkei whose father was a citizen of the Transkei at the time of his birth;
(d) every person born out of wedlock (according to custom or otherwise) and outside the Transkei whose mother was a citizen of the Transkei at the time of his birth;
(e) every person who had been lawfully domiciled in the Transkei for a period of at least five years who, on application, was granted Transkeian citizenship;
(f) every South African citizen who was not a citizen of a selfgoverning territory within the Republic, who did not fall into one or other of the categories listed above, but who spoke a language used by the Xhosa or Sotho speaking sections of the Transkeian population, including a dialect of such language;
(g) every South African citizen who was related to any member of the Transkeian population, or had identified himself with any part of such population, or was culturally or otherwise
associated with any member or part of such population.

In the event of doubt as to whether or not any person fell into any of these categories, any authority in the Republic or in the Transkei might refer the matter to a board to be established as agreed upon between the heads of the two governments. The decisions of such a board would be final.

No citizen of the Transkei resident in the Republic at the date of independence would, except as regards citizenship, forfeit any existing rights, privileges, or benefits by reason only of other provisions of this legislation.

(In reference to sub-paragraph (a), above, it had to be borne in mind that the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act, 1970, had laid down that every African in the Republic who was not a citizen of a self-governing territory would become a citizen of one or other territorial authority area, although in international relations he would continue to have the status of a citizen of the Republic. The Bantu Homelands Constitution Act, 1971, provided for legislative assemblies to replace territorial authorities. According to the 1970 Act, as amended in 1974, those who would be citizens of a particular area were Africans born in the area and/or domiciled there; Africans born in the Republic and who spoke any Bantu language or dialect used by the Africans of the area; and Africans born in the Republic who were related to any member of the African population of the area, or who had identified themselves with any part of such population, or who were associated with any part of such population by virtue of their cultural or racial background.

An Explanatory Memorandum issued with the 1970 Bill stated that "all the indigenous Bantu groups thus fall within the scope of this-clause").

Parliamentary debate
Mr. Colin Eglin4 (PRP) opposed the First Reading of the Bill (which had not yet been published). His party did not want to see the fragmentation of SA, which, according to the long title, would clearly result. The Government's move would not eliminate areas of potential conflict, and might generate new ones. It would not resolve the issue of the sharing of political power in the economically active areas of the country. No proper
4 Assembly, 25 May, Hansard 17 cols. 7495-7.
230

TRANSKEI
choice had been put to the people of SA or of the Transkei: specific referendums should have been held.

The United Party voted with the Government to pass the First Reading, but Sir De Villiers Graaff said,5 "We will keep our options open until we have studied the Bill."

Before the Second Reading commenced, Mr. R. J. Lorimer (PRP)," on a point of order, asked for the Speaker's ruling as to whether or not the Bill was a hybrid measure, which adversely affected or might adversely affect the private interests of particular persons or bodies (e.g. non-Xhosa property-owners) as distinct from the interests of the public at large. Mr. Speaker said7 that the question had been raised with him privately in advance, and he accordingly had had an opportunity
of considering the matter. He stated that he was unable to uphold the point of
order, giving his reasons for this decision.
In the course of his Second Reading speech, the Minister of Bantu Administration
and Development said that the legislation would represent the coming-of-age of a
nation. Parliament was being requested to relinquish, irrevocably, its sovereignty
over the Transkei and its people.
In regard to the citizenship provisions, the Minister said that an agreement on the
matter had been reached at Cabinet level between the Transkei and the Republic.
The same categories of people who, generally speaking, were already Transkeian
citizens would become citizens of the independent Transkei, but they would then
cease to be SA citizens.
There had been general speculation, based on statements by the Chief Minister of
the Transkei and his brother, the Minister of Justice, that the measure might result
in large numbers of Africans resident in the Republic and with but tenuous
connections with the Transkei becoming stateless persons. The Minister
emphasised that "if the Transkei should withdraw citizenship from some of the
afore-mentioned citizens they will not become stateless as a result of our (the SA
Government's) actions".
As he had done earlier in the debate on his Vote, the Minister held out the
prospect of increasing privileges to be granted in the White areas to Africans who
identified themselves with their own specific "nations". (These privileges are
outlined on page 184.) "If, after independence," he said, "a Bantu homeland
deprives its own people living in the Republic of South Africa of their own
citizenship, the Government of the Republic will be forced to consider very
seriously whether people from such a homeland are welcome to be in or to come
to our country."

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

Mr. R. M. Cadman (UP) moved that the Bill be read that day six months. He
maintained that "the creation of an independent Transkei is not a magnanimous
gesture acceding to the demands of a subordinate territory for the recognition of
its right to selfdetermination, as the Minister argued, but an invention of the
National Party to rid itself and the country of the pressures, political, social, and
economic, of the Black population, or, in this case, a section of it. It is an entirely
artificial creation initiated, not by the Blacks, but by a section of the Whites for
the benefit of the Whites." Many urban Bantu, he asserted, would prefer the
advantages of a sophisticated urban environment, even without political rights, to
living in a homeland where they possessed such rights. There appeared to be a
misunderstanding of the gravest kind between the Minister and the Chief Minister
of the Transkei in regard to the question of citizenship. Mr. Cadman pleaded for
the Transkei to be accepted as one of the basic units in a federal structure in which
a form of dual citizenship could be retained.
Mr. C. W. Eglin (PRP), too, referred to apparent differences between the Minister and the Chief Minister of the Transkei over the interpretation of citizenship. His party believed that solutions to the problems of South Africa should be found within the totality of South Africa. Nevertheless, in view of the offer already made to the Transkei and its acceptance by at least part of the community there, the PRP would not stand in the way of independence for the territory provided that three conditions were met:

(a) the wishes of the people of the Transkei on the issue of independence must be tested by an open referendum;
(b) independence must be subject to the condition that no South African citizen be compelled to become a citizen of the Transkei and that no South African citizen be deprived of this citizenship except by a voluntary act of renunciation on his part;
(c) appropriate provision should be incorporated in the constitution of the Transkei to safeguard the rights of minorities and to protect the basic rights of citizens.

Because the Bill did not meet these prerequisites, Mr. Eglin, too, moved that it be read that day six months.

Towards the close of the long debate Sir De Villiers Graaff said it had been one of the most important ever held in the SA Parliament. "It heralds the first stage of the Nationalist Government's long-term policy of seeking to solve the problems of our plural society by what I would describe as systematic abdications of sovereignty over large portions of our common fatherland."

The Second Reading was passed by 113 votes to 43.

None of the amendments to the Bill moved by the Opposition during the Committee Stage was accepted. A division was called on every clause. The Minister did, however, agree to consider an amendment moved by a member of his own party, to the effect that the date of independence should not be fixed but be left for the State President to determine. As indicated earlier, this suggestion was accepted (but the State President left the date unchanged).

At the Third Reading, the UP again moved that the Bill be read that day six months.

The Minister did agree to consider one amendment moved by a member of the UP, Senator B. R. Bamford, during the Senate debate on the Bill. Senator Bamford proposed that the final decision in cases of doubtful citizenship should not be left to a board set up as agreed upon by the heads of the two governments. There should be right of appeal to the Supreme Court. The Minister said that he would have to discuss this matter with the Transkeian authorities.

IMPLICATIONS FOR URBAN AFRICANS OF CITIZENSHIP
PROVISION

Questioned in the Assembly on 28 April, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development replied, "I have on many occasions in the past said that the citizenship qualification of Bantu persons in the White areas will not affect their Section 10 privileges." (He was referring to Section 10(1) of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945 as amended, in terms of which certain categories of Africans qualify to remain in urban areas.)

It was reported on page 103 of last year's Survey that the Deputy Minister announced that travel within South Africa would be made as easy as possible for citizens of homelands that became independent. In the course of his speech in the Senate on the Status of the Transkei Bill the Minister indicated that these people would have freedom of movement within the Administration Board areas where they lived, and little red tape would apply when they wished to travel to and from their own homelands. "The identification of the Black man with his own nation will put the so-called privileges of Section 10... in the shade. Section 10... will possibly not need to be repealed because the nations concept will overshadow it."

The Minister indicated, too, that homeland citizens would receive preferential treatment in employment, home-ownership in the towns, hospitalisation, trading licences, and the rights of professional persons to practise in urban townships.

As reported on page 82 of the 1975 Survey, following a meeting of the Prime Minister with homeland leaders, the Minister announced that the Government intended removing restrictions that had been imposed between 1963 and 1969 on home ownership by Africans in urban areas (on leasehold stands), and would also remove various restrictions on the activities of African traders in urban townships and on the ownership of consulting rooms and offices by professional persons. Later in 1975 it was announced that the removal of these restrictions would apply only to people who had applied to become citizens of a homeland. As described elsewhere in this volume, during the grave unrest during the second half of the year under review, the authorities announced that all urban Africans, and not only homeland citizens, would be permitted to own their homes, and that the lease of the stands would be for indefinite periods, no longer limited to 30 years with the option of renewal. But traders renewing their licences, and professional people wishing to practise in an urban area, would still have to produce certificates of homeland citizenship. (This stipulation, too, was subsequently dropped.) The citizenship of an African child has to be entered on its birth certificate.

A draft constitution for independence was published in a special Gazette in Umtata on 23 April. It was announced that the final version would be signed by the Transkeian President on 26 October.
According to the draft, the Transkei would become an independent republic with a non-executive president as head of state, elected by the National Assembly. This Assembly would initially be constituted as provided for in the Transkei Constitution Amendment Act of 1976, described on page 228: i.e. it would have 75 ex-officio and 75 elected members. The Executive Council would consist of a maximum of 15 ministers. The granting of citizenship and the franchise would be on a non-racial basis, but those applying for citizenship must have been domiciled residents of the Transkei for at least five years.

Paramount Chief Matanzima told a party congress that his government would repeal a number of the Republic's racially discriminatory laws in so far as they applied to the Transkei. He listed a number of these, but did not include the Immorality Act, the Mixed Marriages Act, the Suppression of Communism Act, the Terrorism Act, the 180-day detention clause of the Criminal Procedure Act, nor the "emergency" Proclamation 400 of 1960.

At a meeting in July, the Paramount Chief said that in the Transkei there would be full equality in every sphere of human activity for blacks and whites. There would be no discrimination in hotels, land ownership, or amenities. Government schools would be open to all.

Xhosa would be the official language. The draft constitution originally provided for legislative measures to be published in Xhosa, English, and Afrikaans, but following submissions by Sotho-speaking members of the Legislative Assembly it was decided to drop Afrikaans in favour of Sotho.

Much controversy arose over the citizenship clause of the draft constitution as this affected Xhosa people of Transkei origin who were resident outside the territory. The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said in the Assembly in March that an estimated 1 300 000 Xhosa resident in White areas of the Republic qualified for Transkeian citizenship. As mentioned earlier, in terms of the Republic's Status of the Transkei Bill, practically all of these people would become Transkeian citizens, and would cease to be South African citizens. "Borderline" cases, where the person's citizenship was not clear, would be referred to a board to be established as agreed upon by the two heads of state.

Paramount Chief Matanzima told the Press that he did not accept these provisions. All Africans of Transkeian origin living permanently in South Africa would be given a choice of whether or not to become Transkeian citizens, he said. Those who decided against it would be the responsibility of the South African Government. His brother, Chief George Matanzima, the Minister of Justice, made similar statements during a visit to London.

In the course of the debate on his Vote in the House of Assembly on 28 April, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that the draft independence constitution had been agreed upon by both sides at a joint Cabinet meeting. (This had been held on 6 April, under the chairmanship of Mr. Vorster.)
According to the Rand Daily Mail of 16 June and 29 July, a joint statement was issued after the meeting, stating, inter alia, "Outstanding constitutional and fiscal matters were discussed and agreed to in principle."

It would appear that the only significant difference between the Status of the Transkei Bill and the Republic of Transkei Constitution Bill was in regard to "borderline" cases. In terms of 2 Rand Daily Mail, 20 July.
s Hansard 6 col. 456.
4 Rand Daily Mail, 22 March, 30 April, 7 June.
5 Hansard 13 cols. 5559-66.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
both measures, nearly all of the Africans of Transkeian origin living in the Republic would automatically become Transkeian citizens and lose their South African citizenship.
The Rand Daily Mail reported that clause 57 (a) (iii) of the Republic of Transkei Constitution Bill provided that every person who was a Transkei citizen immediately before independence would become a citizen of an independent Transkei. The Transkei Constitution Act of 1963 laid down that citizens of the territory would include all Africans who were born in the Transkei or who had been legally domiciled there for at least five years, together with those living outside the territory who spoke any dialect of Cape Nguni and owed no allegiance to any other African homeland, and Sotho-speaking persons who were members of tribes resident in the Transkei. In terms of this definition, virtually all Africans of Transkei origin would be citizens of the Transkei at the time of independence.
The Rand Daily Mail pointed out, irrespective of where they lived.
Clauses 57 (c) and (d) of the Republic of Transkei Constitution Bill provided that every person born after independence to a Transkei citizen outside the Transkei would be a Transkei citizen.
The Legislative Assembly met during May to consider the Bill, and left these clauses intact. It did amend Clause 58 (2), but this dealt with people of mixed ethnic or racial origin-the "borderline" cases. The original wording was that any person found to be predominantly Xhosa or Sotha-speaking who was descended from, or associated with, any of the tribes resident in the Transkei "shall be registered as and become a citizen of the Transkei". The Legislative Assembly amended this to read "may apply for registration as and become a citizen". This is the main difference between the Transkei's own Bill and the South African one, which provides for a board to decide upon citizenship in "borderline cases".
As described later in this chapter, Mr. Knowledge Guzana was ousted as leader of the opposition Democratic Party during January by Mr. H. B. Neokazi. The latter was not a member of the Legislative Assembly, but two of his supporters were members-Messrs. L. L. Mgudlwa and A. S. Xobololo. A special session of the Legislative Assembly was called on 26 and 27 July, at which the draft Bill was again considered. According to the Rand Daily Mail, Messrs. Mgudlwa and Xobololo were stated to have planned to move that the Assembly should not
accept independence unless and until the Republic gave all Transkeians in the "White" areas the option of remaining South African citizens. But very shortly before the session opened both men, together with other leading members of their party, were detained by the Transkeian authorities under Proclamation 400. Mr. Guzana, now head of the New Democratic Party, did not challenge Clause 57 of the Bill, described above, and it was not altered. But Paramount Chief Matanzima continued to maintain that the Transkei's Bill made citizenship optional for those living outside the territory.

A further meeting of the Joint Cabinet Independence Committee was held in Pretoria on 9 September, under the chairmanship of Mr. Vorster. According to a joint communiqué issued afterwards, the meeting finalised agreements to regulate necessary inter-state relations. No reference was made to the question of citizenship.

The Transkei Constitution Act was passed at the first meeting of the Legislative Assembly after independence on 26 October.

FURTHER LEGISLATION PASSED BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN PARLIAMENT IN CONNECTION WITH HOMELAND INDEPENDENCE, AND AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS INVOLVED

Electoral Laws Amendment Act, No. 98 of 1976
This measure was designed to make it possible for White South African citizens living in an independent homeland to vote in elections in the Republic. They will vote as special voters unless they happen on polling day to be visiting the place within the electoral division where they are registered, and prefer to cast their votes there. They will remain registered in their present constituencies until after the next delimitation, when they will be registered in the constituency nearest to their homes.

Coloured Persons’ Representative Council Amendment Act, No. 94 of 1976
Similarly, Coloured South African citizens who are resident in a homeland that becomes independent will retain their votes in CPRC elections held in the Republic. This measure also empowered the CPRC to use its funds to render services to such persons.

Financial Arrangements with the Transkei Act, No. 106 of 1976
During the 1976-7 financial year the Transkeian Government will receive from the State Revenue Fund the outstanding amounts of sums already voted (see page 226), and any additional sums that may be appropriated by Parliament or authorised by the Minister of Finance. It will also receive any outstanding amounts already voted by the Cape Provincial Council, and such outstanding amounts as, in the opinion of the Minister of Finance, 6 Rand Daily Mail, 27 and 29 July. 7 ibid, 10 September.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
are equal to the amount of taxes and other moneys paid by Transkeian citizens in the Republic during the financial year concerned. From 1977-8 on, grants will be made at the discretion of the Minister of Foreign Affairs in consultation with the Minister of Finance. These will consist of:
(a) amounts equal to the taxes and other moneys paid by Transkeian citizens in the Republic during the financial year concerned;
(b) an amount determined by the Minister of Finance, which will not exceed the total amounts due during 1976-7 from Parliamentary and Cape Provincial Council Votes. To this will be added any amount which the Minister considers the Transkei will be required to spend in the 1977-8 financial year in order to carry on services for which the Transkei Government has become responsible, less any revenue which will accrue from these services during that year.
Parliament may appropriate further amounts.
Property of the State, including the Post Office, the Railways and Harbours Administration, and the Cape Provincial Administration, which is used in connection with services for which the Transkei becomes responsible after independence may be transferred to the Transkei or its nominee. The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development announced in the Assembly on 11 June1 that approval had been granted in principle for the raising of an overseas loan of about R14-million by the Transkei. Actual negotiations had, however, as yet not taken place. According to Paramount Chief Matanzima,2 any loan raised would be guaranteed by the South African Government.
Bantu Laws Amendment Act, No. 4 of 1976
This measure provided for the transfer of any outstanding quota land (as determined in 1936) to a territory after it becomes independent. It was announced in December 19751 that the joint Cabinet committee appointed by the Republic and the Transkei had decided that, either before or on Transkeian independence, Port St. Johns and other so-called "White spots" would be included in the Transkei, as would all property owned by the SA Bantu Trust within the territory. After independence, Whites who suffered financial loss when disposing of properties in the Transkei would continue to receive compensation through the SA Bantu Trust.
Transkei Development Corporation
Proclamation R50 of 1976 provided for the setting up of a Transkei Development Corporation, which would take over the assets and work of the Xhosa Development Corporation in that territory. This matter is dealt with later in this chapter.
Motor Carrier Transportation Amendment Act, No. 88 of 1976
In 1972, the functions of the Umtata Local Transportation Board were transferred to the Transkeian Government. But this government had no jurisdiction over motor carrier transportation in the Republic of South Africa, and vice versa. An informal agreement was reached to the effect that if no persons or goods were loaded or unloaded, conveyance from one part of the Transkei to another over RSA territory could take place without road transportation authorisation. The amendment Act formalised this agreement. The Transkeian Government proposed introducing a Road Transportation Act to provide for through-conveyance from one point in the Republic to another over Transkeian territory.4

Compulsory Motor Vehicle Insurance Act, No. 87 of 1976
An agreement may be reached between the RSA and a newly-independent State which formerly was part of the Republic in terms of which existing third party insurance contracts (covering damages caused by uninsured and unidentified motor vehicles) will remain valid until the expiry of the insurance period concerned. An agreement may provide that insurance issued will apply in both areas after the end of the current period.

Appeals from the Supreme Court of Transkei Act, No. 62 of 1976
The Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of SA will have the same jurisdiction to hear and determine appeals from any decision of the Supreme Court of Transkei as it has in respect of any decision of the courts of any provincial or local division of the Supreme Court in SA.

Second Attorneys Amendment Act, No. 115 of 1976
The Transkeian Government may provide that the Law Society of the Cape of Good Hope may perform any functions in respect of persons and matters in the Transkei which are similar to the functions assigned to it by the Attorneys, Notaries, and Conveyancers Admission Act of 1934.

A Minister of Transport, Assembly Hansard 19 col. 8757.

239

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
Second Public Service Amendment Act, No. 64 of 1976
No officer or employee of the Public Service shall forfeit any rights and privileges which he enjoys under the principal Act by reason only that, in terms of an Act of Parliament, he becomes a citizen of any territory which previously formed part of the Republic but has become an independent state.

Public Service and Post Office Service Amendment Act, No. 97 of 1976
In terms of the Public Service Act and of the Post Office Service Act, no person may be appointed in a permanent capacity to a classified post unless such a person is, inter alia, a SA citizen. The Amendment Act provides that citizens of independent states which formerly were part of the RSA will continue to qualify for permanent appointment.

Second Railways and Harbours Acts Amendment Act, No. 89 of 1976
The Railways and Harbours Pensions for Non-Whites Act of 1974 laid down that an African who was not born in the RSA or the territory of SWA would not qualify for membership of the pension fund, nor would he qualify for an annuity in terms of earlier legislation. The Amendment Act provides for the payment of these benefits to African employees who were born in an independent state which formerly was part of the Republic or of SWA.

The Railways and Harbours Pensions for Non-Whites Act of 1974 laid down that an African who was not born in the RSA or the territory of SWA would not qualify for membership of the pension fund, nor would he qualify for an annuity in terms of earlier legislation. The Amendment Act provides for the payment of these benefits to African employees who were born in an independent state which formerly was part of the Republic or of SWA.

Second Unemployment Insurance Amendment Act, No. 108 of 1976
No benefit or allowance payable to any person immediately prior to the date on which the Transkei became independent will cease to be payable by reason only that the person concerned ceased to be a contributor by virtue of the Transkei becoming independent. This will apply in respect of any period of unemployment occurring within three years of Transkeian independence.

Second Coloured Persons’ Education Amendment Act, No. 95 of 1976
Education services provided by the Coloured Representative Council for Coloured persons with SA citizenship who reside in a territory which becomes independent will be continued after the date of independence.

Pension Laws Amendment Act, No. 83 of 1976
Similarly, social pensions will continue to be paid to SA citizens in territories that become independent.

TRANSKEI
Treaties and Agreements
A series of treaties and agreements was concluded between the governments of the Republic and the Transkei.5 Inter alia, each party undertook "never, for any reason whatsoever", to resort to the use of armed force against the territorial sovereignty and political independence of the other. Neither would allow its territory to be used for military, subversive, or other hostile actions against the other.

The Transkei applied for full membership of the customs union between South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland.

Rail services in the Transkei would be run by the SA Railways on an agency basis. The SA Government would continue to second civil servants to the government service of the Transkei.

SA and Transkeian citizens entering one another's countries would have to produce identity documents, travel documents, or passports, and to use specified ports of entry only. Citizens of either state wishing to remain in the other country for more than fourteen days would require special permission from the immigration authorities. No Transkeian engaged for work in SA would be allowed to enter the Republic unless, in addition to complying with immigration requirements, he complied with a labour treaty agreed to by the two countries. The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said in the Assembly on 29 April" that (apart from seconded officials) SA citizens who earned their money
in the Transkei would be subject to tax which the Transkeian Government might impose.

Political leaders in prison or exile
A matter on which agreement was not reached was in regard to the release of prisoners. Paramount Chief Matanzima is reported to have told a party congress, and the Press subsequently,' that he would ask the Republican Government to grant an amnesty to all prisoners of Transkeian origin to mark the granting of independence. This would include an amnesty for the former top ANC leaders Messrs. Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, and Govan Mbeki, who were serving prison sentences on Robben Island. However, the SA Minister of Justice stated that, after careful consideration, it had been decided not to grant this request.

The Paramount Chief is reported to have said that, after independence, the Republican Government would have no jurisdiction over Transkeians who had fled the country. They would be able to apply to his government for passports and visas.

The agreements, dealing with 53 different matters, were set out in Government Gazette No. 5320 of 22 October.

4 Hansard 13 col. 5666.
1 Rand Daily Mail, 17 March; Star, 10 April; Sunday Times, 11 April.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
Diplomatic representation
On 13 August the South African Digest reported that the then SA Commissioner-General for the Transkei, Mr. Danie Potgieter, would become SA Ambassador to the Transkei after independence. The Transkei appointed representatives in the main cities of SA.

PARTY POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE TRANSKEI, AND DETENTIONS'
As described in previous issues of the Survey, at the first Transkeian general election, in 1963, Paramount Chief Matanzima's Transkei National Independence Party (TNIP) came into power with a very small majority, being supported by most of the chiefs but very few of the elected members. Over the next ten years, however, there was a pronounced swing to the TNIP and away from the opposition Democratic Party (DP), led by Mr. Knowledge Guzana. The traditional standpoint of the DP had been that the homelands should be regarded merely as provinces of the Republic, their peoples having a voice in the government of the country as a whole. During 1974 the DP urged that the electorate should be consulted by means of a referendum before negotiations for independence were held with the SA Government.

At a DP congress in January, Mr. Guzana was ousted as party leader by a young accountant, Mr. Hector B. Ncokazi. He strongly opposed independence, being committed to the principle of an undivided, democratic, South Africa. He urged that Proclamation 400 should be repealed and free elections held.

After his election, a number of prominent members of the DP in the Legislative Assembly defected to the TNIP, among them Paramount Chief Tutor Ndamase. Others became independents. Mr. Guzana, too, at first became an independent,
but shortly afterwards, during March, announced the formation of a New Democratic Party; it was stated to have six seats in the Assembly. Mr. Ncokazi had never stood for election to the Assembly. Paramount Chief Matanzima announced on 19 March that Mr. Ncokazi had asked for recognition as leader of the opposition, with one of his supporters, Mr. L. L. Mgudlwa, deputising for him in the Assembly. But, the Paramount Chief said, he did not recognize Mr. Ncokazi as leader of any party. Instead, he conferred recognition on Mr. Guzana. Later that month the Minister of Justice, Mr. George Matanzima, who was deputising for his brother in the Assembly, accused the DP under Mr. Ncokazi of having communist orientation. The Assembly gave the Government a mandate to "take all reasonable steps" to curb alleged plans by the DP to "promote chaos".

The DP had planned to contest all seats in the general election to take place on 29 September. Mr. Ncokazi intended standing for election. Nominations had to be submitted by 2 August. Shortly beforehand, between 25 and 27 July, the Transkeian Government ordered the indefinite detention of nine prominent persons in terms of Proclamation 400. They included most of the leaders of the DP: among them were Mr. Ncokazi, Mr. Mgudlwa, Mr. S. A. Xobololo (party treasurer and a member of the Assembly), Mr. Jackson B. Nkosiyane (the party's national chairman), and Mr. 0. Mpondlo. Mr. Mpondlo was the only one of them whose nomination had already been submitted. A little later, Chief Bangelizwe Joyi was detained, together with three commoners who, were candidates for election.

As mentioned on page 254, many Sotho-speaking people with homes in Transkeian territory campaigned for the right of Sotho areas to secede from the Transkei before it became independent. Three of their leaders, too, were detained by the Transkeian authorities under Proclamation 400.

THE ELECTIONS

The detentions left the DP in disarray. It was stated that some members who had intended standing for election opted out rather than risk detention. The TNIP was, in advance of the elections, assured of the support of 72 of the 75 nominated chiefs. Opposition supporters were reported to be Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo and Chief M. Mtirara (DP) and Chief G. M. Mabandla (NDP). Sixteen of the 75 elected seats fell unopposed to the TNIP. In a reported 30 other constituencies the only opposition to the official TNIP candidates consisted of unofficial party rivals. A byelection was necessary for two seats in the Nqamakwe constituency, which was held on 18 October.

The final result was that the DP won one seat, the NDP two, and in one an independent was returned. Mr. Guzana was decisively defeated in the constituency he had held since the introduction of self-government in 1963. The state of the parties for the time being was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Nominated chiefs</th>
<th>Elected members</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to the official report, the percentage poll was 65.95 per cent considerably higher than at the two previous elections.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

But, in the Rand Daily Mail of 20 October, Patrick Laurence challenged this figure. He quoted Professor Lawrence Schlemmer of the Natal Institute of Social Research as having said that officials had used a "weird method" of calculation, having assumed that the percentage poll in the 16 uncontested seats had been 100 per cent. If the number of votes cast in the contested seats only were taken into account the percentage poll would have worked out at 43.45 per cent.

The National Assembly elected Paramount Chief Botha Sigcau of Eastern Pondoland as State President, Mr. Z. M. Mabandla as Speaker of the House, and Chief D. D. P. Ndamase as Deputy Speaker. Mr. Mabandla had, previously, been a member of the Cabinet.

The Sotho Chief Jeremiah Moshesh, previously a member of the Cabinet, was appointed roving ambassador for the Transkei in the Americas, Europe, Africa, the Middle East, and Asia.

At the first working session of the Assembly, on 28 October, the one independent member decided to join the TNIP. More significantly, an elected member of the TNIP, Mr. Cromwell Diko, crossed the floor to form a new party which he named the Transkei People's Freedom Party. When three others who had been DP members before that party split immediately joined him he became leader of the majority opposition party: Mr. Diko stated that he expected support from a number of others. He told the Assembly that he had taken this action to prevent Paramount Chief Matanzima from becoming a dictator. His party stood for the election of all members of the National Assembly except the five paramount chiefs, and the inclusion in the constitution of a Bill of Rights.

Mr. Peter Nkosiyane, a member of the Assembly who joined the Freedom Party, and eight other opposition supporters, were detained under Proclamation R400 early in November.

STATUS OF PERSONS OF TRANSKEIAN ORIGIN IN THE REPUBLIC OF SA AT THE TIME OF INDEPENDENCE

On 26 October the Bantu Affairs Commissioner for the Witwatersrand, Mr. F. B. du Randt, gave an assurance on the Government's behalf that the position of the estimated 1.5-million Africans of Transkeian origin who were in the Republic of SA at the time of Transkeian independence would remain unchanged for the following two years. Anyone who had become a Transkeian citizen would be allowed to remain in any area of the Republic where he was legally present. He would require no additional documentation, and would remain in possession of his reference book. He could even change his work without having to return to the
Transkei. At the end of a two-year interim period he would have to obtain a Transkei identity document. It was, however, reported on 30 October that, although Transkeians wanting to enter the Transkei from SA would need to

TRANSKEI produce reference books only, if they wished to return to SA they would require travel documents issued by the Transkeian Government. These would be issued only to people who had applied for citizenship. Applicants would have to pay R5 and furnish two identical passport photographs. Transkeians wishing to take up work in SA would also require a contract of employment attested by a magistrate or other authorised official in the Transkei.

RECOGNITION OF AN INDEPENDENT TRANSKEI During May and June, Mr. George Matanzima accompanied by two senior Transkeian officials visited the United States, Britain, various Western European countries, and a number of states in Africa in a move to secure international recognition for an independent Transkei. On 28 June, however, the OAU decided that member-states should not confer such recognition.1 It was reported on 13 September that the nine countries of the European Economic Community (including Britain) had decided not to acknowledge the Transkei's forthcoming independence. French and German delegates to a joint meeting said that, following discussions with Dr. Kissinger, it seemed clear that the United States, too, would refuse recognition.2 On 27 October a resolution was adopted in the UN General Assembly, by 134 votes to nil, declaring the independence of the Transkei to be invalid, and calling on all governments not to establish diplomatic or economic contacts with Transkei "or any other Bantustans". Despite the extensive efforts that had been made by the Transkei to canvass support, South Africa was the only country that sent official representatives to attend the independence celebrations. Of the homelands in South Africa, only BophuthaTswana was officially represented. On 28 October, however, Taiwan expressed its willingness to co-operate with the Transkei in matters of a practical nature.

EXODUS FROM GLEN GREY AND HERSCHEL During 1971 the Africans of the Glen Grey district were asked to indicate, in a referendum, whether they wished to remain part of the Ciskei or to join the Transkei. By a large majority (reported to be 83 per cent') they chose the former alternative. No referendum was held in the Herschel district. However, it was reported in March 1975 that, in a secret ballot, the Ciskeian Legislative Assembly had resolved that the two districts should be ceded to the Transkei in return for alternative land between East London and Queenstown. Residents of the districts concerned who wished

1 Rand Daily Mail, 29 June.
2 Star of that date.
1 Rand Daily Mail, 26 October.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

to maintain their ties with the Ciskei would be assisted to move, being given land in the new areas. Glen Grey and Herschel were incorporated with the Transkei as from 1 December 1975.

According to various reports2, by the time that Transkeian independence was imminent, some 5 000 people had been moved from these districts by the Ciskeian Government with assistance from the SA Government, which inter alia, lent 1 200 tents and about 100 iron huts to provide temporary accommodation in the resettlement areas. But it appears that when independence was finally negotiated, far larger numbers of people than had been estimated decided to leave. Reports stated that possibly more than 15 000 had moved. They were taken to temporary resettlement camps near Wittlesea, and Queenstown, called Oxton, Sada, Bushy Park, Yonda, Kartburg, and Kamastone. Because of the unexpectedly high numbers, the facilities provided were highly inadequate: it was reported that there were no latrines at all at Bushy Park and Oxton.

SOME NOTES ON HOMELANDS
OTHER THAN THE TRANSKEI

VIEWS ON FUTURE INDEPENDENCE

As described in an earlier chapter of this Survey, senior representatives of all the homelands except the Transkei met at the Holiday Inn, Jan Smuts Airport, towards the end of August to discuss the grave unrest in African townships. In a joint statement issued at the end of the meetings1 they said, inter alia, that, with the exception of BophuthaTswana, the assembled leaders wished "to reiterate that they have no intention whatever of opting for so-called independence, as we do not want to abdicate our birthright as South Africans, as well as forfeiting our share of the economy and wealth which we have jointly built". (It subsequently transpired, however, that Dr. Phatudi of Lebowa might be prepared to change his mind on the subject of future independence if the land question was settled to his satisfaction.)

THE CISKEI

The Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Mr. Lennox Sebe, is reported2 to have said that the Ciskei and Transkei would never amalgamate, because their priorities were so far apart. The main priority for the Ciskei was not independence, but the development of agriculture and secondary industry.

Proclamation R49 of 1976 provided for the setting up of a Ciskeian National Development Corporation. It has a board consisting of five Africans and five Whites.

Proclamation R35 of 12 March empowered the Chief Minister, "for reasons which he may deem sound and cogent, by notice in writing under his hand and addressed to the Minister concerned, to remove such Minister from office". (Similar powers had, earlier, been given to the Chief Ministers of other homelands.)
Farms called Zweledinga and Ntabethemba, both in the Queenstown district, are being used for the resettlement of those Africans from the Glen Grey and Herschel districts, respectively, who do not wish to become Transkeian citizens. (The two latter districts have been ceded to the Transkei.) Proclamation R287 of 19 December 1975 provided for registered voters in the ceded districts to cast their votes in the new districts in Ciskeian elections. Proclamation R273 of 12 December 1975 was to the effect 1 Sunday Times, 22 August.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

that land previously under the area of jurisdiction of the urban local authority of Alice was in future to be reserved for occupation by Africans, or by the Ciskeian Government, Bantu Investment Corporation, or Xhosa Development Corporation. On 1 February, the Sunday Times pointed out an anomaly: African business or professional men who were buying properties in Alice were unable to obtain any service in either of the two hotels in the town, since these were still reserved for Whites and the owner could not afford to renovate them to the standard required for their classification as international hotels. KWAZULU

It was reported3 that late in 1975 Paramount Chief (King) Goodwill Zwelithini had been involved in a meeting of certain Zulu persons, led by Chief Maphumulo, who were antagonistic to the Chief Executive Officer, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, and were planning the creation of an opposition party. In terms of the KwaZulu constitution,4 the Paramount Chief was required to hold himself aloof from party politics, confining himself to a constitutional role.

Chief Maphumulo announced that the new party was to be named the Inala Zulu Party. (Inala is the name of the Paramount Chief’s first regiment, formed from men of his own age when he came to the throne.) The formation of a national Zulu movement called Inkatha was described on page 131 of last year's Survey. A special conference of Inkatha was called during January to discuss the constitutional situation. Chief Buthelezi publicly accused the Paramount Chief, in his presence, of having involved himself in party politics on several occasions. He called upon the Zulu people to choose between himself and the Paramount Chief as the nation's political leader. The Paramount Chief then expressed his support for Chief Buthelezi, dissociated himself from the new party, warned it not to use the name of his regiment, and signed a pledge to refrain from taking an active part in politics.

Chief Maphumulo and others concerned were severely censured. Chief Buthelezi accused certain (named) officials of the Republic's Department of Information of having helped to plan the opposition party. At a general conference of Inkatha held during July it was resolved to introduce the principles and philosophy of the movement in KwaZulu schools. The conference moved that education for nationhood be introduced in schools, with particular stress on the importance of culture and self-identity. An issue of the Inkatha bulletin was banned by the SA
It was reported on page 130 of last year's Survey that no elections had as yet been held in KwaZulu which, in consequence, remained at the first stage of self-governance provided for in the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act of 1971. The main reason for the delay was that the Legislative Assembly had continued to insist that citizenship certificates, rather than the identity documents contained in reference books (colloquially known as "the dompas"), should be used to identify voters. Very slow progress had been made with the registration of citizens. Replying to a question in the Assembly, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that 481,130 citizenship certificates were issued to KwaZulu citizens during 1975. About 1,342,870 had still to be issued.

During a session of the Legislative Assembly in May, Chief Buthelezi proposed that the policy be changed: that Zulus without citizenship certificates should be allowed to use their reference books to register as voters. This proposal was not accepted. Amendments to the KwaZulu constitution were gazetted as Proclamations 222 and 223 of 22 October, which set out the full procedure for elections to be held early in 1977. It was laid down, inter alia, that the voters would be citizens of KwaZulu of the age of 18 years or over who were in possession of citizenship certificates.

Proclamation R22 of 13 February declared the Ndumu game reserve a released area for the purpose of acquisition by the SA Bantu Trust. Proclamation R37 of 12 March reserved for occupation or acquisition by Africans all land over which the urban local authorities of Impendle and Nongoma had jurisdiction.

As reported on page 135 of last year's Survey, in November 1975 the annual congress of the ruling Democratic Party (BDP) gave the Chief Minister, Chief Lucas Mangope, an overwhelming majority mandate to lead Bophuthatswana to independence, even if the SA Government refused first to consolidate the country in a way deemed satisfactory. Chief Mangope told the congress that independence would be used as a lever for bringing about political change and for ending racial discrimination in South Africa. On 19 November the legislative assembly, by majority BDP vote, agreed to start negotiations for independence.

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 30 January, the Prime Minister said that Chief Mangope had applied for Bophuthatswana to become independent. This application, he said,
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

stated, had not been coupled with a request for additional land or for new proposals for consolidation of the homeland.

But this issue is by no means a dead one. At a conference held at Montshiwa, near Mafeking, at the end of July, the BDP unanimously rejected the existing allocation of land between white and black. Chief Mangope said emphatically that his government would continue to negotiate and fight for a fair and equitable division of land, before and after independence. He predicted that if these efforts failed, there might well be bloodshed.2

It was reported in the Rand Daily Mail on 28 February that, on the previous day, the Prime Minister had met Chief Mangope. According to an official communique issued thereafter, a Cabinet committee and a working committee, each consisting of representatives of both governments, were to be appointed immediately to plan for independence.

The secretary-general of the BDP, Mr. Amos Kgomongwe, announced on 28 June' that the BophuthaTswana Cabinet had taken note of the controversy over the citizenship of people of Transkeian origin. The Cabinet believed that citizenship should be optional for urban Tswanas. The party's policy was that citizenship should be granted on merit, regardless of race, which implied that people should be free to apply or not.

There are stated' to be more than one million Tswanas living in "white" areas.

Chief Mangope announced during the year under review that he would no longer issue citizenship certificates in terms of the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act of 1970. At its Montshiwa conference, referred to earlier, the BDP unanimously rejected this Act. The resolution read, in part, "Possession of a citizenship card in terms of the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act . . . will not qualify the holder for citizenship of a truly independent BophuthaTswana. An independent BophuthaTswana will have her own Citizenship Act, in terms of which citizenship will be optional".

As mentioned in previous issues of this Survey, in recent years there have been two opposition parties in BophuthaTswana, led, respectively, by Chief Tidimane Pilane and Chief Herman Maseloane. At the end of 1975 they decided to form a coalition, known as the National Seoposengwe Party, to oppose negotiations for independence. The homeland was too fragmented, they considered, and those becoming citizens of an independent state might have to forfeit any claim to rights in the rest of SA. This new party's chief whip later crossed the floor to join Chief Mangope's BDP5

2 Rand Daily Mail and Star, 2 August.
3 Rand Daily Mail, 29 June.
4 Ibid, 2 August.
-1 Ibid, 30 December 1975 and 12 March.
250

LEBOWA
Chief Mangope, like Chief Buthelezi, has accused SA government officials of interference in homeland politics. Such interference was strongly condemned by the BDP congress in July.

The homeland towns of Ga-Rankuwa, Mabopane, and Temba, a little to the north of Pretoria, are the largest in BophuthaTswana and continue to grow rapidly. According to the issue of the official publication Bantu for February, they had a combined population of 153,441. But these settled residents were far outnumbered by the estimated 350,000 to 360,000 Africans living in squalid squatter slums in Winterveld, nearby. A high proportion of them are, apparently, non-Tswana, attracted to the area by the opportunities for employment in Pretoria, about 36 km away, or in border or homeland industrial areas on the northern outskirts of the city.

It was announced in October that the Amandebele tribe of Chieftainess Esther Kekana at Majaneng, near Hammanskraal, had withdrawn its representatives from the Legislative Assembly because members of the tribe objected to the enforced use of Tswana as the medium of instruction in the lower standards. They preferred Pedi.

LEBOWA

Again in 1976, leadership disputes have disrupted the political scene in Lebowa. As described in previous issues of this Survey, the constitution of 1972, as amended in 1975 and 1976, provides for a Legislative Assembly of 100 members, of whom 40 are elected, the rest being chiefs (or, in one case, the chief's representative). The Cabinet, three members of which must be chiefs, consists of a Chief Minister, elected by the Assembly, and six other Ministers, appointed by the Chief Minister. (The size of the Cabinet was increased by one in 1976 to allow for the appointment of a Minister of Health.)

Prior to 1972, Chief Maurice M. Matlala had been Chief Minister of the interim Legislative Assembly, but after the introduction of the new constitution an elected member, Mr. (later Dr.) Cedric N. Phatudi narrowly defeated Chief Matlala when the Assembly elected a Chief Minister. Mr. Collins Ramusi was elected to the Cabinet as Minister of the Interior. Chief Matlala then announced that he was forming a Lebowa National Party. Mr. Phatudi decided to constitute the Lebowa People's Party (LPP) with himself as leader and Mr. Ramusi as deputy leader. Soon afterwards, when it became clear that Mr. Phatudi commanded majority support, Chief Matlala dissolved his party, merging it with the LPP.

During 1975 a commission headed by Mr. Ramusi advocated, inter alia, that a bicameral legislature be introduced with an Upper House of Chiefs and a Lower
House (the Legislative Assembly) consisting of elected members. Dr. Phatudi supported the proposal, but most of the chiefs were vehemently opposed to it. The matter was shelved for the time being and has, thus far, not again been raised. A little later, more than half of the members of the Assembly called for the removal from office of Mr. Ramusi. Some of the reasons were given on page 139 of last year's Survey. Dr. Phatudi then dismissed Mr. Ramusi from the Cabinet. According to various Press reports, at the end of 1975 Mr. Ramusi and Chief T. J. Mothapo arranged a congress of the LPP at the Chief's royal kraal. Some 300 delegates attended. Dr. Phatudi did not because, it was reported, he claimed that the congress had not been authorized by him as party leader, and was unconstitutional. The congress decided that Dr. Phatudi should be ousted from the leadership of the LPP and that the party's treasurer, Mr. Godfrey Sekhukhune, should also be dismissed from the executive of the LPP. Mr. Ramusi was elected leader, and Chief Mothapo as deputy leader.

Dr. Phatudi remained Chief Minister, as he could be removed from office only if the Legislative Assembly successfully petitioned the State President for his removal. He dismissed Chief Mothapo, who had been Minister of Works, from his Cabinet. Dr. Phatudi had been working in collaboration with Chief Matlala. It had been rumoured that certain of Chief Matlala's followers were planning to restore him to the office of Chief Minister; but Dr. Phatudi dismissed these rumours as a manoeuvre by Mr. Ramusi to sow suspicion between the two of them.

Dr. Phatudi planned to arrange his own congress. He was warned by Mr. J. Phala, chairman of the party's Witwatersrand Regional Council, that he no longer had the right to call meetings under the name of the LPP. Ten chiefs or headmen handed him a letter calling upon him to resign from office when the Legislative Assembly next met, in order "to avoid embarrassment". It was reported that some of the traditional chiefs felt that Dr. Phatudi was undermining the system of chieftainship.

He did call a meeting of "Government supporters", at the kraal of Chief Marishane, and was elected leader.

At the opening of a session of the Legislative Assembly at the end of March, Chief Matlala was elected Speaker. Mr. Ramusi and Chief Mothapo moved a motion of no confidence in the Government, calling upon Dr. Phatudi and his Cabinet to resign. It was reported that only nine of the 79 members present voted for this motion. Mr. Ramusi then announced that he was leader of an opposition party, the Lebowa People's Party. He called for the house to be divided. Reports stated that eight members voted with Mr. Ramusi, three abstained from voting, and the rest supported Dr. Phatudi. The Speaker ruled that Mr. Ramusi could not use the name "Lebowa People's Party" because it was also used by the Government. Both sides
were stated to be taking legal opinion about the use of this name. Meanwhile, Dr. Phatudi expelled Mr. Ramusi from the LPP. The latter's opposition party was not officially recognized by the Assembly.

At a speech made in Soweto on 21 March, Dr. Phatudi rejected independence for Lebowa. Before this could be considered, the land issue had to be settled. But, in any case, "South Africa is our homeland. Who wants to be independent from a country to which he has contributed so much?" Many Whites, he said, rejected the concept of "majority rule", fearing Black domination. But, as he understood it, the term meant the sharing of political power and the country's wealth by both Black and White. (However, Dr. Phatudi is reported to have said in November that Lebowa might seek independence after the land question had been satisfactorily settled.)

The establishment of a Lebowa Development Corporation was gazetted in August.

VENDA

The Venda constitution was described on page 161 of the 1973 Survey. The Legislative Assembly has 60 members, of whom 18 are elected, the rest being chiefs, headmen, or members designated by chiefs. The Chief Minister and at least three Cabinet Ministers must be chiefs.

During 1976, the control of health matters was transferred to the Venda Government.' An additional Cabinet Minister, making seven in all, was in consequence provided for.

The Chief Minister, Chief Patrick Mphephu, heads the ruling Venda National Party, while Mr. Baldwin Mudau leads the opposition Venda Independence Party. The latter is reported to have only about twenty representatives in the Assembly, almost all commoners.

A Venda Development Corporation has been established.

6 Rand Daily Mail, 30 March; Star, 2 April.
Rand Daily Mail, 5, 9, and 13 April.
8 Star, 22 March.
1 Proclamation R152 and Government Notice R1415 of 13 August.
2 Rand Daily Mail Extra, 16 March.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

GAZANKULU

Professor Hudson W. E. Ntsanwisi continues as Chief Minister of Gazankulu, the constitution of which was outlined on page 162 of the 1973 Survey. His Government, too, has taken over the control of health matters.' The establishment of a ShangaanTsonga Development Corporation has been announced.

QWAQWA

As mentioned on page 140 of last year's Survey, in May 1975 Mr. Kenneth Mopeli succeeded Chief Wessels Mota as Chief Minister of Qwaqwa.

It was reported in June" that about 40 000 Sotho-speaking people in the homelands of other groups had made representations to the governments of these homelands and to the central Government, urging that they should, instead, be included in the Qwaqwa area of jurisdiction. These requests came from groups of
people in the Transkei, BophuthaTswana, KwaZulu, and the Ciskei. Speaking of those in the Transkei (the majority), the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said in the Assembly- that if they preferred a different arrangement, they would have to raise the matter with the Transkeian Government.

During August, some of the leaders of these people living in Transkeian territory, who had been campaigning for the right of Sotho areas to secede from the Transkei before it became independent, were placed in detention by the Transkeian authorities under Proclamation 400. They included Chief Neo Sibi, a Malutibased chief, and Mr. A. Letsholo, secretary of the MalutiHerschel South Sotho Central Committee. The Chief Minister of Qwaqwa, Mr. Mopeli, sent a telegram to the SA Prime Minister protesting against this action. It was reported that the Prime Minister referred the matter to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development.’

A few days later, Mr. Mopeli sent a second telegram to the Prime Minister, requesting an urgent meeting with him, and stating "It is high time that form and content is given to your policy in regard to the South Sotho".7

The QwaQwa Cabinet called upon South Sotho nationals to regard Transkei Independence Day as a day of mourning for more than 40 000 of their people who would become "enslaved" in the Transkei on land that historically belonged to the South Sotho. It pointed out that, unlike the Ciskeians, the Basotho of the Herschel district had not been offered the option of moving out and being granted alternative land.8 Mr. Mopeli urged Basotho living in the Transkei not to apply for Transkeian citizenship, and to continue to regard themselves as SA citizens.

SWAZI

A Territorial Authority has been established for the approximately 500 000 Swazis in South Africa, with headquarters at Tonga in the Barberton district of the Eastern Transvaal.

Proclamation R265 and Government Notice R2249 of 28 November 1975 set out regulations for Swazi Bantu Authorities. It was laid down that the Territorial Authority would be made up of not more than seven persons appointed from amongst their members by each of the existing Regional Authorities. (Three then existed—the Legogate, Nkomazi, and Mlondozi Regional Authorities.) Of the seven persons from each area, at least three must be chiefs (unless there were fewer than three chiefs in an area). As far as possible, every tribal and community authority in the area must be represented by one person.

A fourth Regional Authority called Mswati was established shortly afterwards, in terms of Government Notice R2392 of 19 December 1975.
The Territorial Authority was inaugurated at a ceremony at Tonga on 23 April. Chief Johannes M. Dlamini of the newlycreated Mswati Regional Authority was elected Chief Executive Officer, with three others to assist him on the executive council.1

NDEBELE
According to Press reports2 little progress has been made during the year under review with the creation of an Ndebele homeland. A Regional Authority representative of four South Ndebele tribes is reported to exist in the proposed homeland in the vicinity of Groblersdal in the Eastern Transvaal, a leading figure being Chief David Mapoch.

But there is a group of North Ndebele under Chief S. Kekana near Zebediela in the Lebowa homeland, and three groups of Southern Ndebele under their own chiefs to the north of Pretoria in the BophuthaTswana homeland. Their feelings are, apparently, mixed. Some resent having to pay taxes to a homeland authority in which they have no representation, and want their own government, while others are reluctant to leave their present homes.

Ibid, 26 October.
1 Star, 23 April.
2 e.g. Rand Daily Mail, 25 November and 8 December, 1975.

256
PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE HOMELANDS
FARMING
A symposium on agricultural development aid to the homelands was held in Pretoria during May, attended by Black and White delegates. The Minister of Water Affairs and of Forestry, Mr. A. J. Raubenheimer, is reported to have stressed that the agricultural potential that was lying dormant should be developed. The homelands could not expect to continue receiving a large proportion of their essential food supplies from elsewhere. Dr. J. van Marle of the Bantu Investment Corporation said research had shown that agricultural production in some homelands was only three per cent of potential output. Mr. C. J. P. Cilliers, director of the Agricultural Union, expressed the opinion that private White agriculture could play a major role in assisting Africans to improve their farming methods.

The University of the North has begun training agricultural economists as a start to the establishment of a department of agriculture. Previously the only African university offering agricultural training had been Fort Hare.

According to the publication Black Development in South Africa published by Benbo3 in 1976, the gross value of agricultural, livestock, and forestry production in the homelands in 1973 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Crops, vegetables, fruit</td>
<td>29 536 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livestock slaughtered and value of products</td>
<td>52 740 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forestry</td>
<td>2072 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>84 348 000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
No recent statistics are available in regard to the production of traditional crops. In reply to questions in the Assembly on 16 February, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development gave the figures that follow, relating to the situation as at 31 December 1975:


FARMING IN AFRICAN HOMELANDS

18 392 ha were planted with resilient fibres;
14 349 ha were under sugar cane;
379 ha were under coffee;
1 858 ha were under tea;
940 ha were planted with coconuts;
41 ha were under macadamia, cashew, or pecan nuts;
3 148 ha were under citrus.

There were 26 154 ha under irrigation. The fibre decortication plants in operation numbered 109.

The Minister added that 225 609 ha were covered with indigenous forest, commercial plantations covering 94 503 ha had been established, and non-commercial woodlots totalled 25 853 ha in extent. Twenty sawmills and twenty creosoting plants were in operation.

The issue of the official publication Bantu for August contained an article on sugar production in KwaZulu, where there is great potential for expansion. There were 6 090 registered growers in this homeland in 1975-6. Production by Africans was 2.5 per cent of the South African total that year, having increased from 0.8 per cent in 1950. The KwaZulu Government ran three agricultural training centres where courses in sugar production were given. The average size of individual holdings had increased in recent years, but many were still far too small.

It was reported in the issue of the South African Digest on 5 March that the SA Sugar Association had spent R60 000, and planned over a period to invest another R5 000 000, on assisting African small growers of cane.

The Benbo publication Black Development in South Africa, referred to earlier, gave the numbers of livestock in the homelands in 1974 as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Livestock</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>3 823 106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep</td>
<td>3428 087</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goats</td>
<td>3 200 481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horses, donkeys, mules</td>
<td>341 639 Pigs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MINING

Replying to a question in the Assembly on 19 February, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that the following numbers of leases were held in African areas:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Holders</th>
<th>Prospecting</th>
<th>Mining</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>leases</td>
<td>leases</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
White persons ............ 3
White-controlled companies .......... 123 70
African persons or companies .......... 97 2

From Table B 9.6 on page 112. I Hansard 4 cols. 281-2.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

During 1975, the Minister continued, a sum of R246 578 was paid to the Bantu Mining Corporation for and on behalf of the SA Bantu Trust from royalties and prospecting or other fees paid, and a further R40 963 accrued to the other Bantu Corporations. The Minister was unable to say how much was paid to African governments, authorities, or tribes.

One of the tribes that benefits considerably in the BaPhokeng (Tswana) tribe in the Rustenburg district, in whose area the Impala platinum mine, run by Union Corporation, Ltd., is situated. The agreement concluded between this mining concern and the tribal authority was described on page 173 of the 1973 Survey. According to the Benbo report, the tribe receives more than R500 000 annually in advance payments on future royalties.

On 27 April2 the Minister gave the following information about mining concerns in African homelands:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Employees</th>
<th>Value of production in 1975</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bophutha Tswana</td>
<td>30 4023 58 845 18 949 145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>4 7 103 580410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu</td>
<td>12 10 60 1487513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td>17 460 10293 47215467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>3 39 425 14776</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was not made clear to what date these figures applied. Earlier,3 the Minister had said that as at 31 March 1974 there were 4841 Whites and 78 106 Africans employed in mining concerns in African areas. The figures do not correlate, either, with those contained in the Benbo report. However, Benbo gave information4 about the nature of the mining and related concerns:

- Bophutha Tswana: platinum, iron ore, asbestos, fluospar, vanadium, granite, chrome, manganese, salt, calcite, limestone, sand extraction plant.
- Gazankulu: dolomite, gold, clay, sand extraction. KwaZulu: whinstone, granite, sand extraction. Lebowa: chrome, asbestos, andalusite, platinum, betonite, corundum, magnesite, sand extraction. Venda: graphite, gold, magnesite.

A number of these concerns had been established by the Bantu Mining Corporation.

Promising deposits of coal have been discovered near Nongoma in KwaZulu.'

Hansard 13 col. 906.

' 5 February. Hansard 2 col. 100o
4 Table B 9.7. page 113.
Star, 7 May.
BUSINESSES IN AFRICAN HOMELANDS
COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY IN THE AFRICAN HOMELANDS

In its annual report for the year ended 31 March 1975 the Bantu Investment Corporation (BIC) stated that the share capital of the Corporation had increased by R28 937 000, and stood at R85 670 000 at the close of the fiscal year. Foreign industrial investment in the homelands exceeded R10 million during the fiscal year and local White investment increased by R9.6 million to R33.1 million in the same year. The additional work opportunities created numbered 1 810. The Corporation had increased its investment in fixed assets in transport by R10 million to R15.6 million.

BIC annual expenditure in terms of industrial establishment on the agency basis has been as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Buildings</th>
<th>Factories</th>
<th>Total completed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>31.3.1971</td>
<td>1430000</td>
<td>1260000</td>
<td>2690000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.3.1972</td>
<td>3320000</td>
<td>5340000</td>
<td>8660000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.3.1973</td>
<td>4860000</td>
<td>9880000</td>
<td>14740000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.3.1974</td>
<td>5570000</td>
<td>13910000</td>
<td>19480000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.3.1975</td>
<td>6180000</td>
<td>21370000</td>
<td>27550000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Estimated contribution by the private sector towards the establishment of industries is shown cumulatively in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Planned Factories</th>
<th>Private Employment</th>
<th>Non-Black</th>
<th>Black</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>31.3.1971</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2500000</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.3.1972</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>12500000</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>2980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.3.1973</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>21000000</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>6268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.3.1974</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>23500000</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>8900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.3.1975</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>33100000</td>
<td>428</td>
<td>10710</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In February, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development gave the following information concerning total expenditure by the State, Homeland Governments, the Bantu Investment Corporation and the Xhosa Development Corporation at each of the growth points in the homelands:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industrial Water Electricity Housing Transport Governments Townships Schemes Supplies (Whites) Subsidies R</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Republic of SA</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transkei (Butterworth)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4828000</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113 000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BophuthaTswana (Umtata)</td>
<td>1923525</td>
<td>196032</td>
<td>44826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qwaqwa</td>
<td>221730</td>
<td>55170</td>
<td>29256</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
Bantu Investment Corporation
Babelegi Witzieshoek Isithebe Seshego Letaba
Xhosa Development Corporation
Butterworth Umtata Other Agencies
Industrial Townships
670 096
3 474 929 160 539
54583
2 235 217 339 250
Water Schemes
377 298
128 190
60 289
243 110 58 429
Electricity Supplies
17811 3 800 838 713
544723 34967
Housing (Whites)
42 400
Transport Subsidies
8 135 295 5 581 387 1 659295
(Babelegi) 1183 817
(Isithebe) 481 609 (Seshego)
87 545 (Letaba)
The Minister stated that the following total amounts had been spent at each of
these growth points on the erection of factories for leasing to entrepreneurs:
R
Babelegi (BophuthaTswana) .. 16 691 514
Witsieshoek (Qwaqwa) ........ 138 281
Isithebe (KwaZulu) .......... 5 013 145 Seshego (Lebowa) ............ 2 411 468
Letaba (Gazankulu) .......... 1 370 299
Butterworth (Transkei) ..... 10711 841 Umtata (Transkei) ........ 1. 336 936
The numbers of people employed in manufacturing undertakings in the
homelands, including the Transkei, were as follows, the Minister continued:
White ....... 883 Coloured ... 146 African ...... 24025
The total financial commitments of White entrepreneurs with whom contractual
agreements had been concluded in regard to the establishment of industries on an
agency basis in the homelands were as follows:
Umtata ......
Butterworth ... Babelegi ... ...
Isithebe ... ...
Seshego ... ...
Letaba
BUSINESSES IN AFRICAN HOMELANDS

In its annual report for the year ended 31 March 1975 the Xhosa Development Corporation (XDC) stated that the Corporation's share capital was increased from R40.2-million to R63.7-million, which included about R8 million to buy the Border Passenger Transport. Profits rose from R723 000 in the previous year to R2 002-million. The Corporation's own employees, together with those of White Agency undertakings, Xhosa loanees and sub-contractors operating on behalf of the Corporation, totalled 15 772 on 31 March 1975. By 31 March 1975, 562 trading stores had been taken over from Whites in the Transkei. Of these stores, 474 were purchased by Africans by means of loans and the remaining 88 stores had been allocated either to their existing managers or to other suitable outsiders and would be handed over in the near future. During the year approximately R3.3-million was advanced as loans granted and hire purchase discounted. It was anticipated that R4.7-million would be advanced in the 1975/76 financial year.

The report showed an increase in the number of agency agreements signed by industrialists. By the end of March 1975 a total of 40 agency agreements (including 20 for the Transkei and 11 for the Ciskei) had been signed: of the undertakings concerned, 33 were already in production. This represented a total investment of R49 131 040, R4 245 000 of which would be spent in the Ciskei and the remainder in the Transkei.

The establishment of the first homeland-run development corporation, the BophuthaTswana National Development Corporation, was announced by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M. C. Botha, on 25 November 1975.

Proclamations R261-263 of 1975 announced the establishment of the Qwaqwa, Shangaan/Tsonga and Venda Development Corporations Limited. The powers of these Corporations were gazetted under Government Notices 797, 798 and 799 and the regulations governing their activities under Government Notices R2369, R2370, and R2371 of 1975.

Proclamations R49 and R50 of 1976 announced the establishment of the Ciskeian National Development Corporation and the Transkei Development Corporation respectively. Government Notices 211 and 212 of 1976 set out the powers of these corporations.

In March, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development gave the following information concerning the total number of Africans employed in all undertakings in each homeland on an agency basis and by the BIC and XDC:

2 Rand Daily Mail, 11 November.
### A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

#### Employment on Agency Basis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homeland</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Number of Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BophuthaTswana KwaZulu</td>
<td>31 December, 1975</td>
<td>7 686</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qwaqwa</td>
<td>1 February, 1976</td>
<td>1720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td></td>
<td>602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td></td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td></td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swazi</td>
<td></td>
<td>4409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td></td>
<td>706</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Employment in undertakings established by the BIC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homeland</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Number of Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>31 March, 1975</td>
<td>2 826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BophuthaTswana KwaZulu</td>
<td>31 December, 1975</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qwaqwa</td>
<td>1 February, 1976</td>
<td>349 66 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td></td>
<td>1139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td></td>
<td>522 40 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swazi</td>
<td></td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Employment in undertakings established by the XDC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homeland</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Number of Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>31 March, 1975</td>
<td>2 826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 465</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Number of Africans
8 526 2435
Date
31 December.
The Minister said the number of labour contracts attested in each homeland in 1975 for employment mainly in the "White" areas of SA was as follows:
BophuthaTswana KwaZulu ...
Lebowa
Venda
Qwaqwa ......
Transkei ......
Ciskei .......
Gazankuli ...
Swazi
Number of new labour contracts Men Women
123 112 39995 138655 28 422 120438 8044
38 170 129
12243 2381
(see below) 45137 2093
10961 58
3341 5
Number of contracts renewed
on the production of
call-in cards
61 242 94 228 20 502 10495 4 050 60 089
731
6 750
572
In the Transkei, a combined total of 243 144 contracts for both men and women were attested.
I Assembly 7 Nlay, Hansard 14, cols. 980-981.
1975
262
... ... ...
... ... ...
... ... ...
... ... ...
... ... ...
... ... ...
... ... ...
... ... ...
BUSINESSES IN AFRICAN HOMELANDS
The Minister said that the number of Xhosa women employed in factories and other undertakings of the XDC since 1972 was:
At the end of 1975, agreement was reached between Old Mutual and the homeland governments (except Gazankulu and BophuthaTswana) for a central pension fund to be established in each homeland. These funds would be administered by Old Mutual in conjunction with a board of trustees appointed by the government. The problem of breaks in service, inherent among semi-skilled and unskilled Black labour, would be overcome by arranging for employers to pay regular contributions into the central fund, credited to each employee's name. When an employee left his job, no cash benefit would be paid out, but the full credit would remain in the fund to be accumulated for his ultimate pension.

According to an Economic Review of KwaZulu, published by the Bureau for Economic Research re Bantu Development, KwaZulu has become increasingly dependent on income earned outside the homeland. Between 1960 and 1973 income earned in KwaZulu itself rose 132 per cent to R80-million, while the income of Zulus working outside as migrants rose 275 per cent to R150-million. Income earned internally constituted 44 per cent of gross national income in 1960, whereas in 1973 it was 22 per cent. The Review stated that per capita annual income earned in KwaZulu itself rose from R28,4 in 1960 to R34,7 in 1973.

Mr. Vorster's Economic Advisory Council has outlined four ways in which businessmen could help the homelands to develop more rapidly:

1. Industries and other businesses could be established to an increasing degree in the homelands under the agency system, or on conditions which the homeland governments might stipulate, preferably with the aim of giving homeland citizens a significant share in their control and management.

2. Organisations representing commerce and industry could provide channels for advice on trade and industrial policy to homeland governments.

3. Individual firms could make funds available for specific educational and community projects.

4. Individual businessmen could give direct advice to homeland
businessmen who, because of their lack of knowledge and experience, often failed to run potentially profitable businesses successfully.

Chief Kaiser Matanzima said at a SA Corporate Money Conference that unless the private sector increased investment in the Transkei the job gap was going to widen. He warned that there were some 10 000 men workseekers coming on to the Transkei job market each year. To create the necessary jobs, annual investment would have to be raised to at least R56-million. He said the position for investors after independence of the Transkei would be that the country would remain in the Rand bloc and enter a customs union with SA: taxation policies would be at least as favourable as in SA; agency agreements would be honoured or extended to favour the investor; because of its multiracial policy an investor in the Transkei would be able to apply for Transkeian citizenship upon expiry of the agency agreement.

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development stated that advisory committees representing the private sector had been formed to give free, voluntary and unconditional advice to the homelands in regard to their more rapid economic growth. The organisations represented were the Association of Chambers of Commerce of SA, die Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of SA, the SA Federated Chamber of Industries, the SA Agricultural Union, the Motor Industries Federation of SA, and the Building Industries Federation (SA). An advisory committee was being planned for each homeland. It would consist of about six members under the chairmanship of the Chief Minister of each homeland.

The Minister gave the following estimates of the additional number of work opportunities which would have to be created for Africans by the various Bantu Development Corporations in 1976, 1977, and 1978 respectively and the estimated cost of creating these opportunities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Bantu Investment Corporation</th>
<th>Work Opportunities</th>
<th>Estimated Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>8 345</td>
<td>R30 317 000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>13 350</td>
<td>R55 940 000</td>
<td>R90 000 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>19 950</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


SA Digest, 19 March.

"Assembly 19 June, Hansard 20, col. 1264.

1976 Xhosa Development Corporation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Work Opportunities</th>
<th>Estimated Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>3 889</td>
<td>R16 632 000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bantu Mining Corporation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Work Opportunities</th>
<th>Estimated Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>R2 590 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8366 R27 770 000
717 R1 720 000
1978
In its annual economic report for the year ended 30 June 1976 the SA Reserve Bank stated that the rate of increase in the gross domestic product at current prices increased by 12 per cent during the year, compared with rises of 15 per cent and 23 per cent during 1974-75 and 1973-74, respectively. Although the rate of increase in the remuneration of employees declined from 21 per cent in the preceding year to 15 per cent in 1975-76, the lower rate of increase in gross domestic product at current prices was attributable mainly to an increase of only 6 per cent in the gross operating surplus compared with a rise of 9 per cent during the preceding year. The very low rate of increase in the gross operating surplus was largely accounted for by sharp declines in the operating surpluses of gold mining and agriculture. The main contributions to the increase of 15 per cent in the remuneration of employees were made by manufacturing, wholesale and retail trade, and mining.

During the year under review SA's terms of trade deteriorated markedly because the prices of imported goods rose faster than the prices of SA export goods and gold, with the result that the real gross national product declined slightly, compared with the small but positive rate of growth in the real gross domestic product.

On the labour front, the Reserve Bank reported that the rate of increase in employment in the non-agricultural sectors declined from 3.6 per cent in 1973-74 to 2.2 per cent in 1974-75. For the three quarters that ended on 31 March 1976, compared with the same period of the preceding year, total employment increased by 2.3 per cent, and was the net result of a rise of 2.2 per cent in the number of Africans employed and an increase of 2.4 per cent in the numbers of the other racial groups employed. During the same period the number of people employed in the public sector rose sharply by 5.7 per cent, compared with an increase of 1.1 per cent for the private sector. The small rise in employment in the public sector was partly due to the levelling-off in the number of workers employed in construction and the decline in employment in the non-gold mining and private services sectors. However, the employment in gold mining increased substantially. After declining until the first quarter of 1975, the number of persons employed in gold mining increased until the second quarter of 1976 and for the year 1975-76 it was an average 3.4 per cent higher than for the preceding year.

Employment in wholesale and retail trade rose by about 1 per cent during the three quarters that ended on 31 March 1976, compared with the same period of the preceding year. There was a sharp increase in the number of registered unemployed White, Coloured and Asian people. The seasonally adjusted number of registered
unemployed, excluding Africans, increased from 7,243 in August 1974 to 11,492 in December 1975 and further to 13,368 in June 1976. The number of Africans registered as unemployed by the Bantu Affairs Administration Boards (which excluded unemployed people in the homelands as well as those who did not register) increased by 9.4 per cent between the first quarter of 1975 and the comparable quarter of 1976 and totalled 123,000 in March 1976.

The average remuneration of all employees in the non-agricultural sectors of the economy increased by 19.9 per cent in 1974-75 and then by 13.8 per cent during the nine months that ended on 31 March 1976. If the reduced purchasing power of the rand as a result of the increase in the cost of living was taken into account, the real average salaries and wages per worker rose by only 1.5 per cent during the nine months to March.

The deficit in the balance of payments on current accounts increased further from R1 592-million in 1974-75 to R1 953-million in 1975-76. One of the causes of the substantial increase in the deficit was the continued deterioration of SA's terms of trade. There has been a decline in the volume of international trade and a fall in international commodity prices. Furthermore, the dollar price of gold started to decline sharply from the beginning of 1975. Although the devaluation of the rand in terms of the US dollar in June and September 1975 increased the rand proceeds of exports, there was an adverse effect on import prices which, together with a further moderate rise in inflation rates abroad, contributed to a more rapid increase in import prices than in export prices. The continued high level of real gross domestic expenditure also contributed to the large deficit. Increased government expenditure, particularly on defence equipment, stock-piling of strategic materials, high initial outlays on television sets and further outlays on large capital projects of public authorities and public corporations, resulted in a level of imports well above normal.

In February the Reserve Bank imposed quantitative limits on bank credit to the private sector. Taking the end of December 1975 as a base, the discounts, loans and advances to the private sector of each banking institution were limited to an increase of 31 per cent up to the end of March, and to 1 per cent per month thereafter. The Bank rate was raised once more from 8 to 9 per cent, effective from 22 July, allowing the commercial banks to increase their prime overdraft rate to a maximum of 12 per cent.

The recession worsened during the year. Among those particularly hard hit were the building industry and motor assembly plants. From 22 October, petrol pumps were closed between 1 p.m. on Fridays and 6 a.m. on Mondays and motorists were forbidden to pour petrol into their tanks from containers.

FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY

General

The SA Reserve Bank published the second census of foreign transactions and liabilities which revealed that foreign investment in SA totalled R10.4 bn at the
end of 1973. The yield in terms of dividends, interest and branch profits remitted in 1974 was R705-m, or R619-m after withholding taxes. No information was published about investments by individual countries although Europe, including the United Kingdom, accounted for 73.7 per cent and the United States of America 17.1 per cent of the total.

The investment was concentrated in four sectors: manufacturing (R3.6-bn); finance, insurance, real estate and business services (R2.3-bn); mining (R1.3-bn); and wholesale and retail trade, catering and accommodation (R1-bn). In manufacturing, foreign investment was mostly accompanied by control while in mining portfolio investment without control was the rule. Foreigners owned R1.2-bn worth of mining shares of which R991-m was owned by Europeans and R139-m by Americans.

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) said in April that at least 23 major foreign companies in SA were creating an "explosive situation" by impeding efforts to form African trade unions. Mr. Otto Kersten, the ICFTU general secretary, said that smooth industrial relations depended on trade unions. Without these there would be stoppages, violence and the withdrawal of foreign investment.

Mr. John Rees of the South African Council of Churches warned in July that continued foreign investment in SA along existing lines was supporting apartheid. He said that continued investment where there was no adequate training of African personnel, no concession in regard to bargaining rights, no principle of equal pay for equal work and no possibility that Africans could take part in the management process with equal opportunity was an "outright support of the apartheid system" and was "contributing towards the obviously looming conflict in which Blacks will demand their liberation".

The Minister of Finance, Senator Horwood, said in January that despite the onslaught on gold the finances of the country were stable and sound in a hopeless economic world. He said, "Last year we received R1 800-m of capital in this country, and this at
1 Financial Mail, 15 April.
2 Rand Daily Mail, 29 April.
3 Star, 27 July.
' Assembly, 28 January, Hansard 1, cols. 188-9.

FOREIGN INVESTMENT

a time of great capital stringency in the whole world, where some countries have not been able to obtain their capital requirements by far, and this is one of the highest figures we have ever had. And in the fourth quarter we got the biggest capital inflow of any of the quarters of last year, and a big part of this capital has been private capital, a very substantial part of it. Sir, I say this is cause for great gratitude in a country like South Africa. Is this not a sign of international confidence in this country? Is it not one of the best indices of confidence in a country when people are prepared to invest their savings in that country?"

United Kingdom
During December 1975 the British Labour government released new "guidelines" for British companies operating in SA. It is assumed that, because of provisions of the South African Second General Law Amendment Act of 1974, they had been forced to alter or relax some of the requirements, for United Kingdom companies in SA, to disclose details of the employment conditions of Black workers and the wages they were paid. (See page 188 of the 1973 Survey, pages 224-225 of the 1974 Survey, and page 154 of the 1975 Survey). The main change in the requirements was that only British companies with more than a 50 per cent shareholding in a SA subsidiary would be asked to provide regular progress reports on what they were doing to improve the conditions of Black workers. Although the Second General Law Amendment Act did not specifically state that only SA companies which were more than 50 per cent foreign-owned might disclose information to foreign governments, courts, or individuals, it is assumed that the Act had been interpreted in this way.

A survey of 141 British companies with SA subsidiaries was conducted by Christian Concern for Southern Africa and published during the year. The majority of the companies approached replied that they were unable, unwilling or not prepared to give details. Some quoted difficulties posed by SA legislation, and others said they were not prepared to give the information to anyone but their own shareholders. Most of the companies appeared to be still unaware, despite the strictures of the parliamentary select committee which reported two years previously, of how their African workers were being paid and treated. An analysis of information provided by 26 companies showed that more than 2 000 African workers employed mainly by three companies were still being paid below subsistence levels in 1975. The median African minimum wage of the lowest grade of adult male worker was approximately R1 10 per month, with an average working week of 45 hours. The lowest and highest minimum rates were, respectively, R32.50 (plus R40 in food, accommodation and fringe benefits) and R157. The British Labour Party has accepted that its efforts to ensure that equal wages are paid for equal work has failed. A Labour Party spokesman said that a resolution to be put to the party on 14 May would admit the failure to produce results and call for strong action. He said, "the campaign so far, which was based on rough guidelines for a general move to pay equality, has been totally ineffective". British companies with subsidiaries in SA would be called on to have effective trade unions operating in their SA companies, he said. "The main drive for equal wages would then come from the Blacks themselves through their own bargaining with the managements. This would be far more successful than trying to monitor moves toward wage equalities from Britain".
The Church of England sold the last of its shares in SA gold mining at the end of 1975. A spokesman for the Central Board of Finance, the financial executive body of the Church of England, said the holding had been disposed of because yield and prospects were not good, and also because some board members had become increasingly unhappy about shares in SA companies.

The report of Christian Concern for Southern Africa said that Gold Fields of SA "has attempted to slow the pace of change" in labour policy in the mining industry in SA. In so doing "it has implicitly reaffirmed its commitment to an economy based on White supremacy and racial discrimination". The report alleged that "despite massive pay increases" in recent years, African wages on Gold Fields mines were "extremely low compared with any reasonable standard". The report singled out Gold Fields from the other mining houses because "it is in a better position to increase massively African wages". Most Africans on Gold Fields mines earned below the poverty datum line and despite an increase of 139 per cent in 1973-75, the average African earnings was still as low as R77 a month. In comparison with its competitors, Gold Fields had a larger proportion of long-life, low-cost mines where operating margins were sufficient to cover severe labour cost increases without unduly affecting the ability to maintain or even increase dividends.

The report pointed out that with windfall profits, in the wake of the quadrupling of the gold-price, Gold Fields had a period of unprecedented growth. Yet the main beneficiaries were government, White unions and shareholders. Black miners benefited only marginally. "The company has failed to take up a unique opportunity to ameliorate substantially the immediate situation of its African labour force". In the three years up to June 1975 profits rose more than 370 per cent, taxes 340 per cent, and distributions to shareholders 450 per cent. The report also attacked Gold Fields for the manner in which it allocated capital spending on amenities between people of different races. "During 1973, 74 per cent of all capital expenditures on accommodation and amenities went to help White workers who make up only 24 per cent of the work force. While expenditure per White employee averaged R285 per head, that for Africans was R93," it said.

British Leyland International decided to invest an estimated L0m in SA to produce a version of the Rover SD-1 saloon car. The annual report of British Leyland for the year ended September 1975 promised that none of Leyland SA's 758 African workers would be earning less than R144,11 a month after December 1976. Complying with the British Government's guidelines for companies operating in SA, the report gave brief details about its African work force and conditions. It said: "So far as employment conditions are concerned, 758 African workers are employed out of a total hourly paid manpower of nearly 3 380. Of these, less than two per cent are migrant workers. The number of Africans in the

FOREIGN INVESTMENT

African labour force". In the three years up to June 1975 profits rose more than 370 per cent, taxes 340 per cent, and distributions to shareholders 450 per cent. The report also attacked Gold Fields for the manner in which it allocated capital spending on amenities between people of different races. "During 1973, 74 per cent of all capital expenditures on accommodation and amenities went to help White workers who make up only 24 per cent of the work force. While expenditure per White employee averaged R285 per head, that for Africans was R93," it said.

British Leyland International decided to invest an estimated L0m in SA to produce a version of the Rover SD-1 saloon car. The annual report of British Leyland for the year ended September 1975 promised that none of Leyland SA's 758 African workers would be earning less than R144,11 a month after December 1976. Complying with the British Government's guidelines for companies operating in SA, the report gave brief details about its African work force and conditions. It said: "So far as employment conditions are concerned, 758 African workers are employed out of a total hourly paid manpower of nearly 3 380. Of these, less than two per cent are migrant workers. The number of Africans in the
The lowest grade is currently 123. None of them is receiving less than R112.69 a month, which compares with a published minimum living level of R107.92 a month (using the highest 'all household average' from the Bureau of Market Research's August 1975 survey). A supplementary living level has also been defined by the University of South Africa which makes provision for a higher standard of living. This is currently at R14.11 a month. Leyland SA has undertaken that no employee will be paid below that rate after December 1976.

Lord Seebohm, former chairman of Barclays Bank International, predicted in March 13 that British investment in SA would decrease because of guerrilla wars on the borders.

Lord Robins of Woldingham, a former British Labour Party Cabinet Minister and one of Britain's leading industrialists, said in February 4 that SA was a good country to invest in, despite the civil war in Angola. He met several Cabinet ministers during his stay in SA and said, "as a result of these talks I realise that changes are coming in South Africa over the next 30 years - particularly in the development of jobs for Blacks". He described SA as the world's 'metal bin' and said it was ideal for overseas investment. "In my view the civil war in Angola is not very important as far as investment in South Africa is concerned", he said.

At the Annual meeting of Barclays Bank in London in April,
11 Star, 19 March.
12 Star, 27 February.
13 Rand Daily Mail. 16 March.
11 Sunday Times, 15 February.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
the chairman, Mr. A. F. Tube, said 5 that SA's economic attractiveness abroad had deteriorated in the past three years. Mr. Tube said it was "a matter of economic fact that loans to South Africa and other parts of Southern Africa were very much more difficult to sell now than they were three years ago." Mr. Tube rejected a call from Mr. Peter Hain for Barclays to stop propping up "the evil apartheid system." Mr. Tube said there was a genuine difference of view on foreign investments in SA. It was possible to turn one's back but Barclays' view was that "we can do no good by selling our investments to a local company in South Africa". He criticised the pass law system in SA and described the laws as "very very regrettable" and wanted to raise the issue when he next met the Minister of Finance, Senator Horwood. When questioned on Barclays' policy in regard to the independence of the Transkei, Mr. Tube said the Bank had branches in the area "and we propose to stay there. But if the British Government instructed British firms to close down in the Transkei when it became independent, we shall be among those who will obey that instruction".

Viscount Caldecote, chairman of Delta Metal Holdings, said 6 when the group's annual report for 1975 was published that in spite of a sharp fall in profits earned by its SA operation, the R553m a year Delta Metal Group was pushing ahead with plans to advance wages of its African workers faster than increases in the consumer price index. With 4500 employees (about 80 per cent of them are African) and 23 subsidiaries, the SA operations formed the biggest single
Overseas division of the group. On African wages Lord Caldecote said: "Apart from new employees during their probationary period, all our African employees receive wages in excess of the newly introduced Minimum Living Level which has been assessed more generously than the previous Minimum Subsistence Level. As a result of the Delta policy of advancing African wage levels faster than the increase in the consumer price index, significant progress continues towards a fully integrated wage structure and the few employees still below the newly introduced Higher Living Level will be brought up to it as a matter of priority."

United States
The Investor Responsibility Research Center Incorporated, based in Washington, released a report in June based on interviews with 28 United States firms with subsidiaries in SA. The study focused on hiring and pay practices, promotion, training, and fringe benefits. According to the report many US companies doing business in SA were beginning to implement equal opportunity programmes for African workers. General Motors and Pfizer both claimed to pay equal wages for equal work. Ford, Caltex and Goodyear had started job training programmes for African workers. IBM and Esso provided loans to Africans for home improvement. Some firms were not taking the initiative in certain equal opportunity practices especially in the areas of hiring and recruiting. "Many US companies have employed far fewer Blacks than would appear justified by the high percentage of Blacks in the South African population", the report said. Housing was also an area which had received inadequate attention. Many of the companies which participated in the study cited SA Government regulations and traditions as barriers to equal opportunity programmes. The report warned that the responsibility for taking the initiative rested with individual firms. "No one else - least of all the SA Government-is likely to lead the way", it was said.

Mr. Stephen Solarz, a member of the US House of Representatives' International Affairs Committee, said2 after returning from a visit to Southern Africa, that American industry must point the way to a better life for SA's Africans and that the US should not recognise the Transkei. He said there were 350 US firms, with a total value of about R1 300-m, which constituted about 15 per cent of the total foreign investment in SA. "In view of the escalating demands for an economic boycott against South Africa, the only way to morally and politically justify our existing investment in the country will be to show that it has, in fact, created opportunities for advancement the Blacks might otherwise not have had", he said. He added that he encountered within SA "Black activists virtually unanimous in saying that the withdrawal of American investment would hurt Blacks far more than Whites."
The Minister of Finance said at Jan Smuts Airport in July, after returning from a trip to the United States, that the Soweto riots had had no effect on the possibilities of foreign investment in SA. He said: "It was my clear impression, both in New York and London, that this has not had an effect on investment possibilities in South Africa. I found a considerable appreciation for the nature of those unfortunate incidents. As an American banker said to me, Soweto did not even have a ripple effect on capital markets as they concern South Africa".

Western Europe

273

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
Africa. Black Labour - Swedish Capital". This critical report gave a broad view of political, social and economic conditions in SA with particular reference to the part played by Swedish firms. It discarded recent "reforms" and relaxations of apartheid policies as being "of secondary importance and unessential". "Many White 'reform advocates' in today's South Africa (but of course not all of them), must be regarded with distrust", it said. "Their chief ambition is to make the country's policy more presentable. It is of great interest to trade and industry, for example, that the policy of apartheid is given a less provocative form. In that way, business relations with the Western world and with Africa can be facilitated".

The report said that great nominal increases in wages had been granted to the labour force in recent years by Swedish firms and others. "There have been several motive forces behind this development. One important factor is that evidently the business community as well as the South African Government have realised that downright starvation wages are unsatisfactory for political reasons as well as for production. However, the rapid inflation during the past three years has reduced the value of the wage increases substantially. Thus the majority of the Black workers today are living in material circumstances which are not appreciably better than five years ago."

Austria's state-run Voeest-Alpine steel combine denied a report that it was backing out of the controversial scheme to build a steel plant in SA. A company spokesman said a Vienna newspaper report that the plan had been pigeon-holed was incorrect. The project called for Voeest-Alpine to invest about R315-m in constructing a foundry and port facilities at Saldanha Bay.

Private West German investment was continuing at a satisfactory rate and might even equal last year's record investment of more than R40,4-m, according to Mr. Weicke, deputy manager of the South African - German Chamber of Trade and Industry. "If there is any fall-off in investment, it is by the big firms that already have substantial investments in South Africa. They have been investing in South Africa for years and have enough invested for the time being", said Mr. Weicke.

Total West German private investment in SA rose last year by 28,4 per cent from R142,5-m in 1974 to R183-m.
COST OF LIVING
The annual report of the SA Reserve Bank said that the average seasonally adjusted consumer price index was 11.9 per cent higher during the year that ended on 30 June than during the preceding year, compared with an increase of 13.9 per cent.
4 Rand Daily Mail, 2 February.
5 South African Digest, 3 September.

MINIMUM LIVING STANDARDS during 1974/75. From June 1975 to June 1976, consumer prices rose by 11.1 per cent, compared with an increase of 14.1 per cent during the preceding year. After reaching a peak in the third quarter of 1974, the rate of increase in the seasonally adjusted consumer price index declined continuously up to the first quarter of 1976. From an annual rate of increase of 17.5 per cent in the third quarter of 1974 the rate declined to 11.4 per cent in the third quarter of 1975 and then, notwithstanding the price raising effect of the devaluation of the rand in September 1975, declined further to 10.6 per cent in the fourth quarter of 1975 and to 10.1 per cent in the first quarter of 1976.
The average seasonally adjusted wholesale price index was 15.7 per cent higher in 1975/76 than in the preceding year, compared with an increase of 19.4 per cent in 1974/75. From June 1975 to June 1976 the index rose by 16.2 per cent, compared with an increase of 15.5 per cent during the preceding twelve months.

MINIMUM LIVING STANDARDS
In past issues of this Survey estimates of minimum living standards in different areas calculated by various agencies have been provided as they became available. This year the Household Subsistence Level (HSL) calculated by the Institute for Planning Research at the University of Port Elizabeth is given. The Bureau of Market Research's Minimum Living Level figures cannot be published because of copyright restrictions. For this reason it was decided to accept the HSL as the most reasonable and authoritative figure.

Household Subsistence Level (HSL)
The following estimates of the HSL for a hypothetical African family of six persons, and a hypothetical Coloured family of five persons, in various areas were calculated in October 1976.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>African % increase</th>
<th>Coloured 'A) increase HSL per</th>
<th>Oct 1975- HSL per</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Benoni</td>
<td>127,44 10,4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bloemfontein</td>
<td>126,63 4,4</td>
<td>134,66 8,7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boksburg</td>
<td>125,74 8,8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brakpan</td>
<td>125,90 10,3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Town</td>
<td>136,47 9,2</td>
<td>148,48 4,6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durban</td>
<td>127,61 7,8</td>
<td>129,80 1,4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East London</td>
<td>129,13 11,0</td>
<td>134,26 4,1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germiston</td>
<td>125,92 11,7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>134,67 12,5</td>
<td>133,89 1,6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kimberley</td>
<td>128,05 4,0</td>
<td>132,39 1,4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INCOME LEVELS AND WAGES

Figures released by Market Research Africa (MRA) in February showed that the White/African income gap was becoming wider each year. In 1970, the average White household had R362 more to spend each month than the average African household. In 1975 the gap had widened to R546 and the average White household received an income 1,9 times as large as the average Asian, 2,9 times as large as the average Coloured, and 8,5 times as large as the average African household.

The percentage increase in average African income over the years 1970-75 was 103 per cent whereas for Whites this was 56 per cent. Expressed in rands the White 56 per cent is equivalent to R221 and the African 103 per cent is equivalent to R37.

The monthly income of the average African household (5,8 persons) doubled between 1970-75 from R36 a month to R72, according to the MRA survey, which was well below any estimates of poverty datum lines.

A report by the Bureau of Market Research showed that the annual income of Africans in Johannesburg rose by 112 per cent per capita compared with 58 per cent for Whites in the period 1970 to 1975. The annual income for all African workers in Johannesburg rose from R297 in 1970 to R628 in 1975. From 1970 to 1975 the average income of African multiple households in Johannesburg rose from R1 043 to R2 273 which was a 118 per cent increase over the five years or 16,8 per cent per year. In the same period the average income of single households rose by 101 per cent, or 14,9 per cent per year, reaching R1 139,61 in 1975.

Income increases must be compared with price increases to reveal improvements in living standards. The inflation rate from 1970 to 1975 was 9,3 per cent. If this is taken into account then real multiple African household income rose by 6,9 per cent per year and that of single households by 5,1 per cent.

Transport, storage and communication was the economic sector paying the highest average salaries and wages per employee in 1975 and this was R1 914. The steepest increase in African wage levels was in the Transport, storage and communication sector.
INCOMES AND WAGES

salaries and wages between 1970 and 1975 was 275,4 per cent in mining and quarrying.

Dr. J. Cloete, chief economist of Barclays National Bank Ltd., writing in Barclays Business Brief, said that real wages in the period 1970 to 1975 had increased faster than labour productivity. This was the result of substantial increases in African wages, Dr. Cloete felt. "It is evident that most employers would have been quite unable last year to raise the productivity of their NonWhite workers to match the sharp increases in their money wages." He added: "In the short to medium term the increase of NonWhite wages ahead of productivity must have adverse consequences for the economy, in particular in aggravating the inflation problem, not only because the higher cost of Non-White labour is likely to induce employers to use their Non-White labour more efficiently, but also because the resultant increase in the size of the domestic market will give rise to economies of scale that must benefit productivity."

Dr. Cloete said that the real Gross Domestic Product rose at an average annual rate of 4,2 per cent over the five years 1970 to 1975, and the increase in the average real income of workers did not keep pace with that in the output of goods and services. This lag appeared to have been the result of some re-distribution of incomes from salary and wage earners to the corporate sector and to the Government over the period. National income statistics showed that remuneration of employees as a percentage of net national income decreased from 67 per cent in 1970 to 65 per cent in 1975, while corporate savings increased from 3,9 per cent to 5,9 per cent. Direct taxes as a percentage of total personal incomes also increased constantly from 6,1 per cent in 1970 to 8,1 per cent in 1975.

The average real wage received by White employees increased at a rate of only 1,3 per cent a year over the five years, while increases of 4,5 per cent, 3,8 per cent and 8,0 per cent respectively were recorded for Asian, Coloured and African workers.

A salary survey conducted by Contact Personnel Services showed that over the six months to March 1976, average wages of African factory workers increased by 8,8 per cent, compared to 15,6 per cent over the same period a year earlier. The minimum wage increased by 8,75 per cent compared with 14,9 per cent. The survey was based on information supplied by over 60 companies employing 68 000 salaried and 110 000 hourly paid staff.

The Natal Employers' Association (NEA) annual wage survey for the year ending 1 May showed that in some cases pay rates had remained static. The average wage of R24 a week for Grade 1 or adult male labourers was unchanged over the year. The average

3 Eastern Province Herald. 20 August.
4 Financial Mail. 18 June.
5 Financial Mail, 4 June.
277
minimum starting rate for Grade 3 or general machine operators was reported to be R29.30, but 25 per cent earned no more than the average labourer's wage (R24) and 65 per cent earned no more than the higher paid labourers in Grade 1, which was R32. Those Africans below artisan level fared worst. Though the minimum weekly starting rate reported was R41.89, the NEA said "staggeringly 14 per cent (of Africans) earn R20 a week or less and another 20 per cent R20-24. Only 46 per cent earn over R36 or more than any labourer." The distribution of earnings relative to skills for Indians in this grade was "more appropriate", but the NEA added: "It is disappointing to find almost as many skilled workers earning R20 a week or less as labourers".

Minimum weekly starting rates up to the second year for African artisan aids were reported as R26.91. "The average earnings of this class, rising from R34.74 a week in the first year to R55.65 a week in the fifth year, appear very reasonable in comparison with skilled pay rates reported generally for the Bantu," said the NEA.

52 per cent of White artisans compared with 88 per cent in the previous year were earning 250 cents an hour or less, while 41 per cent compared with 10 per cent earned 251-280 cents an hour. The monthly earnings of junior clerks straight fro'n school with a matriculation certificate were: White R268, Indians R178, and Africans R205. Without matriculation earnings were reported as Whites R205, Indians R140, and Africans R170.

The following wage statistics comparing the years 1972 and 1975 for the sectors Mining, Manufacturing, Construction and the Retail Trade were taken from Stats MonthIV Statistical and Marketing Digest, Vol. 12, No. 6.'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>1972</th>
<th>1975</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R per</td>
<td>R per</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>month</td>
<td>month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>increase</td>
<td>increase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Race Relations News, S.A. Institute of Race Relations, Vol. 38 No. 1, August
INCOMES AND WAGES

Construction
1972 1975
R per Gap Ratio R per cent Gap Ratio
month month increase
over 1972
White 372 - 100,0 509 36,8 - 100,0
Coloured 128 244 34,4 179 333 34,6
Indian 161 211 43,3 253 57,1 256 49,7
African 60 312 16,1 104 405 20,4

Retail Trade
1972 1975
R per Gap Ratio R per cent Gap Ratio
month month increase
over 1972
White 169 - 100,0 232 37,3 - 100,0
Coloured 71 98 42,0 99 133 42,7
Indian 99 70 58,6 140 92 60,3
African 49 120 29,0 71 161 30,6

In a paper given at a conference in London, organised by Christian Concern for Southern Africa, Merle Lipton gave some facts and historical perspective on African wages. She said: "In gold mining—which has the most scandalous gap—the ratio of White to African wages narrowed from 20 to 1 in 1969 to 11,9 to 1 in 1974. Between 1971 and 1975, it narrowed from 6:1 to 4,7:1 in manufacturing; from 6,9:1 to 4,9:1 in construction; from 4,2:1 to 3,8:1 in commerce; and from 6,2:1 to 4,6:1 in government service.

"There has been much concern about the wide absolute gap (as distinct from the ratio) between African and White wages. When the ratio is very wide, as in mining, this absolute gap can continue to increase even while the ratio narrows. But only a static analysis fails to see that this will change in time. This is already happening in construction, commerce and government service, where the real absolute gap has narrowed. Because of inflation, however, this has been obscured by the large cash increase, creating the illusion, in money terms, of a wider absolute gap.

"These calculations apply to wages, and not to income from all sources. However, the share of South Africa's Gross Domestic Product coming from rent, interest and profits—which accrue overwhelmingly to Whites - fell from 46,9 per cent in 1950 to 38,6 per cent in 1974. This reinforces the trend towards lessening economic inequality. Africans have also gained from job creation, which has been very rapid, and from the movement out of the low-wage agricultural and mining, into the high-wage urban sectors, which are the fastest growing in South Africa.


A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
"The latest estimates of total disposable income show the share of Whites (18 per cent of population) falling from 69 per cent in 1964/65 to 64,9 per cent in
1974/75; that of Africans (70 per cent of the population) increasing from 8.4 to 8.9 per cent. The University of South Africa projects that by 1979/80, the shares will be: White 60 per cent, African 29 per cent, and Coloured and Indian 11 per cent.

"Faster African population growth does, on a per capita basis, erode some of these gains. But the shift in resources is outpacing their growing share of population. From 1964 to 1974 Africans as a proportion of total population increased from 70.7 to 71.2 per cent; Whites declined from 17.5 to 16.7 per cent. This obviously does not wipe out the larger change in the shares of total disposable income: on a per capita basis the ratio of White to African income declined from 12.4:1 in 1964/65 to 10.9:1 in 1974/75. This happened despite the fact that up to 1970 White wages rose faster than African. The narrowing is due partly to the much faster wage increases for Africans after 1970; partly to rapid job creation and the movement of Africans out of low-wage primary, and into the higher-wage urban sections -- gains which are not reflected in a sector by sector analysis."

ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE PERSONS AND UNEMPLOYMENT

The Minister of Statistics gave the following estimates of the economically active population as at June 1975:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>1 757 000</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>807 000</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>221 000</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>698 600</td>
<td>71.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9 771 000</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister said that of the economically active population the following numbers were employed by the central government, provincial administrations, homeland governments, SA Railways and Harbours, and Department of Posts and Telecommunications:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment as at 30 June 1975</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White 106 768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured 42 227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian 8 706</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African 114 686</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

UNEMPLOYMENT 281

Employment as at 30 June 1975

Provincial Administrations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>1 084 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>19 320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>89 312</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
African ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 126260
(excluding seconded personnel)
South African Railways
and Harbours
White ......................... 111844
Colourcd .................... 18 865
Asian ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1 745
African ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 117755
Department of Posts
and Telecommunications
White ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 43057
Colourd . ... ....... .... ... ...5 603
Asian ... .... ... ... ... ... 838
African ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 18 236

The annual report of the SA Reserve Bank said that the seasonally adjusted number of registered unemployed Whites, Coloured and Asians increased from 7 243 in August 1974 to 11 492 in December 1975 and further to 13 368 in June 1976. The number of Africans registered as unemployed by the Bantu Affairs Administration Boards (which excludes unemployed Africans in the homelands as well as Africans who did not register) increased by 9.4 per cent between the first quarter of 1975 and the comparable quarter of 1976 and was 123 000 in March. There are no official statistics of African unemployment but the Economic Development Programme stated3 that it stood at 366 000 in 1973.

The Minister of Labour gave the following figures for persons registered as unemployed in his department's inspectorate areas as at (a) 30 June 1975, (b) 30 September 1975 and (c) 31 December 1975; he also gave the figures according to occupational categories:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>30 June 1975</th>
<th>30 September 1975</th>
<th>31 December 1975</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>1209</td>
<td>387</td>
<td>1178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durban</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>1867</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>899</td>
<td>533</td>
<td>1777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Elizabeth</td>
<td>581</td>
<td>1044</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East London</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bloemfontein</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wino hock</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4296</td>
<td>4538</td>
<td>1890</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 Ndbank Economic Round-up, Volume 10, No. 4, July.
4 Assembly 4 February, Hansard 2 cols. 90-92.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
30 June 1975 30 September 1975 31 December 1975 Occupational
The president of the Garment Workers' Union, Senator Dr. Anna Scheepers, said in July 5 that the massive unemployment facing SA would cause racial unrest and many innocent people would suffer. "The country's economic situation combined with the Environmental Planning Act is causing unemployment and mostly Blacks are affected. Come to think of it, yesterday I had to go and tell a number of workers that their factory will be closing on Friday," said Dr. Scheepers.

Figures from the Department of Statistics showed that the number of Africans being absorbed into employment was falling well behind official projections, while a researcher at the University of Cape Town has concluded that total unemployment was rising by 22 000 a month and would reach nearly 2 million by the end of the year. Using Department of Statistics figures the Financial Mail calculated that by April the number of African jobs created in mining, manufacturing, construction and trade had fallen 150 000 short of projections in the Economic Development Programme (EDP) for 1974/79. The shortfall in mining was 50 000, in manufacturing 33 000, in construction 29 000, and in trade (wholesale, retail and motor) 39 000. By contrast, the number of White manufacturing jobs created was 4 600 above the EDP target.

Between October 1970 and October 1973 the number of Africans absorbed into manufacturing averaged 1990 a month. In the following year the figure was 2 850. But in the year-and-a-half from October 1974 to April 1976, it was only 1 230. Thie Financial Mail said that "it can probably be safely assumed that a similar picture would show up in other sectors (with the exception of mining) and that the jobless are increasing faster since the recession has not bottomed out."

A researcher at the SA Labour and Development Research Unit at the University of Cape Town, Mr. Simkins, has called the EDP's figures into question. According to the EDP African unemployment stood at 366 000 in 1973. This figure was open to

World, 21 July. r Financial Mail, 16 July.

282

UNEMPLOYMENT
question on the grounds that unknown numbers of otherwise unemployed Africans were assumed to be employed in agriculture. Mr. Simkins, in a working paper, Employment, Growth in South Africa 1961-76, acknowledged that it was hard to draw a sharp distinction between employment and unemployment in agriculture, especially subsistence agriculture. The EDP listed 2,67 million Africans as employed in farming in 1973. He arrived at a figure of 1,68 million - 865 000 in the common area and 814 000 in the homelands. He thus calculated that there was a total unemployment figure of about 1,4 million (15,3 per cent of economically active Africans) for 1973 which was more than 1 million higher than the EDP figure for that year. He assumed an economic growth rate of 2 per cent in 1975-76 and calculated that unemployment would reach 1 995 000 in the current year, and would rise to 2 099 000 in 1977.

Results of a survey carried out by Professor P. J. van der Merwe, a labour economist of the University of Pretoria, and commissioned by the Federated Chamber of Industries, were published early in November. He stated that in July 1976 there were 14000 registered unemployed White, Coloured, and Indian people, representing 0,6 per cent of the work force of these groups. The equivalent total a year earlier had been 8 000.

Professor Van Der Merwe estimated that at the end of June there were 600 000 unemployed Africans in the towns and White farming areas: 12 per cent of the African labour force outside the homelands. This figure was rising at a rate of between 9 000 and 10 000 per month. Job opportunities had increased by 85 000 since the beginning of the year; but the African labour force had increased by more than 200 000. Within the homelands, some 400 000 people were unemployed or under-employed.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE
The Minister of Labour said1 that the balance in the Unemployment Insurance Fund at the end of 1975 was R196 500 000. The total amount paid into the Fund in benefits during the year was R38 646 212 (including interest) and the total paid out in benefits to the 146 063 applicants was R23 252 698. R11'541 733 was received by the fund as employees' contributions, R9 025 247 as employers' contributions, R5 145 506 as State contributions and the interest was R12 933 726 at an average rate of 7,49 per cent. These figures were provisional as at 31 December 1975 and were still subject to audit, the Minister said.2

The Minister said3 that 98 385 employers were registered with Rand Daily Mail and Star, 11 November. 1 Assembly 4 February, Hansard 2, col. 89. 2 Ibid, col. 86, 3 Ibid, col. 87.
The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development gave the following figures representing the number of African workers registered as at 30 June 1975 in each category of labour defined in the regulations promulgated in terms of the Bantu Labour Act:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>1974</th>
<th>1975</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>South African</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>531</td>
<td>1523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign</td>
<td>334</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining and Quarrying (including labourers employed by mines affiliated to the Chamber of Mines)</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>731</td>
<td>1240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale and Retail Trade</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Services</td>
<td>448</td>
<td>1022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Servants</td>
<td>603</td>
<td>1041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>582</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister said that the following numbers of African work-seekers were registered at labour bureaux as at 31 December 1974 and 31 December 1975, in terms of the Bantu Labour Relations Regulations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>1974</th>
<th>1975</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African Males</td>
<td>56669</td>
<td>50017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Females</td>
<td>34564</td>
<td>48362</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a paper read to the conference of the Economic Society of SA in Johannesburg in September 1975, Mrs. J. Nattrass of Natal University's Department of Economics estimated that the number of "temporary migrants" in SA was probably about 1.75 million although it could be as high as 2 million.

Temporary migrants left the rural areas for limited work periods in urban areas, after which they returned home. "Separate Development", said Mrs. Nattrass, has finally "entrenched" the system "as a way of life in SA". She estimated that the average working life in the modern sector of a migrant labourer was 19 years. "The situation has grown steadily worse as SA has developed. Continuing development has meant a continued growth in the size of the stream of temporary migrants." In the 34 years between the censuses of 1936 and 1970, the number of migrants grew at an average compound rate of 3.1 per cent a year. In 1946-70, they grew slightly faster than the number of economically active Africans. The result was that in 1970, one in three African workers in SA was a migrant, and male migrants constituted 59 per cent of the economically active African men in the common area. She estimated that 80 per cent of the migrants from the homelands "migrate and seek work through the normal institutional channels set up by the government," i.e., labour bureaux, while the remainder were probably illegal. The Government had steadily tightened influx
control since 1948, making it more difficult to migrate through legal channels. "So the incentive to migrate illegally has increased". She gave the following information as a breakdown of the 1.75 million migrants:

- Homeland rural areas
  - Men ......
  - Women ......
- Other rural areas
  - Men ......
  - Women
- Foreign migrants
  - Men ......

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Homeland</td>
<td>1,030,000</td>
<td>67,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other rural</td>
<td>1,130,000</td>
<td>67,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign</td>
<td>1,470,000</td>
<td>103,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3,630,000</td>
<td>280,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This by sector as a percentage was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Foreign Africans</th>
<th>All South African Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade and Finance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Sector</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low-wage sector</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-wage sector</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

RESERVATION OF WORK

The Minister of Labour said in February' that the estimated percentage of the total labour force potentially affected by determinations under Section 77 of the Industrial Conciliation Act was 2.3 per cent. He said that the numbers of employees affected by general exemptions and exemptions on a percentage basis were not known. As far as individual exemptions were concerned, the figures were as follows:

1 Assembly 4 February, Hansard 2, cols. 7578.
under Section 77 of the Industrial Conciliation Act
at the end of 1975 in respect of the following

2. Municipal Undertaking - Durban (Driving of motor
vehicles in the cleansing department). Total exemption from the determination
was granted for an indefinite
period.

3. Iron, Steel, Engineering and Metallurgical IndustriesRepublic of S.A.
(Manufacture of window or door metal surrounds, Cliscoe windows, Airlite
louvres, etc.) 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.

4. Municipal Undertaking- Cape Town (traffic police, ambulance services and
Fire Brigade departments).

5. Passenger lift attendants in various industries and undertakings- municipal
areas of Bloemfontein, Johannesburg
and Pretoria.

7. Iron, Steel, Engineering and Metallurgical IndustriesRepublic of SA
(various activities as listed in clause I of the Determination) -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.

i. Clothing Industry -- Republic of SA.

9. Municipal Undertaking -Springs (Health Department).

10. Road Passenger Transport Industry - Cape Peninsula
(Drivers & Conductors).

it. Motor Vehicle Driving-Certain industries, Magisterial
districts of Odendaalsrus, Ventersburg, Virginia and
Welkom.

12. Certain work in abattoirs and in the wholesale meat
trade -Witwatersrand and Pretoria.

14. Liquor and Catering Trade (work of barman)- Municipal
areas of Durban and Pietermaritzburg.

15. Motor vehicle driving- magisterial district of Durban.

16. Motor Assembly Industry- Republic of South Africa
(excluding the Magisterial district of Pretoria).

17. Liquor and Catering Trade (certain work) - Western
Cape and Natal.

1. Footwear Industry - Republic of SA.

19. Driving of motor vehicles, road construction machines
and earth moving machines -Transvaal, Orange Free
State and Natal.

20. Furniture Industry- Republic of SA.
21. Motor Vehicle Driving (certain industries) - certain Magisterial districts in the Transvaal and Orange Free State.

RESERVATION OF WORK
Determination
Number Industry
23. Liquor and Catering Trade (work of barman) - Municipal area of East London.
25. Motor Vehicle Driving - Divisional Council of Port Elizabeth. Total exemption from the determination was granted for an indefinite period.
27. Mining Industry (work connected with sampling, surveying and ventilation) Republic of SA.
28. Building Industry - Republic of SA.

The Minister said that 65 employers, all in the building industry, had been prosecuted during 1975 for contraventions of determinations under Section 77. Eighty-eight employees were concerned.

The Minister of Labour, while speaking at the meeting of the executive committee of the South African Federated Chamber of Industries,' indicated that he was willing to grant exemption from job reservation measures in cases where they would cause possible disruption in commerce and industry. He said that job reservation would continue to be applied "as in the past, with the necessary discrimination".

Mr. J. P. Coetzee, managing director of Iscor, said in May while opening the congress of the Afrikaans Handelsinstituut that the days of blanket protection of White jobs through job reservation were numbered. He said that if job reservation was not relaxed soon SA had to accept that industrial development had reached the stagnation stage. "Sooner or later the White South African worker will no longer be protected by legislation, but only by his degree of training and will to work." He said that the potential of White SA to produce trained tradesmen and managers for 25 million people was close to exhaustion. "Only a trained labour force which can exploit the minerals of the country and process them in factories, can assure a high living standard in the future for both Blacks and Whites."

Sir De Villiers Graaff asked in the Assembly during January what defence the Government had for job reservation and how was it interpreted. He said: "Who are the people covered by this 2,9 per cent, in any case? (The Deputy Minister of Social Welfare and Pensions had said on the previous day that only 2,9 per cent of the manpower was affected by job reservation.) This excludes the mine workers and the Public Service, where different methods of reservation are applied. For that reason it is, in practice, applicable to a much larger section of our labour force. The problem is
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
that it covers the peak of the labour pyramid. Although it only applies temporarily to a negligible number of workers, it has a limiting effect upon the whole labour structure in South Africa.
"There are other ways in which the progress of Blacks is being hampered. There is, for instance, the system in respect of apprentices. Admittedly, it is not prohibited under the Industrial Conciliation Act, but there are other regulations limiting Black apprentices to the homelands, where employment opportunities, of course, do not exist. This undoubtedly has a limiting effect as well and it dampens the enthusiasm of the employer to have his employees trained. He selects a man, trains him, spends money on his training and then finds that job reservation is applied and that he cannot use the man in the job for which he was trained. For this reason this figure of 2.9 per cent means nothing whatsoever. It is in no way an indication of the effects of this measure, and it is no defence either."

MANPOWER AND LABOUR SHORTAGES
Senator Anna Scheepers said in the Senate that there need be no fear among skilled White workers that they would lose their jobs because Africans were being trained for skilled positions. She said: "As a result of the Government's policy most of our Defence Force have been drawn from the White sector. Therefore the number of people in the private sector is becoming smaller all the time. Until now the White sector has supplied almost all the skills, administration, and defence which is no longer possible. The Opposition parties, trade unions and employers have advocated for many years that Non-Whites should be trained for skilled jobs. The Government adopted a very stubborn attitude in this regard and therefore a grave shortage developed because there are no longer sufficient skilled workers to keep all our industries going to full capacity. Skilled White workers in my opinion need not have any fears that they will lose their jobs. The need is so great today that their jobs will be safeguarded for many years to come. I believe that the Whites, on merit, will always be able to keep their jobs as they have a long tradition of skilled work. The requirements according to our economists - I have mentioned this before - in this country during the next four years will be 3.4-million skilled workers. The total number of Whites in employment will only be 1.7-million. Therefore I think the Whites need not fear that they will lose their skilled jobs. However, what will happen when Non-Whites move into skilled jobs is that they will be able to reach more management levels. We cannot keep a strong Defence Force in the field unless our economy at home is strong. Therefore we can never allow the economy to sag because of skilled labour. We have read in the Press that our armaments are

1 Senate 25 February, Hansard 2, cols. 397-398

MANPOWER AND LABOUR SHORTAGES
not as sophisticated as that of the Russians. If this is the case I feel it is time that we should either buy or manufacture such sophisticated armament because our soldiers are entitled to have only the best if we want them to defend our country. It is inconceivable to think that out of a total population of 4 million the country could supply all the skilled workers. We have a population of 24 million and it is almost impossible to expect 4 million (White) people to supply all the skilled and administrative staff. A fact that we must also not lose sight of, is that the Government and Provincial Councils alone are employing in administrative work almost a third- to be correct I think about 29 per cent of the total of our workforce. The private sector therefore have a much smaller number to call upon. At the moment so many are in the Defence Force that industries are in many cases crippled to some extent.

"We can no longer afford to allow hatred, false ideas, racial superiority, prejudice, ignorance, fear, or intolerance to retard our economic growth. To prevent the economy from sagging we must utilise all suitable workers for all types of work. At the end of 1974 a total of 50 150 persons matriculated. Of these 40 000 were Whites, 2 500 Coloureds, 950 Indians and 6 700 Blacks. These Black and Coloured people cannot all go to university and all of them would not have obtained university exemption, but you cannot expect these people to work as operators or labourers. But they have reached these qualifications. Last year there was an increase of 10 per cent in the number of persons who matriculated. These people must be able to learn skills and to make a meaningful contribution to our economy. If we prevent them from learning skills, then I am afraid they may become frustrated and will be a danger to us. With so many young men in active service, NonWhites must do skilled work which they were doing before they left. The Government must see to it that every young man returning from active service must be able to return to his job. I believe that if we are going to have the economic growth rate which is planned by the economic development programme, there will be no need to fear that all the Whites and Non-Whites who can become skilled, will not be able to be absorbed in our economy. Yesterday I said it is dangerous when you quote unemployment figures, to keep on quoting only the Whites, Coloureds and Indians."

Senator Schepers said that beside the 120 000 African males who were coming into the labour market annually there would be an equal number of females who had to be considered.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Education, Mr. Jansen, said in January 2 while opening the Sebokeng In-Service Training Centre, that SA's labour pattern could not be allowed to remain static as economic growth necessitated evolution. He said it was of paramount importance that South Africans realised that African people, particularly the workers, could not forever remain recipients. "They must become participants in the decisions which are being taken about their future. They must be consulted.
about where they want to be trained and in what direction," he said. "However, unreasonable demands and selfish bargaining only serve to retard the progress of the country and I wish to appeal to all concerned to remain calm and to retain a logical approach, without yielding to emotional agitation which serves no other purpose but to incite labour unrest. We will be doing a great disservice to the country, if we, merely on the incitement of others, give increases of salary without an increase in productivity." He said it was estimated that by 1980 SA would be experiencing a shortfall of about 2-million skilled workers.

According to the Rand Daily Mail of 30 November, the deputy director of the Africa Institute, Dr. Erich Leistner, talked about manpower at a businessmen's conference on the quality of life in urban communities, held in Johannesburg. He said that a White monopoly of highly skilled and responsible posts in business, administration, and academic life was untenable. Members of other racial groups would have to move up into such positions if economic growth rates were not to fall to ever-lower levels.

Research had shown that within 15 years at least 500 000 White clerical jobs would be vacant unless other races were trained to fill work gaps vital for industrial expansion. About 3,62-million skilled people would be needed in 1990. But there would be only about 2,26-million economically active Whites that year and, of these, only 1,5-million would be available for more highly skilled jobs. Thus there would be a gap of at least 2,1-million posts to be filled by people of other race groups.

The president of the Chamber of Mines, Mr. R. S. Lawrence, said in June3 that availability of manpower would remain a "critical area" for SA for many years to come. "All races should increasingly share in the rewards and opportunities that economic growth of the region will bring." He called for an imaginative programme of education and training as "the key to the future", and added: "Even in South Africa there is no prospect at all of the White group on its own continuing to meet the country's entire needs of skilled and professional labour."

The official journal of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, Volkshandel, in its editorial of July,4 called for Africans in the common area to be granted a healthy family life, the right to own homes, improved education and training and better job opportunities. It argued that further urbanisation of Africans was not only inevitable, but essential for their development. "Development and urbanisation go hand-in-hand," the editor Mr. D. J. Greyling said. "All developed communities are urbanised." The same "honourable, upright helping hand" that was being given to the homelands should be extended to Africans in the cities, he continued. Neither force, nor subsidisation of the homelands, could stem the flow of Africans to the cities. If existing trends continued, there would be 20-million Africans and 6-million Whites in the "White cities by the year 2000". Already in such crucial sectors as mining, construction, and industry Africans comprised 90 per cent of
the work force. This "economic integration" would continue as there were too few
Whites on top of the labour pyramid to be able to cope. "More skilled and
responsible jobs will have to be given to our Black and Brown partners in the
economy to keep its wheels turning," the journal argued. It pointed out that the
homeland development corporations had been able to provide jobs for only 10 per
cent of Africans coming on to the labour market in the homelands.
In a memorandum to the Prime Minister the Transvaal Chamber of Industries
(TCI) listed some of the problems of urban Africans.5 It pointed out that SA's
African workers were almost entirely confined to labouring and semi-skilled jobs,
and movement up the occupational ladder was "pathetically slow". The outcome
was an increasing shortage of skills in top jobs which forced industry to over-pay
skilled Whites, and a glut of low-paid Africans at the bottom of the ladder. This
had meant a widening of the African/White absolute wage gap in the last three
years, despite the increase in labourers' wages. Industry could not close the gap if
it was shackled by restrictions on African vertical mobility caused by the poor
state of African education and training, a problem which was exacerbated by job
reservation. African industrial training was subject to unrealistic opportunity and
promotional ceilings. Africans were frustrated by such limitations on the levels of
training, which they saw as designed by Whites to keep them in a perpetual state
of semi-poverty. Resentment also arose when young men matriculated only to
find many jobs closed to them. When they were employed, they earned less than
other races, and "are expected to be eternally grateful". Further bars on African
job opportunities were: job reservation; the Black-White ratio restrictions under
the Environmental Planning Act; and the system where Africans could be
employed in certain jobs by exemption, only to find that they were under threat of
discharge if a White happened to come along. The TCI added that it seemed as if
the trade unions and the Government regarded the higher levels of semi-skilled
work as the best industrial jobs to which Africans could aspire and warned: "If we
are to believe this to
5 Financial Mail, 20 August.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
be acceptable to them we are deluding ourselves to our ultimate downfall, since
the rising generation is no longer prepared to accept the limitations which its
parents accepted as a penalty for having been born without a White skin."
The average African, said the TCI, could not understand why he had to be
restricted to unskilled and semi-skilled work, while skilled jobs were unfilled in
the area. "The Government conducts an intensive immigration campaign to bring
in foreign Whites and gives them unrestricted freedom of movement and job
opportunities in these industries in which Blacks have served for years at a
subservient level. White immigration is seen as a ploy by Whites to keep (Blacks)
subjugated even at the expense of an improved economy."
The Minister of Labour told the Natal National Party congress in Durban in
August' that SA would have to consider returning to a five-and-half-day week as
the only way to ensure the maximum production essential in present
circumstances. He said the people of the country would have to decide for
themselves because this could not be imposed by the Government without the consent of the people. Replying to a resolution calling for a six-day week, Mr. Botha said SA had previously worked a five-and-a-half day week until 1300 hours on Saturdays. A five-day week had since been instituted in some sectors, but this was a self-propagating revolution. Others, such as the mining and agricultural sectors, would only continue temporarily to work more days than workers in other industries as there was already pressure for a five-day week here, too. "It is just not always possible to produce as much in five days, even with longer hours, as when a six-day week is worked," he said. "South Africa cannot afford to fall in with the world-wide tendency to work less." The alternative was lower production and a danger of shortages at a critical time which would hit African workers hardest and could endanger race relations.

APPRENTICES
The Minister of Labour said in the Assembly7 that the number of apprenticeship contracts registered in each industry in respect of Whites, Coloured and Asians in 1975 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aerospace</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Automobile</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coal Mining</td>
<td>79</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diamond Cutting</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7 Assembly 5 January, Hansard 2, col. 98.

APPRENTICES
Industry
Electricity Supply undertaking ... Explosives and Allied Industries Food (Butchery) ..........
Furniture ............... Government undertakings ...... Grain Milling .......... Hairdressing ..........
Jewellers and Goldsmiths ..... Metal (Engineering) .......... Mining
Motor .................. Printing ............... SA Railways ........... Sugar manufacturing and Refining
Totals ........
White  Coloured  Asian
...76
... ... ... ... ... ... ... 25
... ... ... ... ... ... ... 17  125  27
... ... ... ... ... ... ... 292  70  1
........... 304 -
... ... ... ... ... ... ... 47  12  2
The Minister of Labour said that there was no official restriction in the motor industry on the training of Coloured apprentices by White journeymen. However, it was the policy of the Motor Industry Employees' Union of South Africa, which represented Whites, not to train Black apprentices. This decision was taken unanimously by the members of the Union at its 1967 annual general meeting. According to the general secretary of the Union the reason for this decision was to safeguard the interests of its members.

The Minister of Labour said that at 31 December 1975 36 426 apprenticeship contracts were in operation in the various industries. He stated that figures on a racial basis were not readily available.

The Minister stated that 2 748 original notices had been published in terms of Section 2 of the Training of Artisans Act. These did not include subsequent notices served in cases where trainees were transferred from one employer to another. The following is a breakdown of trades in which these notices had been issued:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trade</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auto Body Repairing</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bricklaying and Plastering</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpentry and Joinery</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Radio Servicemen</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electrical Wiremen and Electrician</td>
<td>494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fitting and Turning</td>
<td>469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor Mechanic</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panelbeating (including spraypainting)</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plating/Boilermaker</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plumbing</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welding</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Annual Economic Report of the SA Reserve Bank for the year ended 30 June 1976 stated that notwithstanding a levelling off in employment and the number of overtime hours worked in manufacturing, the total output per manhour increased...
by 2,2 per cent for the three quarters that ended at 31 March 1976, compared with
the corresponding period in 1975. During 1974/75 the increase was 2,0 per cent.
The rate of increase in the physical volume of manufacturing production
increased slightly from 2,4 per cent in 1974/75 to 3,1 per cent in 1975/76. It
would appear that the main reasons for this slightly higher rate of increase during
the past year were the large number of television sets produced, the high rate of
increase in real government consumption expenditure, the substantial increase in
the real earnings of and the consequent higher expenditure by the Black
population, and the continuation of expenditure on a number of large capital
projects of the public corporations and public business enterprises.
Employment figures given below relate to June 1976. They are based on data
from a sample survey of private establishments conducted by the Department of
Statistics.’ Average monthly earnings were calculated by the writer and relate to
June 1976.

Average monthly
Average numbers  gross cash  Percentage increase employed  earnings  over
May 1975
White .... ....... 300 200 550 12,5
Coloured .... .... 223 900 143 12,6
Asian .... .... 83 800 167 18,4
African .... .... 757 700 117 14,7

The Clothing Industry
At a seminar arranged by the National Development and Management
Foundation, the managing director of the Bantu Investment Corporation, Dr. J.
Adendorff, said that the clothing industry would do well to look at
decentralisation on an organised industry basis because of severe restrictions
being placed on it by the Environmental Planning Act. He said the BIC was
prepared to offer the industry (1) a training school to give manufacturers a
partially trained labour force before establishing factories in the new estate; (2)
the erection of factory buildings to suit the requirements of manufacturers; (3) a
workshop to do all mechanical repairs and servicing necessary; (4) a daily
communal transport service, taking in raw materials and taking out finished
goods; (5) a central depot on the Reef for raw materials and finished goods.
Senator Anna Scheepers, president of the Garment Workers’ Union of SA, had
serious reservations. "We are not opposed to decentralisation," she said. "But we
don't want it at the price of wholesale disruption, large price increases and
unemployment." Dr. Adendorff’s proposal could ruin many employers, she said.
"This is the only industry offering large-scale employment to Black women on the
Rand—women who have nowhere else to turn for employment. They are city
workers with family ties who are in no position to work for greatly reduced wages
in homelands."
Senator Scheepers said in August 3 that hundreds of employers were facing prosecutions under the Environmental Planning Act for employing workers above the "quota" pegged in January 1968 under the Physical Planning Act. She said that about 1 000 African workers in the industry had been laid off in the past nine months, and the jobs of 5 000 to 6 000 trained workers, mainly women, were in jeopardy. The industry employed 23 000 workers, 80 per cent of whom were Africans, four per cent Whites and 16 per cent Coloured and Asian. As a result of legislation intended to force decentralisation of industry, there had been a growth of only two per cent in the industry in Transvaal urban centres between 1966 and 1975, while in the Western Cape there had been a 98,4 per cent growth, and in the Durban and Pinetown areas, 112,5 per cent. In the Transvaal the industry employed 3 000 workers fewer than it did in 1968.

The Motor Industry

Certain companies in the industry have retrenched staff, closed down factories and reduced working hours. General Motors laid off 100 of its assembly line workers and the factory in Port Elizabeth closed down for one week. There was another temporary shut-down later. Motor Assemblies in Durban retrenched 90 members of staff. The Ford Motor Company laid off all hourly paid workers for a week from 27 September to 1 October in order to cut back production. The Neave plant of Ford in Port Elizabeth was working a four-day week in July. Volkswagen closed down for a week in July. Most of the hourly paid workers were thereafter working a four-day week.

It was reported early in November that the Ford, Volkswagen, and General Motors Companies had all decided on a four-day week and short time. Between September 1975 and the 2 Star, 5 November, 1975.

3 Rand Daily Mail, 25 August.
4 Star, 13 July.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976 equivalent date in 1976 the number of employees in the motor industry had dropped from 41 000 to about 37000. It was estimated that short time and shutdowns would cause a loss of some 3,5-million manhours in the six-month period ending in December.

THE DECENTRALISATION OF INDUSTRIES

General

Senator Horwood said in September that it was important for businessmen to support the Government's industrial decentralisation effort because it created jobs, training and higher living standards, especially for race groups other than Whites. He said he could not subscribe to the view that decentralisation was itself a cost-increasing factor and therefore inflationary. "While cyclical variations make it essential from time to time to cut expenditure in almost every area, a high priority on decentralised industrial development naturally remains a long-term aim of the Government." Decentralisation concessions were doubled in 1975, with the result that a larger proportion of the modest growth SA experienced was shifted to border areas. The cost of creating jobs in a particular decentralised area tended to
fall as the number of firms in the area increased. Conversely, it was common cause that the cost of supplying additional services to an already congested or heavily developed area was relatively high. This circumstance must be borne in mind when assessing the true cost of any decentralised activity. Senator Horwood said there were so-called external diseconomies which arose in big cities—the higher cost of moving people and goods from one point to another, or the sheer inability of the relevant authority to provide, beyond a certain limit, more housing, sanitation or education facilities, and these affected worker efficiency. There were important and well-known costs of centralised economic activity which could in appropriate cases be transformed into corresponding benefits by decentralising.

### Growth Points

The Minister of Economic Affairs said that the applications listed below had been received at each growth point since 1 April 1975. He gave the estimated value of individual concessions.

I Rand Daily Mail, 2 September.
2 Assembly 30 April, Hansard 13, cols. 919-922.

**EMPLOYMENT IN MANUFACTURING**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Applications</th>
<th>Applications received</th>
<th>granted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assistance</td>
<td>Granted</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value of land</td>
<td>Rental and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and buildings</td>
<td>at subsidised interest</td>
<td>Tax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on a lease basis</td>
<td>Rental rate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loans</td>
<td>concessions</td>
<td>concessions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Growth Point</th>
<th>Atlantis/Darling Brits</th>
<th>Rustenburg</th>
<th>East London</th>
<th>Richards Bay</th>
<th>Potgietersrus</th>
<th>Berlin</th>
<th>Pietersburg</th>
<th>Ladysmith</th>
<th>Newcastle</th>
<th>Babelegi</th>
<th>Tsitebe</th>
<th>Butterworth</th>
<th>Dimbaza</th>
<th>Umtata</th>
<th>Seshego</th>
<th>Other*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>941</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>3720</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>13360</td>
<td>8847</td>
<td>11846</td>
<td>3504</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>1225</td>
<td>1134</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>31111</td>
<td></td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>3517</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>708130</td>
<td>965253</td>
<td>9581</td>
<td>33875</td>
<td>18587204</td>
<td>26131168</td>
<td>769</td>
<td>743419</td>
<td>21220</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>11587</td>
<td>1654090</td>
<td>39102369</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

2 Assembly 30 April, Hansard 13, cols. 919-922.
THE PHYSICAL PLANNING ACT
The Minister of Planning and the Environment said that the following applications for the establishment and extension of factories were received in the period 19 January 1968 to 31 January 1976:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Applications received</th>
<th>Applications granted</th>
<th>Applications refused</th>
<th>Applications under consideration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal 14726 13 254</td>
<td>1 413</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Cape 1 429 1 308</td>
<td>174</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Areas 2025 1 838</td>
<td>178</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister stated that the number of potential African employees affected by refusals since the Act came into effect was 92645.

The Minister added that five undertakings had been prosecuted under Physical Planning and Utilisation of Resources Act. The reason for the prosecution in each case was that the number of African employees as at 18 January 1968 was exceeded without authority. There were further prosecutions pending.

Senator Anna Scheepers said in the Senate in May that Africans were seething with hatred of the Whites because of laws like the Physical Planning Act. She said the Act was being applied harshly and inhumanely and was politically dangerous. Yet the Government was going ahead with one of the gravest injustices.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
ever perpetrated on African workers. It was unheard of anywhere in the world that a government through dictatorial legislation could throw tens of thousands of African workers out of work and ruin scores of employers financially. It was
sheer lunacy. "The clothing industry with which I am best acquainted is a good example to show the disastrous effect the application of Section 3 can have. I know that the Government wants the clothing industry to decentralise and the industry in the Transvaal is not opposed to decentralisation where it is possible to do so. Many factories have already decentralised, both in Natal and BophuthaTswana and to other border areas. Close attention was given to this matter and it has been found that the only factories that can be decentralised successfully are those that employ 500 or more workers. In spite of all the Government aid, factories must be financially in a sound position to decentralise. I know of factories which applied for assistance to decentralise, but it was stated that their financial position was not good enough. They have applied to employ more Blacks in order to extend their factories in the urban areas to enable them to decentralise at a later stage. That was also refused. A large number of factories have already had to close down and some are going insolvent. There is one which was built with assistance from the Industrial Development Corporation at a cost of nearly RI million and because they cannot get the quota of Black workers, it may become an empty shell," she said.

Mr. J. H. Thomas, secretary of the Transvaal Clothing Manufacturers' industrial council, said in April, following the Cabinet's decision to enforce the Physical Planning Act as it applied to the clothing industry in 1968, that this would cripple the industry. "It is inconceivable that the Government should enforce this law at this time. Some firms will have to close down. It could affect a large number of factories." The pegging of African labour in 1968 was done at a time when the whole pattern of employment was changing, with White and Coloured workers moving out and Africans moving in, he said. In 1968 there were twice as many Coloured workers in the industry as there were now, and there were 12 000 Africans as against the present 23 000.

Mr. Woolf Aaron, president of the Transvaal Clothing Manufacturers' Association, said at least 5 000 workers would lose their jobs following the Cabinet's decision - "this could double very easily". It was clear that a number of factories would have to close down, he said. "It will throttle the industry, as many smaller firms will have to lay off half their workers. The labour is here, and the factories need it. Without these jobs the workers will be unemployed."

Mrs. Lucy Mvubelo, general secretary of the National Union of Clothing Workers, said: "The Government is behaving in a very irresponsible way. It is disgraceful at this time of inflation to kick skilled workers out of their jobs." Her union had asked the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. A. Treurnicht, to intercede before the Government took its decision. "But we heard nothing more. We warned him of the thousands who would lose their jobs and the hardship which would result from this." An estimated 9 000 workers were expected to leave the industry. Some hundreds had already been laid off, she said.
Senator Scheepers said in June7 that she understood that about 100 prosecutions were pending against clothing manufacturers in terms of the Physical Planning Act.

BORDER INDUSTRIAL AREAS
The Minister of Economic Affairs said that two new border industrial areas were established in SA during 1975. These were Maringo Flats and Paddock. As a result, 10 880 work opportunities for Whites and 81 861 work opportunities for Africans had been created.
The Minister said that R74 550 656 had been spent by Government Departments, the Industrial Development Corporation and other official agencies in border areas as at 31 December 1975. R5 515 563 had been spent on other economic development areas outside the homelands on the development of industrial townships, including loans made to local authorities for this purpose.
The Minister of Labour said that 18 Industrial Council agreements and three Wage Determinations had been applicable in border areas since 1 June 1975. One Industrial Council agreement applied in such areas only. Exemption from an Industrial Council agreement was granted to the Furniture Industry, while the Clothing Industry and Bread and Confectionery Industry had been exempted from Wage Determinations since 31 December 1974.
In the case of the Furniture Industry exemption was granted from the wage provisions of the agreement.
Mr. D. Baxter, the United Party's chief spokesman on finance, said in February that the Government should stop spending money on apartheid and halt the forced development of border areas. He suggested a number of measures to help beat inflation. "What we need is to free the economy so that the ideological fetters under which it suffers will be removed and entrepreneurs will be left free to run their businesses in the most economic and productive manner. The Government should call a halt to forced.
Rand Daily Mail, 22 June.
Assembly 18 March, Hansard 8, col. 582.
Assembly 18 February, Hansard 4, col. 264.
10 Assembly 24 June, Hansard 21, col. 1295-1297.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
subsidised border industrial development. It should allow industrialists to establish and expand their businesses where those industrialists decide are the most advantageous and productive locations for them to do so, whether those locations be in the metropolitan areas, in the border areas, in the homelands or elsewhere. It should scrap Section 3 of the Physical Planning Act. It should administer influx control so that sufficient labour is available where that labour is needed."

EMPLOYMENT IN AGRICULTURE
Replying to a question in the Assembly, the Minister of Agriculture said that according to the 1972/3 Agricultural Census there were 81 935 farming units, of
which 78 958 were owned by private persons or partnerships. Small-holdings were included, and therefore the figures did not represent bona fide farmers only. He gave the following information in regard to numbers of farmers in each province and the area of land used by them:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Area (ha)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cape Province</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>29-042</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registered companies</td>
<td>874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other organisations</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>27517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registered companies</td>
<td>729</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other organisations</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange Free State</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>14356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registered companies</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other organisations</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>5135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>2064</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registered companies</td>
<td>761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other organisations</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Preliminary figures released by the Department of Statistics showed that the average cash wage of Africans on SA’s farms was less than R14 a month.’

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that there were 42 agricultural labour liaison officers in the employ of his Department in 1975.

EMPLOYMENT IN MINING

The 1975 issue of Mining Statistics, issued by the Department of Mines, gave the following information concerning the number of persons employed in mining at the end of that year. The percentage increase/decrease over 1974 has been calculated by the writer.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>All</th>
<th>Percentage Gold</th>
<th>Percentage Coal</th>
<th>Mines increase</th>
<th>Mines Only</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>91 632</td>
<td>2,8</td>
<td>37 762</td>
<td>0,8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Coloured .......... 7 722  6,9  466  8,6  71
Asian .........     955  24,2  16 -11,1  288
African ......... 591 730 -7,4  339 680  7,8  68 394
692039  377924  76897
The employment figures for other mining activities were as follows: diamonds, 19 819; quarries and salt, 21247; asbestos, 20 115; copper, 13 423; manganese, 9 905; chrome, 7 743; iron, 9 515; tin, 2 827; and works associated with mining activities, 63724.
Calculating from figures given for the totals paid in salaries, wages, and allowances, the monthly average cash earnings per head, together with the percentage increase over 1974, were:
All Percentage Gold Percentage Coal Mines increase Mines increase Mines Only Only
R R R R
White ............. 590 10,5  616  9,8  693
Coloured ........... 163 25,4  274  43,5  211
Asian ............. 221 23,5  199  49,6  208
African ........... 79  61,2  79  71,7  73
The annual report for 1975 of the Department of Mines stated that the African labour complement on the gold and platinum mines, the largest employers of mine labour, was made up of 180 000 (43,48 per cent) recruited from the Republic, 125 000 (30,19 per cent) from Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland, 11 000 (2,66 per cent) from the tropical areas, and 98 000 (23,67 per cent) from the East Coast.
The year (1975) started off with a shortage of African labour following unrest and strikes on some mines. The Minister of Mines appointed an interdepartmental committee to investigate the causes of unrest and to recommend steps to be taken towards a possible solution. On some mines the African labour force had dropped to as low as 63 per cent of the original complement. A consequence of the unrest was that the number of African labourers recruited

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
from SA increased from 99 458 in 1974 to 180 000 in 1975. The labour situation improved considerably later in the year.
During 1975 the accident death rate for all mines was 1.22 per thousand persons in service compared with 1,19 in 1974. The injury rate was 39,2 per thousand as against 42,9 in 1974.
Pay rises for Africans on collieries and gold mines belonging to the Chamber of Mines were announced in June.' Starting rates for novice underground workers went up by R7,80 to R65 a month. Most underground labour would earn R104,40 a month. The shift pay for underground novices rose from R2,20 to R2,50 a shift. The pay for the bulk of underground labour ranged from R3,60 to R5,30 a shift. The Chamber of Mines said that its estimate for accommodation, food, and other benefits, which included medical and recreational facilities, was R40 a month for each man.
The De Beers Mining and industrial group announced wage increases in June for the 12 000 Africans employed in the group's mines in SA and SWA. The minimum increase was R12.70 a month. The minimum basic wage in the various mines then ranged from R92.50 to R105.10 a month, and in the operating category the highest rate became R406 a month.

The Chamber of Mines and the Mine Workers' Union reached a compromise agreement on the five-day week issue. Miners would work an 11-shift fortnight, i.e. a five-day week followed by a sixday week. This agreement was reached after many weeks of negotiation between the Chamber and the Union. At different stages both the Minister of Mines and the Prime Minister had to intercede to prevent threatened strike action by the Union. The 11-shift fortnight for the 10 000 members of the all-White union on gold mines and collieries would come into effect from the April 1977 pay month. Fringe benefit improvements and changes in work practice agreed upon in 1975 were incorporated in the new agreement. The Mine Workers' Union allowed an additional concession on the use of African labour: Union members employed as night shift cleaners on gold mines were authorized to instruct African team leaders at central points to enter blasted faces, subject to subsequent inspection.

EMPLOYMENT IN CONSTRUCTION

The employment figures given below are based on a sample survey conducted by the Department of Statistics. They relate to the month of June. The average monthly earnings as well as the percentage increase in earnings over 1975 were calculated by the writer.

1 Rand Daily Mail, 2 June.
2 Rand Daily Mail, 2 September.
Department of Statistics. Statistical News Release date 9 September.

EMPLOYMENT IN CONSTRUCTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average numbers</th>
<th>Average monthly earnings</th>
<th>Percentage employed over 1973</th>
<th>gross cash increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>63500</td>
<td>539</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>51 300</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>5600</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>24.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>293600</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister of Labour said that as at 25 February 322 Africans were being trained in terms of the Bantu Building Workers Act. He added that 9 036 Africans had obtained registration as building workers in terms of the Act by the end of 1975. Of these, 1 254 obtained registration during 1975. The numbers of Africans who had qualified in each of the various building trades as at 31 December 1975 were as follows:

Blocklaying: 109
Bricklaying: 4251
Bricklaying and Plastering: 347
Carpentry: 1 531
Carpentry and Joinery .......... 54
Electrical wiring ................. 53
Joinery .......................... 1
Painting .......................... 1,043
Plastering ......................... 856
Plumbing .......................... 791
Total ................................ 9,036

Builders' wages were increased on 1 May. The minimum wage for White journeymen rose from R2.07 to R2.21 an hour (6.76 per cent) while the minimum for Africans rose from 53c to 56c an hour (5.8 per cent).

In May the building industry predicted that 30,000 workers would be laid off during the year because of the slump in the industry.' A spokesman for the Building Industries Federation said: "We estimate the industry is down 10 per cent on what it was last year and that employment will fall by that much during the year".

It was reported in October that about 10,000 White, Coloured, and Asian artisans and 60,000 semi-skilled and unskilled African construction workers had been laid off during the year, and that these numbers might double by the end of 1976.

EMPLOYMENT IN FINANCE AND COMMERCE
The figures given below are based on a complete survey of the second quarter of 1975 conducted by the Department of
2 Senate 16 March, Hansard 5, col. 29.
3 Assembly 29 April, Hansard 13, cols. 910-911.
4 Star, 27 April.
5 Rand Daily Mail, 26 March.
6 Ibid, 16 October.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
Statistics.' The average monthly earnings as well as the percentage increases in employment and earnings were calculated by the writer.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Banks</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Average monthly</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>employed increase</td>
<td>gross cash</td>
<td>increase over 1975</td>
<td>earnings over 1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White ..........</td>
<td>49,140</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>490</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured .......</td>
<td>2957</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian ..........</td>
<td>1,358</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African .......</td>
<td>6,825</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The News Release quoted above also gave data on employment in building societies and insurance companies. The average monthly earnings as well as percentage increases were calculated by the writer.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Building Societies</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Average monthly</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>employed increase</td>
<td>gross cash</td>
<td>increase over 1975</td>
<td>earnings over 1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White ..............</td>
<td>11,137</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>402</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured ...........</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian ..............</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African ............</td>
<td>2052</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Government Proclamation R764 of 7 May amended the regulations governing the control and supervision of urban Africans. The major changes to the regulations concerning traders were as follows.

(1) Partnerships were permitted, provided that all partners were in possession of homeland citizenship certificates.

(2) Companies could be formed, provided that all the shareholders were African and lawfully resident in the area, 21 years of age or older and in possession of citizenship certificates.

(3) The Administration Board might erect buildings on trading sites which could be leased to traders, or the holder of a trading site permit might erect buildings with his own funds on the site after the building plans had been approved by the Board. A trader might also purchase buildings erected by the Board.

I Department of Statistics News Release date 24 August.

EMPLOYMENT IN CONSTRUCTION

If the business premises or a site set aside by the Board were larger than 150 sq. meters, the application for the erection of business premises must be submitted to the Minister for approval. Each trader would be limited to one site, except with the approval of the Minister.

(4) The conditions for the allotment of sites were altered, requiring a person, partnership and all shareholders to be in possession of citizenship certificates.

(5) No site would be allotted to any trader who had trading or business interests outside the residential area.

(6) Traders need not apply each year for renewal of licences or permits.

Mr. S. M. Motsuenyana, the president of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (NAFCOC) said in his presidential address' that "following the announcement in Parliament of 1 May 1975 to the effect that African trading rights in the urban areas would be reviewed, most of us were filled with optimism that far-reaching reforms would be brought about in the policy governing Black business in the urban areas. But after the promulgation of Proclamation R760 of 7 May 1975, we feel extremely disappointed because there is very little change in the substance of the law as well as in the spirit of the policy. The only significant relaxation is the concession granted to Black companies and partnerships to operate in the urban areas. More restrictive provisions have been introduced into
the proclamation, such as the requirements of the homeland citizenship as a condition for renewal and the issuance of new licences. In all honesty the new regulations are not seen as an improvement but rather as a hardening of policy towards the urban Black businessman”.

Statistical News Release dated 4 October gave the following employment figures for the wholesale and retail trades. Average monthly earnings were calculated by the writer:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wholesale</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Average monthly gross cash earnings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>79400</td>
<td>438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>21900</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>11100</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>85500</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Retail</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Average monthly gross cash earnings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>134700</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>35400</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>18000</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>117800</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
EMPLOYMENT IN THE SERVICE OF PUBLIC AUTHORITIES

Central Government and General
In a Statistical News Release dated 17 September, the Department of Statistics gave employment figures for the Central Government together with estimates of earnings relating to the second quarter of 1976. The average per capita monthly earnings were calculated by the writer.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Estimated monthly salaries and wages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>119 114 398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>46990 166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>9076 298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>120282 111</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The annual report of the Public Service Commission for 1974/75, tabled in Parliament in February, revealed that the Public Service had staff losses totalling 55 per cent in the three-year period from July 1972. Staff gains in the same period totalled 52 per cent. These figures represented a "considerable deterioration" in the staff position, with a large proportion of staff "greatly lacking in experience and background". Training costs had reached unacceptably high levels and at the same time productivity declined. Especially alarming, the Commission said, was the shortage of staff with legal qualifications. In spite of training schemes, the percentage of legal assistants with suitable qualifications had dropped from 34 to 21. Only 135 of 653 posts for legal assistants were filled by officials with suitable
qualifications. A parallel situation was reported in the Department of Bantu Administration, and the position in the technical division was "equally alarming". Commenting on the Commission's report, the Public Servants' Association said that the crippling staff crisis would drastically worsen unless swift action was taken. "We've warned the Commission before", said president Mr. S. D. de K. Venter. "These figures prove what we have known for some time."

Salary increases for the Public Service came into operation on 1 July.2 Whites received an increase of 10 per cent, Coloured and Indian received 15 per cent, and Africans 20 per cent.

According to the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Mulder,' R10 million had been voted to narrow the wage gap in the Public Service. He said: "In most cases work requirements of the different race groups differ from one another. Consequently, I Star, 26 February.

2 Sunday Times, 9 May.
3 Assembly 19 May, Hansard 16 col. 1035.

EMPLOYEES OF PUBLIC AUTHORITIES
meaningful comparisons cannot be made. In certain teaching, professional, artisans' and lower graded posts which are comparable, salary and wage gaps do exist. In the case of certain other posts the gap has already been closed, e.g. diplomats."

The Minister of Police gave4 the following information concerning the authorised and actual establishment of White and Black posts in the SA Police as at 31 December 1975:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>White</th>
<th>Black</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Authorised</td>
<td>2414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warrant officers</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sergeants</td>
<td>1382</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The numbers of discharges and dismissals were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>White</th>
<th>Black</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Discharges</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dismissals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discharge purchased</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following number of recruits during 1975:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>African</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| (551 transferred to Homeland Governments)
| completed their training | | | |
... 1882 .... 72
... 179
... 1008
The Minister of Police said that the number of people serving in the SA Police Force at the end of 1975 was as follows:
Commissioned officers Warrant Officers ... Senior Sergeants ...... Sergeants .......
Constables ..........
Civilian employees Temporary members ...
White
... 2225
... 2051
4694 ... 9055
... 1530 ... 765
Coloured
18 7
37
267 1 328 195
15
Asian
5
6 23 189 590
8
5
African
36 26 135 2087 11155
961
61
The Minister of Justice said that two Coloured people were employed as prosecutors, one at Wynberg, C.P., and the other at Johannesburg. No Coloured people were employed as magistrates.
307

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
Three Indians were employed as prosecutors, two at Pinetown and one at Durban. No Indians were employed as magistrates.
The Minister of Prisons said that 484 Whites, 5 Coloured, and 2 Africans held commissioned ranks in the Prisons Service. The salary scales for warders were as follows:
White Coloured Asian ... African
... ... R 1
R1
R
The Minister of Defence gave the following salary scales for each rank in the Permanent and Citizen Force:

Rank
General/Admiral .............
Lieutenant General/Vice Admiral Major General/Rear-Admiral ... 
Brigadier/Commodore ........... Colonel/Captain ............
Commandant/Commander ......
Major/Lieutenant-Commander .. Captain/Lieutenant .............. Lieutenant/Sub-Lieutenant ..... Second Lieutenant/Ensignment Candidate Officer/Midshipman ..
Warrant Officer Class 1 ...... Warrant Officer Class 2 ...... Staff Sergeant/Chief Petty Officer Sergeant/Petty Officer .......... Corporal/Leading Seaman ...... Lance Corporal/Able Seaman ... Private/Seaman ...........

White Permanent Force Members
R16 800 (fixed) R15 600 (fixed) R14 400 (fixed) R13 200 (fixed) R9 900 rising to R1 700 R7 740 rising to R 9 540 R6 300 rising to R 7 380 R5 340 rising to R 6 300 R3 480 rising to R 5 340 R2 700 rising to R 4 740 R1 950 rising to R 4 200 R6 060 rising to R 7 380 R4 920 rising to R 6 300 R4 380 rising to R 5 820 R3 300 rising to R 5 340 R2 700 rising to R 4 740 R1 950 rising to R 4 200 R6 300 Members of the SA Cape Corps and the SA Indian Corps were paid at a rate of 80 per cent of the salaries of White personnel of equivalent rank, while members of the SA Supporting Services Corps (African) received 65 per cent of the amounts paid to Whites.

The following salary scales for the SA Corps, the SA Indian Corps, and the SA Supporting Services Corps were operative:

SA Cape Corps and SA Indian Corps
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Daily Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Major General/Rear Admiral</td>
<td>R38,83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brigadier/Commodore</td>
<td>R35,54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonel/Captain</td>
<td>R26,50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commandant/Commander</td>
<td>R20,59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major/Lieutenant Commander</td>
<td>R16,64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captain/Lieutenant</td>
<td>R14,01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant/Sub-Lieutenant</td>
<td>R8,91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Lieutenant/Ensign</td>
<td>R6,78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candidate Officer/Midshipman</td>
<td>R5,13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warrant Officer Class 1</td>
<td>R15,98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warrant Officer Class 2</td>
<td>R12,86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff Sergeant/Chief Petty Officer</td>
<td>R1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corporal/Leading Seaman</td>
<td>R1,38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petty Officer</td>
<td>R8,42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lance Corporal/Able Seaman</td>
<td>R6,78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seaman</td>
<td>R4,72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>R3,33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister of Indian Affairs said that there were 830 authorised posts, excluding those for teachers, in his department and that 140 of these were occupied by White and 690 by Indian personnel. The most senior administrative post occupied by an Indian was Chief Inspector of Education, with a salary of R1 1250 per annum.

**Provincial Administration**

The Statistical News Release dated 17 September gave employment figures for the Provincial Administrations together with estimates of earnings relating to the second quarter of 1975. The average per capita monthly earnings were calculated by the writer:

Assembly 17 May, Hansard 16. col. 1020.
R4 560 R4 200 R3 750 R3 300 R2 700
R4 740 R4 050 R3 450 R2 460 R1 980 R4 740 R4 050 R3 750 R3 450 R3 000 R2 580 R2 100
309
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

Numbers employed
White ... Coloured Asian ... African ...
   ... ... 112 194
   ... ... 20513
   ... ... 3295
   ... ... 86936
Average monthly salaries and wages
R
390 120 236 78

Local Authorities
The Statistical News Release mentioned above also gave employment figures and earnings for Local Authorities. These figures include the Transvaal Board for the Development of Peri-Urban Areas, the Natal Local Health Commission, the Bantu Resettlement Board and the Bantu Affairs Administration Boards, and relate to the second quarter of 1976.

Numbers employed
White ... Coloured Asian ... African ...
   ... ... 57900
   ... ... 22800
   ... ... 5000
   ... ... 142300
Average monthly salaries and wages
R
526 157
491
94

EMPLOYMENT IN THE RAILWAYS, HARBOURS AND AIRWAYS ADMINISTRATION
The Minister of Transport said that the average annual salaries paid to employees of the SA Railways and Harbours Administration as at 31 December 1975 were:
White ... Coloured Asian ... African ...
   ... R6097
   ... R419 R1 524 R1 524
   ... R1 153

The number of Whites employed by the Administration was 111 120, and the number of Blacks 133 811. Total remuneration excluding overtime during 1975 was R470 496 393 for White employees and R17 575 441 for Blacks. Overtime pay was R72 712 761 to Whites and R17 575 441 to Blacks.

Black employees of the SA Railways received a 12.5 per cent wage increase from 1 July. This increase affected 148 000 employees. White employees received a 10
per cent increase.’ A spokesman for the Railways explained the 2.5 per cent
difference
1 Assembly 2 February, Hansard 2, col. 41.
2 Assembly 2 March, Hansard 6, col. 449.
3 Rand Daily Mail, 14 June.
310

POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS
in increase as “a step in the direction of eliminating the wage gap between Black
and White staff”. He added that the number of Black employees in jobs that were
formerly reserved for Whites had "at least doubled during the past two years.
There are about 18 000 Blacks in jobs that were reserved for Whites only, and the
Railways will continue this policy where there is difficulty in recruiting White
labour.” Black posts were being evaluated according to working conditions,
physical work load, and similar aspects and increasing emphasis was being placed
on training. About 50 000 workers had already been trained in the Transvaal, he
said.

EMPLOYMENT IN THE DEPARTMENT OF POSTS AND
TELEGRAPHS
The Minister of Posts and Telecommunications gave a breakdown of employment
and monthly salaries in his Department as at 31 March 1976:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monthly Salary</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>African</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R 50 or less</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2087</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 51-R100</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>2621</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>13284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R101-R150</td>
<td>3916</td>
<td>2023</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>2483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R151-R200</td>
<td>7002</td>
<td>618</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R201-R250</td>
<td>7812</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R251-R300</td>
<td>4774</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R301-R400</td>
<td>7779</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R400 plus</td>
<td>10196</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister said that approximately R1 250 000 had been voted to narrow the
wage gaps between the various race groups in classified posts during the current
financial year, i.e. from
1 July 1976 to 31 March 1977.
During February, the Minister stated that 10 Coloured, 8 Asians and 56 Africans
were employed in the administrative division of his Department. The highest and
lowest salary scales applicable to each category of employment were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number employed</th>
<th>Highest</th>
<th>Lowest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coloured Postmaster, Grade LII</td>
<td>6237</td>
<td>5346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postmaster, Grade IV</td>
<td>5049</td>
<td>4455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superintendent</td>
<td>5049</td>
<td>4455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian Postmaster, Grade III</td>
<td>5049</td>
<td>4455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postmaster, Grade IV</td>
<td>5049</td>
<td>4455</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Superintendent ... .... 1 5 059 4 455
' Assembly 4 May, Hansard 14, cols. 951-952.
5 Assembly 10 May, Hansard 15, col. 985.
Assembly 5 February. Hansard 2 col. 97.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number employed</th>
<th>Highest</th>
<th>Lowest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postmaster, Grade III</td>
<td>13 4725 4 050</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postal Inspector</td>
<td>1 4725 4 050</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postmaster, Grade IV</td>
<td>32 3 825 3 375</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superintendent</td>
<td>... ... ... ... ... ... 10 3 825 3 375</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister said that 12,889 Whites and 8,138 Blacks were taken into service by his Department during 1974/75. Nine Coloured, 12 Asian and 10 African learner telephone electricians completed their training during that year. There were 62 Coloured, 117 Asian, and 24 African electricians employed by his Department as at 31 December 1975.

Questioned during February, the Minister replied that 97 Coloured (63 Postmen and 34 Temporary Postmen), 18 Asians (13 Postmen and 5 Temporary Postmen), and 532 Africans (288 Postmen, 204 Temporary Postmen and 40 Postal Aids) were occupying posts theoretically reserved for White staff. He said that 39 posts formerly occupied by Whites had been converted into Black posts during 1974/75, and 245 further posts were converted during the period 1 April to 30 September 1975. The posts were:
Postmaster, Grade III Postmaster, Grade IV
Clerk Telephone Exchange Superintendent
Male Telephonist
Part-time Female Telephonist
Postman.

He said 370 Blacks were occupying posts reserved for White staff in White areas in a permanent capacity. These were as Postmen.

During 1975, 651 trained and 661 half-trained technicians and telephone electricians left the service of the Post Office: this was a rise of 30 per cent and 33 per cent respectively over the previous year. ' Over the past five years a total of 2341 technicians, electricians and mechanics had left. It cost R12,000 to produce a qualified technician and R8,000 for a qualified telephone electrician.

DOMESTIC WORKERS
The first conference for domestic workers was held on 8 and 9 September at the Weizmann Hall, Sea Point. It was jointly organised by the Regional office of the Institute of Race Relations
Assembly 2 February, Hansard 2, col. 47.

TRADE UNIONS and the Young Christian Workers. A unanimous decision was taken that domestic workers should strive towards the establishment of a union.

The Domestic Workers and Employers Project (DWEPI) published its second Charter for domestic workers (an updated version of its 1973 Charter) setting out desirable wages and working conditions. The recommended figures for 1974 were used in this document as it was felt that the discrepancy between later figures and the wages workers were actually receiving was so great as to make the Charter unrealistic.

DWEPI's recommended wage levels for domestic workers in 1976 were R60 a month minimum cash wage for living-in workers and R70 plus transport expenses for those who lived out. Skilled workers such as cooks should receive a minimum cash wage of R80 a month. The recommended daily rate was R4 plus transport expenses, while the hourly rate was R1. These rates were for an 8 hour day, 44 hour week.

TRADE UNIONS

General

The Minister of Labour said in the Senate that as at 31 December 1975 there were 83 White, 48 Coloured, and 41 Asian registered trade unions. Total membership of these was 382,525 Whites, 91,995 Coloured, and 179,174 Asians.

The SA Confederation of Labour and the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) both warned the Government in March that there would be snowballing demands for pay rises.

The formation of the SA Central Labour Organisation (Saclco) was announced in May by the general secretaries of two unions unaffiliated to either Tucsa or the Confederation. They were Mr. Neethling of the Amalgamated Engineering Union (AEU) and Mr. Roodt of the SA Footplate Staff Association (Safa). Saclco would be open to "all bona fide trade unions". The attitude to unregistered African trade unions was not stated. Details of policy would be formulated at an inaugural meeting in October.

Mr. Zurich of the Artisan Staff Association said that SA's trade union movement must free itself from party political and ideological leanings and concentrate on the welfare of workers. "There is an urgent need to bring these trade unions into one large organisation which leans neither to the political left nor the right," he stated. Issues such as the advancement of African labour into skilled work areas had to be viewed objectively from an economic and not a political point of view.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

When opening a congress of the SA Confederation of Labour in June the Minister of Labour said that the Government's future labour policy would be planned in consultation with White trade unions. "We won't introduce legislation without prior consultation. Any developments in the future will be something we plan..."
together." White workers had no reason to fear that their work security would be endangered by the movement of Black workers into better jobs. It was Government policy that labour adjustments through the reallocation of work would be done only through co-operation with the White workers and their trade unions. He gave the assurance that job reservation would not be abolished. Its role was to prevent competition between workers of different races and to assure workers of their careers and entrepreneurs of their labour force.

African Trade Union Rights

The National Union of Clothing Workers (NUCW), the largest African trade union with 23,000 members, decided in February to rejoin TUCSA. Four other unions had affiliated by September. These were the African Leather Workers' Union, the African Transport Workers' Union, the African Trunk and Box Workers' Union, and the SA Bank Employees' Union. Mrs. Lucy Mvubelo, the general secretary of the NUCW, said that the threat of retrenchments in the clothing industry as a result of State action under the Physical Planning Act was very real, and the union hoped to gain new muscle in resisting it through its affiliation to TUCSA. Mrs. Sarah Chitja, assistant general secretary of the NUCW, said: "We want to show South Africa it can survive only if the workers stand together. We stand for integration into the community - that is why we are going into TUCSA. We will fight from within TUCSA for rights for all workers." The Minister of Labour told the executive council of the Federated Chamber of Industries in Cape Town in May that the Government would continue to refuse to recognise African trade unions. He said the Government still preferred the system of works and liaison committees. It had stood the test of time and improvements were planned.

Mr. Gavin Andersson, acting secretary of the Metal and Allied Workers' Union in Johannesburg, said: "The Minister's statement is saddening in that it shows a total disregard for the Black workers. They have repeatedly asked for their unions to be recognised. It is astounding that the Government plans to continue forcing an odious committee system on them. The Minister's posturing about the practicability of the committee system cannot conceal the injustices of Government policy."

African trade union leaders said in May that they would continue their fight for recognition despite the Minister's statement. One leader warned that the Government's rigidity was aggravating an already explosive situation. TUCSA stated that African unions would force employers and the Government to give them official and legal recognition once they demonstrated clearly that they represented a majority of the work force. "This has been the experience of labour in all countries," said Mr. Arthur Grobbelaar, general secretary of TUCSA.
Mcebisi Mqhayi, president of the Engineering and Allied Workers' Union, said: "We have come to expect Government statements against the Black trade unions. It doesn't hurt us anymore—in fact it gives us new courage to fight for recognition."

During the latter part of November the Government served 5-year banning orders on 19 Whites and three Blacks in Johannesburg, Durban, Cape Town, and other centres who at one time or another had been involved in organising or assisting African trade unions, or in research on Black labour. Most of the Whites were or had been members of organisations such as the Urban Training Project, the Industrial Aid Society, the Institute for Industrial Education, the Institute of Industrial Relations, the Trade Union Advisory and Co-ordinating Council, Students' Wages Commissions, or the Western Province Advice Bureau.

Trade Union Council of South Africa

While addressing TUCSA's annual conference in September, Mr. Grobbelaar said1 that the Government might find it more difficult to do without TUCSA than TUCSA would to do without the Government. He was talking about the possible threat of TUCSA being deregistered by the Government as a labour organisation as a result of its African membership. He said TUCSA had nothing to worry about regarding its possible loss of representation on government boards and committees. Mr. Frazer, general secretary of the European Liquor and Catering Trade Employees' Union, said he feared that certain TUCSA members might threaten to leave unless TUCSA "kicked out" its African members. However, "if TUCSA were no longer registered, it could become a federation which no longer had to argue about mixed or African unions and in whose way nobody could stand", he commented.

The 16 500-member Boilermakers' Society left TUCSA in September on the issue of African workers moving into skilled jobs." Mr. Bouwer, the union's general secretary, said: "Our policy differs from TUCSA's. We have thousands of Coloured and Asian members whose jobs we have to protect. We can't do this at the same time as putting Africans into their union as proposed by TUCSA. We cannot allow African workers to move into their jobs." In October the National Union of Furniture and Allied Workers, with some 10 000 Coloured and Asian members, disaffiliated from TUCSA for the same reason. The National Union of Motor Assembly Rubber Workers, representing 4 000 Coloured and Asian workers, threatened to disaffiliate too, but its reason was that TUCSA was not doing enough for Africans.

Mr. Ronnie Webb, senior vice-president of TUCSA, said12 at the annual conference that it would be a pity if the Government ignored important recommendations of the Theron Commission which spelt out the concept of equal opportunities and suggested how injustices should be put right.

South African Confederation of Labour

The president of the Confederation, Mr. A. I. Nieuwoudt, said in his address at the biennial congress in June3 that the trade unions of the Confederation were
dissatisfied and feared an "onslaught" on their protection of White workers amid efforts to improve the lot of the African. He referred to recent employers' claims in the engineering industry which "amounted to giving the push to the White worker" and a dispute in the diamond cutting industry, "where employers are determined to introduce cheaper labour-which almost certainly will be nonwhite- and to force highly qualified tradesmen out of the industry". He emphasised that he was not opposed to increasing employment opportunities for Blacks. "That must happen, and fast too," he said. "We are complaining about the attitude of the employers and about the fact that change is not planned. We are still waiting to hear what facilities are being created for the retraining of White workers. Those that exist are hopelessly inadequate."

STRIKES AND WORK STOPPAGES
Replying to a question in the Assembly, the Minister of Labour said that 119 strikes involving African labour occurred during 1975 and that 87 of these were caused by wage demands. Thirty of the strikes occurred in undertakings which had established liaison committees and four in undertakings which had works committees.

11 Rand Daily Mail, 16 September and 20 October. 12 Star, 14 September.
1.1 Star, 13 June.
I Assembly 30 January, Hansard 1, col. 18.

STRIKES AND WORK STOPPAGES
The Minister said that during 1975, 175 disputes were dealt with by Bantu labour officers, two by the Central Bantu Labour Board, and one by the Wage Board in terms of Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Act.

The Minister of Police stated that police intervention was sought in respect of 61 strikes during 1975. He gave the following information concerning strikes in which workers had been arrested:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of workers</th>
<th>Nature of charge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>139</td>
<td>Illegal strike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Public violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Public violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Illegal strike and continuation of strike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Illegal strike and continuation of strike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Illegal strike and continuation of strike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Illegal strike and continuation of strike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Incitement of others to take part in a strike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Illegal strike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Intimidation of persons in relation to their employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Illegal strike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Illegal strike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Illegal strike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Illegal strike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Illegal strike</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Illegal strike
Illegal strike
Refusing to obey lawful command of employer
Public violence
Illegal strike
Malicious injury to property
Breach of contract by persons employed in public utility services
Arson
Illegal strike

After nearly two months of labour unrest at the Heinemann Electric Company at Elandsfontein, the entire labour force of 600 workers was dismissed during March. The reason for the unrest was apparently workers wanting representation through their trade union rather than through liaison and works committees. Twenty workers were retrenched on 25 March. The others are reported to have demanded that these men be reinstated, and they were all "told to go". They were informed that they could collect their pay and could reapply for employment on 29 March. On this day about 600 workers gathered outside the factory gates, where police were on guard. It was stated that representatives of the Africans attempted without success to negotiate with the management. The management called for the workers to collect their pay, but no one responded. After half an hour the police announced that the money would be sent to the Industrial Council in Johannesburg where it could be collected on 1 April. The workers were ordered to disperse within thirty minutes, by 1.00 a.m. Trade union leaders addressed the crowd of workers and suggested that they should go home and attend a meeting that evening in the township. According to eye-witnesses, the crowd was moving off by 10.20 a.m. and had already turned the first corner into another street when about 27 policemen wielding batons charged the workers from behind. There was panic and confusion and several people were bitten by police dogs. Some 14 people were taken to hospital, most of whom were discharged after treatment. Five people were arrested under the Riotous Assemblies Act and the Police Act.'

The Minister of Police said' that the police had dispersed the workers "because they showed a manifest intention of resorting to violence". A 10-week diamond cutting work halt ended in July. The dispute started because employers wished to introduce cheap labour in the form of semi-skilled Coloured and Indian operators to process small diamonds of up to 1,79 carats in the rough. The Diamond Workers’ Union argued that 60 per cent of the work done by its members was on diamonds below that size. They refused to allow semi-skilled workers to process any diamonds larger than 0,89 carats in the rough. Final compromise between the two parties was reached when the demarcation point was fixed at 1,19 carats in the rough or 0,6 carats in the sawn state. The
agreement was subject to compulsory arbitration after twelve months if either side was dissatisfied. The new agreement provided for increases in the minimum wages of Whites from R60 to R75 a week and in the cost of living allowance from R40 to R75 a month. The main argument from the employers' side during the dispute was that the cost of processing small diamonds by White labourers was exorbitant but the cost of exporting the rough diamonds for processing was also very costly. If small diamonds were processed locally instead of being exported, it would be worth R65-million a year in foreign earnings.'

A three day stay-at-home of Soweto workers began on 4 August (see Chapter on Soweto Riots). Most firms in the Johannesburg area were affected, the absenteeism varying from about 50 per cent to 90 per cent of the African labour force.' A further three day stay-at-home began on 23 August, and another took place on 13 September. High absenteeism was again reported. The Transvaal Chamber of Industries advised industrialists

WORKS AND LIAISON COMMITTEES

to pay employees only for the days when they had been at work. Many firms stated they would adopt this policy. The president of the Transvaal Chamber of Industries, Mr. E. Hausmann, said, "While employers have every sympathy with lawabiding workers who are intimidated, they simply cannot afford to pay absentees."

There were similar work-stoppages in other areas later, e.g. Cape Town during September.

WORKS AND LIAISON COMMITTEES

The Minister of Labour said that there were 287 works committees, 2042 liaison committees and 5 co-ordinating works committees registered at the end of 1975 in terms of the Bantu Labour Relations Act.

A proposed amendment to this Act, which sought to extend the works and liaison committee system by setting up industry committees, was not brought into effect during the year under review. Department of Labour officials said in June that the draft legislation had been held over because the Minister of Labour was still studying comments received from interested parties. It was believed that the delay had been caused by negative reaction from the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut and the Co-ordinating Council of SA Trade Unions, which bodies feared that the Bill would pave the way for African trade union rights.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

The Minister of Labour said in the Assembly-12 that approximately 193 000 awards made under the Workmen's Compensation Act during the period 1943 to 29 February 1972 had been unclaimed. The total sum of money involved was R3 410 212, which constituted 1.35 per cent of the total amount awarded.
The Minister said that 359,758 accidents were reported in 1974, and 355,613 in 1975, under the Workmen's Compensation Act. He added that "before an amount is transferred to the unclaimed moneys account, enquiries are made at all possible addresses available to the Commissioner. Residential addresses and addresses of next of kin are furnished to the Commissioner on the employers' reports of accidents and also on claims for compensation which are completed by workmen or on their behalf. In many instances the workmen, however, fail to return to their employers after the accident and also leave their last-known address before the awards and cheques reach them."

"In so far as Bantu are concerned the South African Bantu in..."financial Mail, 27 August.
10 Assembly 19 May, Hansard 16, col. 1037.
'S financial Mail, 25 June.
12 Assembly 29 April, Hansard 13, col. 913.
13 Assembly 24 March, Hansard 9, col. 648.
14 Assembly 11 February, Hansard 3, cols. 185-186.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

casting Corporation has also been approached with a view to rendering assistance in the form of announcements over Radio Bantu. Copies of the Government Gazette, in which a list of unclaimed moneys is published, are also forwarded to the Department of Information for publication in seven different Bantu magazines. Particulars are also published in local newspapers. The regulations have also been amended and the requirements in regard to the reporting of accidents have been prescribed in detail. The surname, ethnic group and tribe of the Bantu must now also be furnished in order that the tribal heads can be approached with a view to tracing the workmen.

At present it is also the practice to refer the matter to the Bantu Reference Bureau where the national identity number of the Bantu is available. This information is then stored in a computer. Should the whereabouts of the workman become known, e.g. when he applies for a duplicate reference book or registers for employment, this information is relayed to the Workmen's Compensation Commissioner and a cheque is reissued in favour of the workman."

SHELTERED EMPLOYMENT

The Minister of Labour gave the following figures relating to people working in departmentally established or subsidised sheltered employment schemes for the disabled as at 29 February:

White ...... 1,447
Coloured ...... 396
Asian ...... 15
African ...... 10

15 Assembly 29 April, Hansard 13, col. 913.

EDUCATION
COMPARATIVE STATISTICS AND
GENERAL MATTERS
NATIONAL EXPENDITURE
In reply to a question in the House of Assembly on 18 February,1 the Minister of
Statistics said that during the 1974-75 financial year total expenditure on
education was as follows:
The provinces
Dept. of National Education (mainly
Whites)
Dept. of Coloured, Rehoboth and
Nama Relations ..............
Dept. of Indian Affairs ......... Dept. of Bantu Education ........ Bantu Homeland
Governments Other State depts. and the SA Bantu
Trust ... ... ... ... ...
R-million
Revenue Account Loan Account
381,8 71,3
154,3 4,0
88,6
39,3 59,2 72,1
23,6
26,6
818,9 101,9
PER CAPITA COSTS
Estimated per capita costs for school pupils of the various racial groups based on
current expenditure from public funds were given by the responsible Ministers in
the Assembly.2
Whites ... ... ...
Coloured ...... Indians ... ... ...
Africans in "White" areas ... ... ...
Primary classes Secondary classes
R R
Not available Not available
118,49 170,67
146,11 235,00
32,01
154,62
General Average
R
605,00
125,53 170,94
39,53
TEACHER: PUPIL RATIO
The Minister of Statistics quoted teacher: pupil the various ethnic groups for 1975
in the Senate on 22
White Coloured Asian African
ratios for March.
... ... 1:20,1
... ... 1 :30,6
... ... 1 :26,9
... .... 1 :54,1
1 Hansard 4 col. 260.
Assembly 4 May, Hansard 14 col. 949; Assembly 10 February, Hansard 3 col. 159; Assembly 18 February, Hansard 4 col. 265; Assembly 16 February, Hansard 4 col. 293.
3 Senate Hansard 6 col. 37.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
PUPIHS AND SCHOOLS
On 21 May the Minister of Statistics gave the following information with regard to the number of pupils and the number of ordinary primary and secondary schools in the Republic:4 (a) Number of pupils in each race group in 1976:
  White .............. 903 062
  Coloured ............ 640 476 Asian ........ ... 184144
  African ............. 3 698 921
(b) Number of schools provided for each race group:
  White ........ ... 2493
  Coloured .......... ... 1 953
  Asian ............. ... 365
  African .......... ... 12378

MOVES TOWARDS INTEGRATION IN SCHOOLS
The Roman Catholic Church in South Africa decided in principle to integrate its schools in the country,3 a move which was supported by the Anglican and Methodist Churches. The Minister of Bantu Education, Mr. M. C. Botha, commenting on the announcement by Archbishop Denis Hurley, said: "It is not the intention of the Government to change the education policy or the application thereof in respect of the different population groups, or to consider such a change".7
On 26 April it was reported in the Rand Daily Mail that the Roman Catholic Church was also planning to combine two segregated seminaries into one multi-racial establishment. The Bantu Urban Areas Consolidation, the Bantu Education Act and the Group Areas Act place effective bars on such integration, and were the churches to go ahead with their plans, it would lead to direct confrontation with the Government. According to a report in the Sunday Express of 21 November, Black pupils had already been admitted to two Roman Catholic Schools in the Cape and three in the Transvaal. A Church spokesman said that the authorities appeared to be turning a blind eye to the move, and it was hoped that this would continue. In November the Roman Catholic Bishop of South West Africa announced that Windhoek's two all-White Roman Catholic schools would accept Black pupils from the beginning of 1977, with or without the permission of the Department of Education.8 Apparently the Department, in reply to letters
from the Church, had said that the existing education ordinance had not been amended to provide for integrated schools,
4 Senate Hansard 10 coll. 70.
- Sunday Times, 21 March.
6 Rand Daily Mail, 24 March.
I Rand Daily Mail, 23 March.
8 Rand Daily Mail, 11 November.
322

EDUCATION: GENERAL MATTERS
but this might happen at the next sitting of the South West Africa Legislative Assembly in February 1977.
In October the Transvaal Congress of the Progressive Reform Party approved the principle of legally sanctioned racial integration in all Government-subsidized educational institutions.9 The resolution was subsequently passed at the national congress of the party in November. This represented a major change in the party's educational policy, which had previously made provision for both segregated and mixed schools, with parents being able to exercise an option as to where they would send their children.
The headmaster of one of Umtata's two White schools, which remained under the control of the Cape Provincial Administration following the granting of independence to the Transkei, announced in December that the three children of the Minister of Finance, Mr. T. Letlake, were to be admitted to the school in 1977.
He said that the Letlakes' admission was a special case, as they did not speak Xhosa (Mr. Letlake and his family had lived abroad since 1960), and that this did not mean that the school would admit other Blacks.
9 Sunday Times, 3 October.
323

324
BANTU SCHOOL EDUCATION
DISTURBANCES
It is necessary to make brief mention of the June riots and subsequent unrest, which are dealt with in an earlier section, because of the radical changes these have brought about in African education (and, to a lesser degree, in Coloured and Indian education). The riots were sparked off by an educational issue-the protest of African children against the enforced use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. After June, due to continued police action against scholars, intimidation on the part of the scholars themselves and the almost complete loss of parental control over children, African education ground to a halt in the two main trouble spots-Soweto and the African townships of Cape Town. Apparently the predominant attitude amongst scholars was that they were simply not interested in continuing their education under the present system, and that the attainment of their political goals was now far more important than furthering their education. Schools remained empty, numerous schools and classrooms were burnt down and virtually
no candidates wrote their final examinations. It should thus be pointed out that all statistics, unless otherwise stated, refer to the period prior to 16 June.

EXPENDITURE ON BANTU SCHOOL EDUCATION

The amounts budgeted for current expenditure on Bantu school education (excluding capital expenditure) were given as follows in the Report of the Department of Bantu Education for 1975:

1974/75 1975/76
R R

Republic:
Dept. of Bantu Education ... 51 002 000 58 231 000 Homeland Governments 80 464 000 92 808 000

South West Africa:
Dept. and Homelands ....... 7 374 000 9 135 000
Total ... 138 840 000 160 174 000

Latest available figures in respect of expenditure on education in the homelands have been extracted from the Reports of the Controller and Auditor General:
10 RP 36/1976 page 133.

AFRICAN SCHOOL EDUCATION
1973-4 1974-5
R R

Transkei ... ... ... ... ... ... 12 186 724 17 364 525
Ciskei ... ... ... ... ... ... 6 319 037
KwaZulu** ... ... ... ... ... ... 11 416 691
BophuthaTswana ... ... ... ... ... 7 349 602 -*
Lebowa. ... ... ... ... ... ... 7 842 593 -*
Venda ... ... ... ... ... ... 2 587 842 37 157 46
Gazankulu ... ... ... ... ... ... 21 812 08 32 381 01
Qwaqwa** ... ... ... ... ... ... 794 129 -*

GRADUAL INTRODUCTION OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION
According to a report in the Star of 12 December 1975, the aim of the Department of Bantu Education to introduce compulsory education by 1980 would be severely hampered by budget cuts. This was confirmed in the Assembly on 29 April 11 when the Deputy Minister for Bantu Education, Dr. A. Treurnicht said, while speaking on the Bantu Education vote, that the goal of compulsory school education for African school children could be achieved if the money allocated for Bantu Education could be increased by 20% per annum for the next 5 years. Unfortunately however, cuts had been made in the budget and an increase of only 9% of the allocation had been made.

Some weeks earlier many educationists and community leaders, Black and White, had reacted in very strong terms against reports’ of an amount of R102-million being budgeted for the provision of a television service for Blacks. They pointed out that this amount would be sufficient to provide compulsory education for Africans.

Following the June riots the Department once again announced positive steps towards the introduction of compulsory school education. Addressing students at
the Johannesburg College of Education Dr. K. Hartshorne, Director of Planning for Bantu Education, said that compulsory education could be achieved in 5 years, and that a programme was to be introduced from the beginning of 1977 whereby parents bringing their children to start school in sub-standard A would be required to sign an undertaking to keep their children at school for at least 4 years. A second undertaking would then have to be signed when the children moved up into the senior primary schools. This move was later confirmed by Mr. G. R. Rousseau, Secretary for Bantu Education, who added that the compulsory period of education could be extended to 7 years by 1978.

* Figures not yet available.
** Figures for Education and Culture.

n Hansard 13 columns 5715-16.
12 Rand Daily Mail, 13 April; Star, 22 April.
13 Rand Daily Mail, 30 September.
14 Star, 5 November.
325

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

SCHOOLS

The number and types of schools in the Republic and SWA in 1975 were as follows:

Numbers of schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of School</th>
<th>Homelands in South West</th>
<th>Control</th>
<th>Republic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'White' areas</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government or</td>
<td>1364</td>
<td>4562</td>
<td>517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Territorial</td>
<td>3996</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mine</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factory</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospital</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scheduled</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Schools</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>5634</td>
<td>12781</td>
<td>13144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Night schools and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>continuation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5634</td>
<td>12781</td>
<td>13144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5838</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6607</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6735</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>540</td>
<td>12781</td>
<td>13144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>571</td>
<td>13144</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Types of Schools
(Totals may differ from those above, as one school may provide education of more than one type.)
Lower Primary  ... Higher Primary  ... Primary  ...  ...
Junior Secondary  ... Secondary  ..........
Technical Secondary  Teacher Training  Advanced Technical Training  ..........
Trade Training  ... Vocational Training  Theological Training  Special Education
Night schools  ..... Continuation classes  Industrial  Manual Training  Centres  Ad Hoc Industrial
Schools  ...  ...
In-Service Training
centres  ...  ...
'White' areas of
Republic
2098
343
3 147
114 53
7
Homelands in
Republic
1 647
370
4043 1 409
197
2 34
" Bantu Education Journal, March.
South West
Africa
278
38
235
12 8
7
5
Totals
4 023
7 51 7 425 1 535
258
5
48
2 22 26
1
15
79 33
AFRICAN SCHOOL EDUCATION
Shortage of schools
There is still a chronic shortage of schools for Africans in both urban and rural areas, and Government policy of building no more high schools for Africans in urban areas continues to cause hardship for many parents who are compelled to send their children to boarding schools in the homelands at great extra expense, as Mr. Nic Olivier (U.P.) stressed in the Assembly on 29 April.6 Mr. H. I. Juniper, Schools Development Officer for the West Rand Administration Board, was reported in the World of 4 March as saying that his board would only be able to build 5 primary schools and 30 extra classrooms at existing schools unless ministerial approval was received for a loan of R800 000 from the Department of Community Development. There was a backlog of about 800 classrooms (70 schools) in Soweto alone.

Voluntary contributions
Help continued to come from the business sector. The Anglo American Corporation made a donation of R1.8-million for the building of an agricultural high school in the Tyumie Valley in the Ciskei."

The TEACH, LEARN and TEACHER" funds established by newspapers in various areas (and the Round Table in the case of the last-mentioned) continued to make remarkable contributions towards alleviating the shortage of schools. The TEACH fund operated by the Star was reported early in June to have nearly reached the R1.5-million mark, and to have built 452 classrooms in the past 41 years, providing accommodation for approximately 2 300 children at 41 schools in Soweto and the West Rand townships.1' Although the outbreak of the June riots brought in many letters from readers who refused to make any further donations to the TEACH fund, the Star also reported that numerous donations came from people who stated that they wished "to bridge the widening gap of understanding between Black and White following the township riots".""

Farm Schools
Speaking on the Bantu Education Vote in the Assembly on 29 April, the Deputy Minister stated that the subsidy allocated to a farmer for the erection of a school building had previously amounted to R240 for a single classroom and R360 for a 2classroom school, but that provision had now been made in the estimates for an amount of R1 000 for a building with one classroom and R1 800 for a building with two classrooms." A total of R200 000 was being requested for this purpose.

Results of restructuring the system
The restructuring of school classes and curricula, involving the elimination of the
Std. 6 class, is dealt with in some detail on page 302 of the 1973 Survey, and page
221 of the 1975 Survey.
In January 1976 there were numerous Press reports of gross overcrowding in
primary schools; principals were loath to turn away pupils and some schools
reported classes of up to 113 pupils.' Unfortunately, however, in reply to various
questions in Parliament, the Minister stated that enrolment figures for 1976 were
not yet available, so that any assessment of the situation on a statistical basis is at
present impossible.
Double Sessions
As at the first Tuesday of March 1975, double sessions were still operating in
43.03 per cent of all schools under the Department, in the Republic, or under the
homeland governments, and in 28.7 per cent of church and private schools (from
figures given in the 1975 Report of the Department of Bantu Education'), as
compared with 46.63 per cent and 28.25 per cent respectively in 1974.4
The following statistics were given by the Minister of Bantu Education in reply to
a question in the Assembly on 25 May:;
Double Sessions Sub-standards Stds. I and 11
No. of teachers involved ... 10 661 None
No. of pupils involved ...... 976 492 None
Percentage of all pupils in classes involved in the system; ....... 69.42 0
There has thus been some improvement in the situation, as no pupils in Standards
I and II are involved in the system (as opposed to 7.85 per cent in 1974) and the
numbers in the substandards have dropped from 71.77 per cent to 69.42 per cent.
The Deputy Minister, speaking in the Assembly on 29 April,' said: "At present
20% of all new appointments are being made with a view to gradually eliminating
the system of double sessions. This involves approximately 12 500 teachers, 5
000 falling under the Bantu Education Department, the rest under the
1 Hanard 13 col. 5720.
2 Rand Daily Mail, 21 January.
3 RP 36/1976 pages 123 and 126.
4 See 1975 Survey page 218.
Hansard 17 col. 1089.
Percentages calculated by the writer.
7 Hansard 13 col. 5719.

AFRICAN SCHOOL EDUCATION
homelands". He added that classes having double sessions do have normal tuition
time, not less; certain subjects, such as hygiene and religious tuition overlap and
the two classes receive joint tuition in the period between the first and second
sessions.
PUPILS
Enrolment
Enrolment of pupils as at the first Tuesday of March 1975 is given in the Department's report for 1975.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>808251</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>598335 540 026 419212</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Republic

| Percentage | 21.86 16.18 14.61 11.34 |

South West Africa No. | Percentage
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>42 191</td>
<td>31.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24096</td>
<td>18.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 176</td>
<td>14.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13463</td>
<td>10.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sub-Total: Lower Primary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>42 191</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31.58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>24096</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18.04</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>19 176</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14.36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>13463</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sub-Total: Higher Primary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>24096</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18.04</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>13463</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Primary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form I</th>
<th>......</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Form II</td>
<td>......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form III</td>
<td>......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form IV</td>
<td>......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form V</td>
<td>......</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Secondary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form I</th>
<th>......</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Form II</td>
<td>......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form III</td>
<td>......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form IV</td>
<td>......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form V</td>
<td>......</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Combined Total

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>2 365 824</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>63.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>365934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>280 434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>221019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>145662</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>1 013 049</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>3378873</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>91.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>149251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>91 265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>50772</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>18271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>9009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>318568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>3697441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pre-matriculation students excluded from the above table:

Teacher training Trade and technical training Theological training ...... Unclassified ...... Special Schools Night schools and continuation classes ...... South West Africa
576 354
40
8 Op cit., pages 202, 250.
Class
Sub A Sub B Std 1 Std 2
Republic
15 563 4 607 22
597 1 825
11 400
329
... ... ... ...
... ... ... ...
... ... ... ...
... ... ... ...

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
Proportion of children attending school
The Deputy Minister of Bantu Education, speaking in the Assembly on 29 April,
stated that in 1976 the percentage of the African population attending school was
21.1%.
Secondary pupils in "White" areas and homelands
According to the Minister of Bantu Education, the distribution of pupils in
"White" areas and homelands was as follows in March 1975:10
"White" areas Homelands Percentage total in Homelands
Forms I to III ... 88 738 202550 69.54
Forms IV and V ... 8 003 19 277 70.66
MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION
Afrikaans-English Ruling
The enforcement of the use of English and Afrikaans on a 50-50 basis as media of
instruction in African post primary schools led to the outbreak of unprecedented
violence in June 1976. A full account of this is given in the chapter entitled "The
Soweto Riots and subsequent unrest".
Medium of instruction in Ndehele schools
In the World of 26 April it was reported that the BophuthaTswana homeland
government was insisting that Setswana be used as medium of instruction in
primary schools in the Ndebele area of Hammanskraal. Pedi was being used as
medium of instruction in these schools; apparently no books are available in
Ndebele, the language spoken by the tribe, hence the use of Pedi.11
At the end of May six schools did change to Tswana under pressure from the
BophuthaTswana government.2 The Ndebele tribal authority, under Chieftainess
Esther Kekana, reacted by closing these schools, leaving approximately 4 000
pupils without tuition. The headmasters of two schools continued teaching
through the medium of Pedi, with the support of the Tribal Authority, despite the
fact that they had been officially dismissed by the BophuthaTswana Education
Authorities.13
During August members of the tribe apparently called for the resignation of chieftainess Kekana and the reopening of schools as soon as possible. (In the meantime the tribe withdrew their members from the BophuthaTswana Assembly and announced that they were withdrawing from the jurisdiction of the BophuthaTswana Government.) They have communicated their intention to the Central Government, but the matter remains as yet unresolved.)

PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICES AND CAREER GUIDANCE
The National Institute for Personnel Research has found that one of the reasons for the poor utilisation of Black manpower resources is the lack of adequate career information. Vocational Guidance is provided in the school subject, social studies, but teachers are not fully qualified to do this work. Since the establishment of the Psychological Services section of the Department some years ago, school counsellors have been appointed who visit most post-primary schools to supply vocational information. (When one considers the high drop-out rate at primary level among African scholars, it is clear that a large majority of school-leavers are not receiving this guidance). Articles on various careers are published in the Bantu Education Journal every month. There have also been privately-run attempts to fill this gap, such as the Conference on "From School to Career" organised by the Agency for Industrial Mission in July.

Various achievement, diagnostic and aptitude tests have been developed in conjunction with the Human Sciences Research Council. Limited testing is carried out on Form V pupils, and scholastic aptitude tests are carried out on all Form III scholars and half of all pupils in Form IV.

TEXTBOOKS
Commenting on a statement by Mr. Peter Lengene, chairman of the education committee of the Soweto Urban Bantu Council, that the free textbooks promised by the Department were not being adequately provided, Dr. K. B. Hartshorne stated that the programme to provide free textbooks had been extended from three years to five years due to increased costs.

In reply to a question concerning textbooks, the Minister of Bantu Education gave the following information in the Assembly on 26 April:

"Readers in both official languages and the Bantu language concerned have been provided to primary schools since 1955.

14 Rand Daily Mail Extra, 22 August.
, Rand Daily Mail, 12 October.
" Rand Daily Mail Extra, 23 October.
I South African Digest.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
Most of the pupils now have 2 readers in each of the 3 languages at their disposal. For several years textbooks in certain subjects have also been provided to primary schools on a limited basis. As from 1974 a programme has been implemented to provide all schools with free textbooks. All pupils will thus in the near future be in possession of free textbooks". He added that books had been supplied to Standards 1 to 5, and Forms I to V, at a cost of R3 191 700 for the textbooks only. Later in the year, following a meeting between the Ministers of Education of the homelands, their departmental secretaries and senior officials of the Bantu Education Department, Mr. A. J. Rousseau, Secretary for Bantu Education, said that pupils in Forms three, four and five at schools falling under his department would be supplied with all textbooks needed from January 1977.

EXAMINATION RESULTS
Examination results in November 1975 are quoted from the Department's report for 1975.
At the end of 1975, with the introduction in January 1976 of the revised structure of school classes' there was a change-over from the old Std. 6 examination to a new Higher Primary Certificate examination. All Standard 5 and 6 candidates wrote this examination.

Higher Primary Certificate'

Republic South West Africa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of candidates</th>
<th>Passed with distinction 1st class pass</th>
<th>1st class pass</th>
<th>Pass</th>
<th>Total passes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>195 730</td>
<td>15 359</td>
<td>5,2</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>4013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>66,3</td>
<td></td>
<td>41,6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Form HI Certificate6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of candidates</th>
<th>Passed with distinction 1st class pass</th>
<th>1st class pass</th>
<th>Pass</th>
<th>Total passes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Republic South West Africa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of candidates</th>
<th>Passed with distinction 1st class pass</th>
<th>1st class pass</th>
<th>Pass</th>
<th>Total passes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>47672</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>452</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>209</td>
<td></td>
<td>0,4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 133</td>
<td></td>
<td>10,8</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>25,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29471</td>
<td></td>
<td>61,8</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>62,4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
AFRICAN SCHOOL EDUCATION

Form V7

Combined figures for the Joint Matriculation Board examination and senior certificate examination of the Department of National Education are given below:

Republic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of candidates</th>
<th>No. of candidates</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8 378</td>
<td>67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Matric Exemption pass:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st class</th>
<th>2nd class</th>
<th>1st class</th>
<th>2nd class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>178</td>
<td>3 303</td>
<td>2,1</td>
<td>39,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
<td>52,2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

School leaving Certificate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st class</th>
<th>2nd class</th>
<th>1st class</th>
<th>2nd class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1 864</td>
<td>22,2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20,9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total passes

| 5 347     | 63,8     | 53        | 79,1      |

Of all students, in both the Republic and South West Africa, who obtained a matriculation exemption pass:

- 2 952 passed with biology as a subject
- 963 passed with physical science as a subject
- 1 224 passed with mathematics as a subject.

SPECIAL EDUCATION

The following information concerning special education for Africans is given in the Departmental report.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of schools</th>
<th>No. of pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Republic Schools for:</td>
<td>Republic Schools for:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FormsModule</td>
<td>FormsModule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aurally handicapped</td>
<td>Aurally handicapped</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 1185</td>
<td>5 445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visually handicapped</td>
<td>Visually handicapped</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cerebral palsied and crippled</td>
<td>Cerebral palsied and crippled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 475</td>
<td>1 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South West Africa School for the deaf and blind</td>
<td>South West Africa School for the deaf and blind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 40</td>
<td>1 40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The possibility of establishing special classes for partially blind and partially deaf children at ordinary primary schools is being investigated. The need for such classes will be determined by carrying out intensive tests on pupils in Soweto during 1976.

Teachers

25 teachers wrote the final examinations of the course for the teaching of aurally handicapped children, and 14 for teaching of the visually handicapped. In 1976 a course for the teaching of crippled children will be instituted.

Numbers of Teachers
According to the Report of the Department of Bantu Education for 1975,' the numbers of teachers employed in schools for Africans as at the first Tuesday in March 1975 were as follows:
African teachers ... 68 043 Coloured teachers .... 40 White teachers ... 924
Total ...: 69007
Of these teachers 25 656 were men and 43 351 women. Figures quoted for South West Africa were as follows:
African teachers ... 2 967 Coloured teachers ... 10
White teachers ... 165
Total ... 3 142
Of the total of 3 142 teachers employed in South West Africa, 1 742 were men and 1 400 women.
The following information is given with regard to remuneration of Black (including Coloured) teachers employed in African schools in the Republic in March 1975:1
Paid by the Govt. Privately Percentage concerned paid privately paid
Teachers in:
Government Schools 63 057 3 400 5,12
Private Schools ...... - 1 626 100,00
Qualifications of Teachers
The Minister gave the following information about the qualifications of Black teachers employed in the Republic and South West Africa.12
Ibid, pages 160 and 165.
2 Assembly 6 May, Hansard 14 col. 964. Percentages calculated by writer.

AFRICAN SCHOOL EDUCATION
Professionally qualified and with:
A university degree .......... Matriculation or equivalent ... Junior Cert. or equivalent ... Std. 6 ...... ...... ......
Other qualifications (i.e. technical or special) ...... No professional qualifications but with:
A university degree .......... Passed some university subjects Matriculation or equivalent ... Technical or other qualification Not matriculated with no technical or other qualifications
Republic
No. Percentage
1143
6 488 33 578 14 339
1 542
60 78 591 95
10 169
1,68
9,53 49,32 21,06
There has been no significant decrease in the number of professionally unqualified teachers in primary schools, which stands at 17.5 per cent (as opposed to 17.6 per cent last year). According to the Departmental report a large number of teachers are undertaking private studies in order to improve their academic qualifications. In-service training courses are provided by the Department in order to improve the efficiency of teachers.

A Teacher Upgrading Project, sponsored by the South African Committee for Higher Education and devised by Dr. Robin Lee, Educational Consultant to the Project, is being implemented by the BophuthaTswana Education Department. It involves the use of a distance learning system which enables teachers to upgrade their academic qualifications.

Senior Posts held by African Teachers

Replying to a question in the Assembly the Minister of Bantu Education said that the following numbers of African teachers were occupying senior posts in the Republic:

- 109 were serving as inspectors of schools
- 338 were assistant or subject inspectors
- 12 were principals of educational institutions.

Salaries of teachers

In the Assembly on 29 April the Deputy Minister stated that the salaries of Black officials, including teachers, were to be supplemented by a higher percentage than the 10% increase announced for Whites. "The intention," he said, "is to incorporate the 10% and at the same time bring about a narrowing of the gap between the salaries of Whites and Non-Whites". The precise extent of this has not yet been finalised.

Problems arose in connection with payment of teachers' salaries in KwaZulu and there were reports of teachers not being paid for periods of up to eight months. According to Mr. G. Steyn, Director of the KwaZulu Education Department, the delays were due to staff shortages in both Pretoria and Ulundi. In September a
spokesman for the Bantu Education Department announced that the backlog had been brought up to date.17

STUDENT TEACHERS
Enrolments in March 1975 in teacher training courses offered by the Department of Bantu Education are given in the Departmental report for that year: 8

1st year
Primary Teachers’ course ... 7972
Junior Secondary Teachers’ course .......... 739
Trade Instructors’ course ... 8
Specialist teachers of art ...... Specialist teachers of homecraft ....... ...

2nd year Specialist Total
6243 - 14215
1 228
17 58
- 45 45
8719 6741 103 15563

Examination results at the end of 1975 were:9
Primary Teachers’ Course ............
Junior Secondary Teachers’ Course ...... Trade Instructors’ Course ............
Specialist Teachers of Art or Homecraft ...

Candidates Passes
6068 6007
8 8
86 85
6656 6589

Enrolment in South West Africa was:
Lower Primary Teachers’ Course ........
Primary Teachers’ Course ..............

1st year 2nd year
215 150
126 85
Total
365 211
341 235 576


336

AFRICAN SCHOOL EDUCATION
Examination results in SWA in 1975 were:1
Candidates Passes
Lower Primary Teachers’ Course .......... 146 145
Primary Teachers’ Course ................. 68 68
214 213
In the Assembly on 7 June the Minister gave the following statistics for students enrolled for teaching courses at universities in the Republic in 1975:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enrolled</th>
<th>Qualified</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Teachers' Diploma</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Secondary Teachers' Diploma</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Education Diploma (non-graduate)</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-graduate University Education Diploma</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.Ed or B.Ped degree</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

476 | 296

In addition the Minister stated that 39 students were enrolled in diploma courses in special education for the deaf or blind, of whom 36 qualified at the end of the year, and 59 students were enrolled in courses for the staff of pre-school institutions, 49 of whom passed.

In April Dr. K. Hartshorne announced that a new teacher training college, financed by the Anglo American Corporation Group Chairman's fund, was to be built in Soweto and would hopefully be in operation by early 1977.

It has been announced that the Wilberforce Teacher Training College, founded almost a century ago, has been ordered to close down at the end of this year. The African Methodist Episcopal Church, to whom the land and buildings belong, will continue to operate the theological training centre and high school at Wilberforce.

Ibid, pages 271 and 272.
2 Hansard 19 col. 1137.
3 Star, 15 April.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

ADULT EDUCATION

The Departmental Report states that a steering committee of 7 members has been appointed in the newly-established Adult Education Section of the Department. This Committee is investigating the present state of adult education in the country, paying attention to the following:

- literacy classes conducted by private institutions
- night schools and continuation classes
- correspondence studies.

As yet no definite proposals in this respect have been announced by the Department.

The Lebowa and BophuthaTswana Governments have both launched drives to wipe out illiteracy amongst their people. A report in the World of 25 May stated that in order to assist adults wishing to become literate, books were being printed by the Government Printer and distributed at very low cost and sometimes free of charge by various Operation Upgrade groups and night schools. Literacy classes are also offered at many of the Centres of Concern organised by the Domestic Workers and Employers Project.
The following figures on illiteracy amongst Africans of 15 years and over were quoted by the Department of Statistics:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Illiterates</th>
<th>% Illiteracy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S.A. born Africans</td>
<td>8 175 777</td>
<td>48,06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Africans</td>
<td>3 929 380</td>
<td>59,16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8 683 035</td>
<td>48,71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In March the Easter Project on the outskirts of Reiger Park, a Coloured area near Boksburg, was ordered to stop training Africans, as the project contravened the Bantu Urban Areas Consolidation Act; it is unacceptable for Africans to be trained in an area set aside for Coloured people. This project offers a wide range of educational and technical training facilities: from basic literacy to advanced language courses, various industrial training courses and many social and cultural facilities. An appeal has been made to the Department of Bantu Administration and Development to allow the centre to continue its work with Africans.

DISTURBANCES

For a full account of the disturbances which left few African schools untouched, spreading even to remote spots such as Witsieshoek, see the chapter on the Soweto riots and subsequent unrest.

SCHOOL EDUCATION FOR COLOURED PUPILS

EXPENDITURE

During the 1975-76 financial year R90 236 000 of the Coloured Representative Council's budget of R158 370 000 was spent on education. This represents 57% of the budget.

The Department of Coloured Relations estimated that during 1976-77 financial year it would spend the following sums on Coloured education from the Revenue Account:

- Salaries of educational personnel: R 6 955 000
- Agricultural training: R 33 000
- University of the Western Cape: R 11 488 000

The Minister of Public Works, in reply to a question in the Assembly, stated that the capital amount appropriated for new Coloured schools and for additions to existing Coloured schools for the 1975-76 financial year would not be fully spent. He said that building projects to the value of approximately R20 000 000 had to be postponed as a result of site problems caused by slow progress by local authorities with the development of housing projects. He anticipated that the amount spent would be R4 090 500.

SCHOOLS
The Minister of Coloured, Rehoboth and Nama Relations stated in the Assembly on 25 February that a shortage of school accommodation existed for Coloured primary pupils, the extent of this shortage being 2,003 classrooms in 1975. He also stated that during 1975, 20 schools accommodating 15,925 pupils had been built.

Four Acts, The Coloured Persons Education Amendment Act (No. 29), the Coloured Persons in South West Africa Education Amendment Act (No. 30), the Nama in South West Africa Education Amendment Act (No. 31), and the Basters of Rehoboth Education Amendment Act (No. 32), were passed in Parliament, 4 May.

2 RP. 2 and 5, 1976.
1 Hansard 7 col. 508.
4 Hansard 5 col. 365.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
ment in 1976 in order to effect the establishment of differentiated education. These provide for the establishment of the following types of schools for Coloured students:
(a) primary schools up to and including the fifth standard; (b) junior secondary schools, up to and including the seventh standard;
(c) senior secondary schools up to and including the tenth standard.

Speaking in the Second Reading Debate in the Senate, Senator Henderson (U.P.) said that extension of the primary phase should have the effect of encouraging numbers of pupils to stay on at school for an extra year before dropping out.

DOUBLE SESSIONS AND THE PLATOON SYSTEM
In the Assembly on 22 June the Minister gave the following statistics relating to double sessions and the platoon system. The figures given applied as at 31 March 1976 to schools in the Republic.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classes</th>
<th>Sub-standards</th>
<th>1,467</th>
<th>51,207</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stds. 1 and 2</td>
<td>609</td>
<td>21,195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stds. 3 and 4</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>1,527</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PUPILS
It was announced in March that under certain conditions African and Indian pupils could be admitted to Coloured schools and Coloured children to Indian schools. The conditions related to the availability of accommodation in the schools concerned.

As part of the Government's plan to introduce compulsory education systematically, it was made compulsory for Coloured children up to the age of 9 to attend school. The Minister of Coloured Relations, Dr. S. W. van der Merwe, said that it was hoped that education for 7 to 13-year olds would be compulsory by 1979.

The following figures for enrolment of Coloured pupils in the Republic as at March 1976 were provided by the Department:
5 Senate Hansard 4 col. 934.
6 For details of these systems see the 1975 Survey, pages 218 and 231.
Star, 18 March.
Star, 9 November 1975.

COLOURED SCHOOL EDUCATION
Sub A Sub B
Std. 1 Std. 2 Std. 3 Std. 4 Std. 5
Total Primary
Std. 6 ...
Std. 7 ...
Std. 8 ...
Std. 9 ...
Std. 10 Total Secondary
Adaptation Clas Combined Total
Republic
Number Percentage
…………………………………… 110864 16,92
……………… 98 257 14,99
……………… 90662 13,83
……………… 78 155 11,93
……………… 69099 10,54
……………… 60574 9,24
……………… 49077 7,49
……………… 556 688 84,94
……………… 37073 5,66
……………… 27729 4,23
……………… 17522 2,67
……………… 9 105 1,39
……………… 3 889 0,59
……………… 95318 14,54
ses .............. 3 341 0,51
……………… 655 347 99,99
Statistics in regard to Nama March 1975 have been extracted ment of Coloured Relations and
Nama
Sub A .............. 2 100
Sub B .............. 1487
Std. 1 .............. 1484
Std. 2 .............. 1075
Std. 3 .............. 843
Std. 4 .............. 756
Std. 5 .............. 568
Sub-total .............. 8313
Std. 6 .............. 484
Std. 7 .............. 215
Std. 8 .............. 112
Std. 9 .............. 31
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Std. 10</th>
<th>Sub-total</th>
<th>Combined Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>9,181</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and Rehoboth pupils in SWA in from the Report of the Department of Rehoboth Affairs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Republic</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>South West Africa</td>
<td>15490</td>
<td>11,462</td>
<td>3,746</td>
<td>1,239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75,16</td>
<td>33,08</td>
<td>63,37</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68,14</td>
<td>34,97</td>
<td>6,6,43</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Minister did not give details as to the number of first and second class passes.

EXAMINATION RESULTS
The Minister furnished the examination results at the end of following 1975 information about RP 42/1976. pages 13 and 17. 10 Assembly 22 April, Hansard 12 col. 871; Assembly 9 June, Hansard 19 col. 1170.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
Junior Certificate: No. of candidates ... No. passed
Matriculation or equivalent: No. of candidates No. passed with matric exemption

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Republic</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>South West Africa</td>
<td>1017</td>
<td>1,885</td>
<td>12,28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6172</td>
<td>15353</td>
<td>100,00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TEACHERS
According to the Minister1 the number of teachers employed in Coloured schools in the Republic in 1975 was:
Primary schools Secondary and high schools
19831 3 738 23 569
In reply to questions in the Assembly 12, the Minister gave the following information concerning teachers at Coloured schools as on 1 March 1976:

Professionally qualified with:
A university degree ...... Matriculation or equivalent Junior Cert. or equivalent
Other qualifications (e.g. technical) ..... ..... ...
No professional qualifications but with:
A university degree ...... Matriculation or equivalent Technical or other vocational qualifications ... Not matriculated and with no technical or other qualifications ..... ...

Republic South West Africa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>678</td>
<td>5 610</td>
<td>16 633</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>476</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>1 282</td>
<td>2,73</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67,06</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0,22</td>
<td>1,92</td>
<td>0,29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,17</td>
<td>2,12</td>
<td>2,38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47,49</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1,19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,61</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>16,01</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 76</td>
<td>24 805</td>
<td>756</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100,01</td>
<td>100,01</td>
<td>100,01</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On 9 June the Minister gave further information Coloured teachers:13 concerning
I Assembly 4 March Hansard 6 col. 462. 12 Assembly 22 April, Hansard 12 col. 871: Assembly 22 June, Hansard 21 col. 1281. 13 Hansard 19 col. 1167. 342

COLOURED SCHOOL EDUCATION
Republic South West Africa

Coloured persons serving as:
Inspectors of education ............... 25 1
Assistant or subject inspectors ....... 12 1
Organisers of Adult Education ...4 0
Professors ........................ 1 0
Lecturers at:
Universities ........................ 38 0
Training colleges .................... 168 0
Training schools .......................... 83 0
Technical colleges ......................... 15 0
Principals of educational institutions 1 693 32

Five Coloured persons were serving on the administrative staff of the Education section of the Administration of Coloured Affairs.

He also stated that during 1975, 263 Coloured teachers resigned from the Department's service for reasons other than superannuation or marriage.

In the Assembly on 10 June, he stated that 86 teaching posts, falling under the Administration of Coloured Affairs and the Department of Coloured, Rehoboth and Nama Relations, were unfilled on 31 March 1976.

Speaking in the Assembly on 23 June, the Minister, commenting on the low percentage of Coloured teachers who had degrees or diplomas, said that schemes had been introduced to enable teachers to better their qualifications. He stated that study leave on full salary was granted to serving teachers who wished to return to university or college, and that bursaries were granted to serving teachers who undertook part-time studies.

Teachers' salaries

A 15 per cent increase in the salaries of Coloured teachers was announced in June. The Cape Teachers' Association and the Coloured Union of Teachers' Associations of South Africa, while welcoming the increases, expressed concern that the gap between Coloured and White teachers' salaries had not been significantly decreased.

Mr. P. A. Pyper (U.P.), speaking in the Budget debate on the Coloured Affairs Vote, pointed out that it would cost less than R10-million to close the salary gap for both Coloured and Indian teachers.

Early in November Nama teachers in South West Africa went on strike, demanding salaries equal to those of Coloured teachers. Nama teachers were paid about 20 per cent less than Coloured teachers with the same qualifications. It was reported in the Rand

M' Hansard 19 col. 1174.
M5 Hansard 21 col. 1043.
16 Rand Daily Mail, 23 June.
1 Star, 15 June and 24 June.
1s Hansard 21, col. 10367.

344 A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

Daily Mail of 10 December that the striking teachers had been dismissed for being absent from duty for more than a month. However, these teachers would be permitted to reapply for posts at the beginning of 1977.

STUDENT TEACHERS

Information about Coloured student teachers in the Republic was given by the Minister in reply to a question in the Assembly on 22 April.

Course
Year of Study 1st 2nd
Lower Primary Teachers' Certificate Primary Teachers' Diploma Lower Primary
Specialist Certificate Lower Secondary Teachers' Diploma Secondary Teachers' Diploma (nongraduate) .................
Secondary Teachers' Diploma (graduate) .................
Adaptation Classes Teachers' Diploma Post-graduate degree courses in education
...
Commercial Teachers' Diploma ...
Technical Teachers' Diploma ......
Total
3rd Students
  - 925
  - 1 975
  - 160
  - 12
  - 18
  - 41
  - 57
1 635 1 242 475 3 352
Numbers who qualified at the end of 1975 were:
Lower Primary Teachers' Certificate Specialist certificates for teachers with
LPTC Primary Teachers' Certificate ............
Primary Teachers' Diploma .............
Lower Secondary Teachers' Diploma ...... Secondary Teachers' Diploma (nongraduate) Secondary Teachers' Diploma (graduate) ... Adaptation Classes
Teachers' Diploma ...... Post-graduate degree courses in education ... Commercial
Teaching Diploma .............
Technical Teachers' Diploma .............
  ... .... ... ... ... 988
  ... .... ... ... ... 131
  ... .... ... ... ... 463
  ... .... ... ... ... 288
  ... .... ... ... ... 13
  ... .... ... ... ... 3
  ... .... ... ... ... 34
  ... .... ... ... ... 15
  7
  ... .... ... ... ... 31
  ... .... ... ... ... 4
1 977

On 25 June the Minister gave the following information about Coloured,
Rehoboth and Nama student teachers in South West Africa:20
1,1 Hansard 12 col. 865. 20 Hansard 21 col. 1303.

COLOURED SCHOOL EDUCATION
Course
Lower Primary Teachers' Certificate ... Primary Teachers' Diploma .......... Lower Primary Specialist Certificate ... Lower Secondary Teachers' Diploma ...
Secondary Teachers' Diploma (nongraduate) .......
Secondary Teachers' Diploma (graduate) Adaptation Classes Teachers' Diploma
Post-graduate degree courses in education
Commercial Teachers' Diploma ...... Technical Teachers' Diploma ......

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Study</th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Students</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>95</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>169</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following numbers qualified at the end of 1975:
Lower Primary Teachers' Certificate .......... Specialist Certificates for teachers with LPTC ... Primary Teachers' Certificate ...... Primary Teachers' Diploma .......... Secondary Teachers' Diploma .......... Secondary Teachers' Diploma (nongraduate) ... Secondary Teachers' Diploma (graduate) ...... Adaptation Classes Teachers' Diploma ...... Post-graduate degree courses in education ...
Commercial Teachers' Diploma .......... Technical Teachers' Diploma ..........

... ... ... 20
... ... ... 10
... ... ... 2
... ... ... 8
... ... ... 1
... ... ... 0
... ... ... 7
... ... ... 1
... ... ...
... ... ...
... ... ...
... ... ...
51

ADULT EDUCATION
The Minister said in the Assembly on 23 February2' that 4 761 Coloured adults were attending part-time academic primary classes and 4 983 were attending part-time academic secondary classes.
21 Hansard 5 cot. 364

SCHOOL EDUCATION FOR INDIANS
FINANCE
Total expenditure from the Revenue Account on the Education of Indians in the Republic of South Africa during the financial year ended 31 March 1974 was given by the Minister of Indian Affairs in the Assembly on 18 February.1 Department of Indian Affairs Department of Public Works

R
30662030
630 302
31292332

The following figures have been extracted from the official Estimates of Expenditure from the Revenue Account for the year ending 31 March 1977.2

Salaries of educational personnel ..................
Primary, high and nursery school and adult education ...................
Training of teachers ...........................
Financial assistance to M. L. Sultan Technical College ..................
Financial assistance to State-aided special schools University of Durban-Westville
Financial assistance in respect of buildings, grounds
and furniture ..................................
The unit costs of education for Indian school 1974-5, as mentioned in a previous chapter, were as
Primary classes ..................................
Secondary and High School classes .... General average ..................
R
31 144500 7 028 000
632 000
1 462 000
322 000
678 5000
139000 47512500

children for follows:
R
146,11 235,00 170,94

During April the Minister of Public Works announced the postponement, due to Government cutbacks in spending, of projects worth R1 254 000.3 This involved the building of 6 schools and alterations and additions to 12 others.

INDIAN SCHOOL EDUCATION

Replying to a question in the House of Assembly on 26 May,4 the Minister of Indian Affairs stated that all powers held by him in terms of the Indians Education Act had been transferred to the Executive Committee of the S.A. Indian Council as from 2 January 1976. The SAIC would be in charge of the building and maintenance of schools, the appointment and promotion of teachers, misconduct, compulsory school attendance and the establishment of an education advisory
council. According to a report in the Star of 2 January, for administrative purposes certain powers were being redelegated to the Director of Indian Education, Mr. G. Krog, and other officials of the Department. The Chairman of the SAIC, Mr. J. N. Reddy was quoted as saying that the takeover would not result in any major changes of control, as the SAIC Executive Committee was taking over only those powers previously held by the Minister, and the greater part of control would still be in the hands of the Director.5

SCHOOLS AND DOUBLE SESSIONS

The Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 30 June 19756 gave the following number of schools under the Department's control in 1975:

| High Primary | |
|--------------|---|---|
| State Schools | 68 | 142 |
| State-aided schools | 4 | 146 |
| School for the Blind | 1 |
| School for the Deaf | 1 |
| School of Industries | 1 |
| Nursery Schools | 5 |

In Fiat Lux of March 1976 details were given of three training centres for mentally deficient Indian children which had been registered in Durban, Pietermaritzburg and Johannesburg.

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 6 April the Minister gave the following statistics for numbers of pupils affected by the double session system:7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Std. 1</th>
<th>Std. 2</th>
<th>Std. 3</th>
<th>Std. 4</th>
<th>Std. 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>2344</td>
<td>3208</td>
<td>2697</td>
<td>2694</td>
<td>554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>2620</td>
<td>4136</td>
<td>3795</td>
<td>2533</td>
<td>1263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4017</td>
<td>2899</td>
<td>822</td>
<td>519</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Post, 25 April,
4 Hansard 17 cot. 1095.
5 Star, 2 January.
6 RP 31/1976, page 60.
1 Hansard 1 cot. 777.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

PUPILS

The following information with regard to enrolment of Indian pupils as at the second Tuesday in March 1976 was provided by the Deputy Secretary for Indian Affairs, Mr. P. Olivier:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Std. 1</th>
<th>Std. 2</th>
<th>Std. 3</th>
<th>Std. 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class 1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 2</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. 1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. 2</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. 3</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. 4</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. 5</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Primary</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Secondary</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
EXAMINATION RESULTS

The following examination results conducted at the end of 1975 were given Assembly on 17 May 1976.

**Std. 6**
- No. of candidates: ...
- Passed normal high school course: ...
- Passed practical course: ...
- Total passes: ...

**Std. 8**
- No. of candidates: ...
- Passed at the academic level: ...
- Passed at the practical level: ...
- Total passes: ...

**Senior Certificate examination**
- No. of candidates: ...
- Passed with matriculation exemption: ...
- Passed without exemption: ...
- Total passes: ...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21429</td>
<td>11,40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21541</td>
<td>11,46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20151</td>
<td>10,72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20009</td>
<td>10,64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19754</td>
<td>10,51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18235</td>
<td>9,70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16177</td>
<td>8,60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137296</td>
<td>73,03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14112</td>
<td>7,51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11892</td>
<td>6,33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12489</td>
<td>6,64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6616</td>
<td>3,52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4330</td>
<td>2,30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49439</td>
<td>26,30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1182</td>
<td>0,63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>0,05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>188008</td>
<td>100,01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

for examinations conducted by the Minister in the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12237</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6822</td>
<td>55,75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4784</td>
<td>39,09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11606</td>
<td>94,84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12966</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6716</td>
<td>51,80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4195</td>
<td>32,35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10911</td>
<td>84,15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4327</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1010</td>
<td>23,34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2669</td>
<td>61,68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDIAN SCHOOL EDUCATION

The results quoted for the senior certificate examination do not include results of the supplementary examinations.

TEACHERS

The Minister gave the following details about the qualifications of Indian teachers employed by his department as at the latest date for which the information was available, 30 June 1975:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professionally qualified with:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A university degree</td>
<td>1 186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matriculation or equivalent</td>
<td>4449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior Certificate or equivalent</td>
<td>945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other qualifications (e.g. technical)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No professional qualifications but with:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A university degree</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matriculation or equivalent</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical or other vocational qualifications</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not matriculated and with no technical or special qualifications</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6837 | 100,00

The Minister also stated that on 31 December 1975, 7 297 teachers were employed by his department, but further information with regard to their qualifications was not available for this date.

On 17 May the following information was given by the Minister with regard to Indians occupying senior educational posts in the Department:

Head Office:

Inspectors of Schools | 15 |
Assistant or subject inspectors | 7 |
Education planners or assistant planners | 6 |
School guidance officers | 1 |

University of Durban-Westville:

Professors | 7 |
Senior lecturers | 15 |
Lecturers | 32 |
Junior lecturers | 14 |

M.L. Sultan Technical College

Heads of Departments | 3 |
Senior lecturers | 7 |
Lecturers | 12 |
Junior lecturers | 0 |

Colleges of Education:

Rectors | 0 |
Deputy rectors ........ ....... ..... ....... 1
Heads of Department ................................ 6
Senior lecturers ... ... ... ... ... ... ........... 14
Lecturers ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 37
Schools
Principals .......... .................... 358
Assembly 17 May, Hansard 16 col. 1018.
10 Assembly 4 February, Hansard 2 col. 85.
11 Hansard 16 col. 1019.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
In addition, the Minister stated that 361 Indian persons were serving on the
Administrative staff of the Education section of the Department of Indian Affairs.

STUDENT TEACHERS
Information about the enrolment of Indian student teachers was given by the
Minister in the Assembly on 17 May.2
Number
Springfield College of Education ...... 545
Transvaal College of Education ...... 135
University of Durban-Westville ... ... 398
At the same time he gave details of teachers who qualified at the end of 1975:
Primary and Lower Secondary school teachers (full-time courses) ... 176 Primary
and Lower Secondary school teachers (in-service courses) ... 226 Academic high
school teachers ...... ...... ...... ...... ...... 29
Specialist teachers of commercial subjects ... ... ... ... ... 31
Teachers of technical subjects.................... 0
Specialist in remedial or special education ... ... ... ... ... 9
Teachers of arts...... ...... ...... ...... ...... ...... 0
Physical education instructors ...... ...... ...... ...... ...... 25
Teachers of home economics ..................... 6
Specialist in School Counselling ... .................. 8
Teachers of children handicapped in speech and hearing ........ 2
A total of 450 teachers qualified at the end of 1975. (In the above table teachers of
commercial subjects and home economics, and physical education instructors, are
included in the figure quoted for Primary and Lower Secondary school teachers
doing the full-time course.)
Bursaries for Indian student teachers
In the Assembly on 17 May3 the Minister stated that the amount made available
by the Department for bursaries during the 1974-75 financial year was R241 116.
Bursaries were granted to 798 student teachers. No loans were made available.

ADULT EDUCATION
On 11 February14 the Minister said in the Assembly that as at the end of 1975 no
Indian adults were attending part-time primary academic classes, but 2 434 were
attending part-time secondary academic classes.
12 Hansard 16 col. 1017,
'z Hansard 16 col. 1021.
SCHOOL EDUCATION FOR WHITE PUPILS
FINANCE
In the Assembly on 18 February1 the Minister of Statistics provided the following figures for 1974-75 expenditure from the Revenue Account:
R-million
Dept. of National Education ................... 38,3
Provincial Administrations .................... 381,8
Other State Departments ....................... 15,5
435,6
THREE TERM SYSTEM IN TRANSVAAL SCHOOLS
There was much controversy over the three term system which has been introduced in Transvaal schools. Parents appeared to be against the system, saying that the terms were too long and exhausting, and they petitioned the Minister in regard to this; however the Transvaal Teachers' Association stated that it was in favour of the system.2 The Minister of National Education said in the Assembly on 1 June3 that he had received representations from the Committee of University Principals, the Federal Council of Teachers' Associations and various other individuals and organisations asking for the continuation of the three term system and the introduction of a uniform system throughout the Republic. In the Star of 16 September it was reported that the Minister had announced that the three term system was to be retained.
PUPILS
The Minister of Statistics gave the following statistics with regard to the enrolment of pupils in 1975:1
No. of pupils
Provincial schools ............ 840 644
Provincial-aided schools ...... 18 342 Private schools ............ 44 076
903 062
1 Hansard 4 col. 269.
2 Star, 10 August; Rand Daily Mail, 11 August. Hansard 18 col. 1099.
4 Assembly 30 April, Hansard 13 col. 927.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
Enrolments according to class were:
Grade Grade Std. 1 Std. 2 Std. 3 Std. 4 Std. 5
Total Primary ...
Std. 6 ... ...
Std. 7 ... ...
Std. 8 ... ...
Std. 9
Std. 10 ... ...
Total Secondary
Unspecified ... Special Classes ...
Combined Total
In addition there were 13 schools such as schools for m clinic schools.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>89403</td>
<td>9.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82649</td>
<td>9.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81195</td>
<td>8.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77716</td>
<td>8.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78669</td>
<td>8.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78169</td>
<td>8.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74901</td>
<td>8.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>562702</td>
<td>62.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78865</td>
<td>8.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74839</td>
<td>8.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75492</td>
<td>8.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56102</td>
<td>6.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43776</td>
<td>4.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>329074</td>
<td>36.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>196</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11090</td>
<td>1.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>903062</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

110 pupils in provincial special ental deviates and hospital and

CURRICULA

The Minister of National Education, Dr. Koornhof, announced at the South West African National Party Congress that the Government was considering abolishing the matriculation examination.5 He suggested that a university entrance examination might be the solution to the problem of assessing pupils and could also help to minimise the drop-out rate amongst first year university students. His announcement was welcomed by many educationists.

Dr. Koornhof had announced earlier in the year that an inquiry was to be instituted into the teaching of mathematics, biology, physical science and chemistry.6 Aspects to be investigated included the decline in the number of teachers of these subjects, the standard of training of teachers, the decline in the number of pupils taking these subjects, and the content of syllabuses.

5 Rand Daily Mail, 26 August.
6 Assembly 23 March, Hansard 9 col. 627.
7 Star, 6 July.

Number Percentage

WHITE SCHOOL EDUCATION
EXAMINATION RESULTS

No information has been given on examination results for White pupils.

TEACHERS

Questioned in the Assembly,8 the Minister of Statistics gave the following information with regard to the number of White teachers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Provincial Schools</th>
<th>Provincial-Aided Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>39893</td>
<td>41487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>1190</td>
<td>1167</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

352
Private Schools ..........2 824  2 995
43 907  45 649
Qualifications of teachers in 1973 were:
Number Percentage
Professionally qualified with a university degree ... 12 938  29.47
Professionally qualified without a degree 28 394  64.67
University degree without professional qualifications 1 096  2.50
Neither professional qualifications nor degree ... 1 479  3.37
43907  100.01

SOUTH AFRICAN TEACHERS' COUNCIL FOR WHITES ACT
The South African Teachers' Council for Whites Bill was passed in the Assembly
and Senate and on 23 June became Act No. 116 of 1976.
The Act provides for the establishment of a South African Teachers' Council for
Whites, the object of this Council being to "uphold and promote esteem for
education and the teaching profession and the prestige of those who are engaged
in the profession". The Council will keep a register of teachers (teachers at
entirely private schools are not obliged to register) and draw up a professional
code of conduct in terms of the aims of the Council. The Council is empowered to
institute inquiries into allegations of contraventions of the professional code and
to impose penalties, ranging from a fine to being struck off the register, on
teachers found guilty of contravening the code.
Speaking in the Second Reading debate on the Bill, Mr. H. Schwarz (PRP) stated
that "for a truly professional council to exist in South Africa, it must in fact cater
for the whole profession and not be a racially exclusive body". He went on to say
that the "Whites only" basis of the Bill would affect the
8 Assembly 13 May, Hansard 15 col. 1003.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
international status of South African teachers." The Minister, replying to the
debate," said that it was unlikely that the National and Opposition parties would
agree on the matter of membership for all races, as this was a policy difference.
He said that an umbrella or co-ordinating council could be established if the need
arose, and for this reason Clause 18 (g) provided for co-operation "with any other
councils or institutions whose objects or purposes are similar to those of the
council".

STUDENT TEACHERS
In the Assembly on 7 May the Minister of National Education gave the following
information about White student teachers at universities:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Post graduate courses</th>
<th>Non-graduate courses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... ... ... 1057</td>
<td>... ... ... 987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2044 4364</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

He added that in 1975 enrolments for teachers' courses at training colleges and
colleges for advanced technical education were as follows:
Men  Women  Total
Training colleges  ............... 2 634  8 338  10 972
Colleges for advanced technical education - -  355
11 327
9 Hansard 16 cols. 7353-54. 10 Hansard 17 col. 7396. 11 Hansard 14 col. 979,
1974 statistics for universities
Women
1 726  2638
354

355
TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING
AFRICANS
TRADE SCHOOLS
According to the annual report of the Department of Bantu Education for 19751
the following new trade schools were to start functioning in 1976:
Ga Rankuwa (financed by 3 private firms: Anglo Alpha
Cement Ltd., Ciba Geigy (Pty) Ltd., the Everite group).
Temba Trade School (near Hammanskraal).
Maake Trade School (near Tzaneen).
The Motetema Trade School near Groblersdal in Lebowa, which is being largely
financed by the Barlow Rand Group, is expected to open in January 1977, and
during 1976 a new trade school is being established at Madadeni to provide
training for artisans in mechanical practice. This project is being undertaken in
conjunction with Iscor and Vecor.
New buildings have been completed or are under construction which will enable
new courses to be introduced at the following trade schools:
Course
Boitseanape Trade School: Bakery  Temba Trade School:  Building Trades,
Motor Mechanics,
Welding and Metal work
Giyani Trade School:  Motor mechanics.
During 1976 teachers for trade schools have received training at the Umlazi Trade
and Technical High School in a building financed by the Indian businessmen of
Natal.
The Minister of Bantu Education gave the fol-
lowing detailed information about
trade schools in the Republic and South West Africa:2 The numbers of schools
were:
Republic and Transkei South West Africa
Trade schools for boys  15
Trade sections attached
to other schools ...  4  5
Enrolment in each course at these schools in March 1975 was:
2 Assembly 2 June, Hansard 18 col. 111.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

Republic South West Africa

Year of Study Toawl Total
1st 2nd 3rd 4th 5th No. 1st 2nd 3rd No.
General mechanics .. 196 151 18 - - 365 - Concreting, bricklaying and plastering ............... 401 321 23 - - 745 63 45 6 114
Electricians and wiremen - - 17 - - 17 - -
Electricians (Block training) 13 51 26 13 10 113 -
Watchmakers 14 12 14 - - 40 - - -
Tailoring. ....72 63 53 - - 188 - - -
Leatherwork .. ...... 50 36 - - 86 - - -
Plumbing, drainlaying and sheeetmetal work .... 209 165 23 397 30 26 - 56
Motor body repairmen 110 98 - - 208 - - -
Motor mechanics .. 179 174 125 4-8 10 8 2 20
Upholstery and motor trimmimg .......... 66 71 137 - - -
Carpentry, joinery and cabinetmaking ...... 325 266 27 618 77 65 7 149
Painting and glazing .. 27 50 - - 7 - - -
1 662 1 458 326 13 10 3 469 180 144 15 339
Numbers qualifying in each course available in 1975 were as follows:

Course Number of passes
General mechanics .............................. 102
Concreting, bricklaying and plastering ............... 274
Electricians and wiremen .......................... 15
Electricians (block training) ........................ 38
Watchmakers ................................. 12
Tailoring ...................................... 49
Leatherwork .................................... 32
Plumbing, drainlaying and sheetmetal work ............ 150
Motor body repairmen .......................... 81
Motor mechanics . .............................119
Upholstery and motor trimming ..................... 58
Carpentry, joinery and cabinetmaking ............... 267
Painting and glazing ................................ 62
Total ........................................ 1 259

Further information was given by the Minister in the Assembly on 7 June, when he stated that 39 trade instructors on the staff of trade schools were in possession of a technical or trade instructors' certificate and 18 in possession of an academic teacher's certificate. There were also 12 instructors who had the Advanced Technical Certificate II or equivalent or higher technical qualifications. The minimum educational qualification required from teaching staff at trade schools is a completed apprenticeship or five years' appropriate experience.
Hansard 19 col. 1140.

TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING
TECHNICAL AND COMMERCIAL SECONDARY COURSES
In addition to existing technical secondary schools at Mamelodi, Jabulani, Edendale, Umlazi, and Kwazakele, it was stated in the Departmental report4 that the Thlabane Technical High School near Rustenburg was to begin functioning in 1976. In addition to the usual subjects offered, the school will also offer the following subjects: electricians' work, welding and metalwork and, as from 1977, motor mechanics, building construction and woodwork.
The Mdantsane Technical High School has offered commercial courses since January 1975 and technical courses since January 1976.
DEPARTMENTAL INDUSTRIAL TRAINING CENTRES
Industrial training centres5 which offer practical subjects for a junior or senior certificate course have, according to information given by the Minister in the Assembly on 2 June,6 already been established in Soweto (2 centres), Sebokeng, Katlehong, Mamelodi, New Brighton and Lamontville; and similar centres are to be established in KwaThema, Tembisa, Pietersburg and Mabopane East. The Minister stated that these training centres would not be merged with existing technical secondary schools. Giving further details as to how the functions of the two types of institutions differ, he said the industrial training centres, which provided practical training in five basic industrial subjects additional to the junior secondary programme, aimed at orientating pupils to some extent with regard to the different industrial processes. Pupils also had the option of offering any two of these subjects for the junior certificate. The technical secondary course, on the other hand, had an academic orientation. Pupils took the usual school subjects, but with mathematics, physical science, technical drawing and a technical subject as compulsory subjects. Scholars were able to attain matriculation exemption, enabling them to attend a university.
The Departmental report7 stated that problems were being encountered in obtaining suitable instructors for these centres. Instructors are being trained at the Molapo centre in Soweto. Homeland governments are expected to provide training facilities in the near future.
The Minister gave the following examination results for African boys for the end of 1975.'
4 Op cit., page 60.
6 Hansard 18 col. 1115.
Hansard 18 col. 1115.

358 A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
Number passed
Junior certificate with one or more technical subjects ..................53
Senior certificate with one or more technical subjects ...................... 58

VOCAATIONAL TRAINING FOR GIRLS
The report of the Department of Bantu Education' for 1975 gives the following enrolment figures for 1975.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Year of Study</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>No. passin &amp;i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st 2nd 3rd enrolments in 1975</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistants in pre-school institutions</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>59 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home management</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressmaking:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-year courses</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>268 79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 short courses</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seamstress and alteration hand</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spinning and weaving</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>20 20</td>
<td>76 Not known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts and crafts</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3 Not known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>courses 765 offered at private schools</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TRADE INSTRUCTORS

According to the Minister11 17 men were enrolled for the 2-year trade instructors’ course at Boitsenape Trade School near Mafeking. Eight students qualified at the end of 1975. Entrance qualifications for the course are a technical or academic junior certificate plus a trade school certificate or a technical senior certificate.

ADVANCED TECHNICAL EDUCATION

The Minister gave the following detailed information about students enrolled in March 1975 for specialist technical subjects:2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Study</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Qualified</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st 2nd 3rd 4th in 1975</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mmadikoti and Edendale:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil engineering technicians</td>
<td>31 17 12 10</td>
<td>70 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural engineering technicians</td>
<td>- - - -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(supplementary examination)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surveying technicians</td>
<td>15 7 9 6 37 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geological technicians</td>
<td>8 9 8 - 25 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electrotechnical technicians</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telecommunication technicians</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water and sewerage purification operators</td>
<td>16 - - - 16 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Op cit., page 222.

10 Figures provided by the Department of Bantu Education. 1t Assembly, Hansard 15 col. 1000. 12 Assembly 25 May, Hansard 17 col. 1087.

TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Year of Study | Total | Qualified |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st 2nd 3rd 4th in 1975</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance workers for water purification</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
installations .............. - - - 24 20
University of Fort Hare:
Land Surveyors .. ....... 15 5 4 - 24
University of the Witwatersrand:
Mechanical engineering ........ - 1 1 1 3
Electrical engineering l.......... - 1 1 1 3
Chemical engineering ........... - 1 1
Civil engineering l............. - 1 1
Architecture ................... 1 1 2
Courses for paramedical personnel include physiotherapy, radiography, medical laboratory technology, public health nursing, health inspectors' course, health assistants' course, dental therapy, and, as from 1976, dietetics and occupational therapy.

AD-HOC TRAINING OF FACTORY OPERATIVES FOR BORDER OR HOMELAND INDUSTRIES
The Minister of Bantu Education said in the Assembly on 2 June'3 that 18 firms were making use of the scheme for providing crash courses of training for factory operatives, which is described on page 250 of last year's Survey. The 18 industrial schools are situated at East London (6), Babelegi (3), Ladysmith (1), King William's Town (1), Hammarsdale (2), Pietermaritzburg (2), Howick (1), Newcastle (1), Mooi River (1). A total of 2 376 operatives were trained at these centres during 1975.
The Minister added that no ad hoc border industrial schools had been merged with any other training institution.

BANTU EMPLOYEES' IN-SERVICE TRAINING ACT, No. 86 OF 1976
This Act repealed the provisions of the Bantu Education Act No. 47 of 1953 under which all industrial training was previously administered.
In terms of the Act provision is made for the establishment of a Co-ordinating Council for the In-Service Training of Bantu Employees which will control and guide centres for such training. The Council will consist of 6 persons appointed from the Public Service and one member appointed by each of 10 specified employers' organisations and labour associations.
Provision is made for the establishment of public centres for the training of employees. State aid for the provision of buildings and equipment may be granted to these centres.
Besides public centres, training for employees may be provided at private centres, if these are approved by the Secretary for Bantu Education, subject to the conditions laid down for public centres. Assistance other than financial may be rendered to these centres as the Secretary sees fit.
In addition, any employer conducting a scheme for training
13 Hansard 18 col. 1108.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
his employees may apply for recognition of this scheme. Once again, the Secretary may grant assistance other than financial to such employers and the Minister may also award grants-in-aid to employers conducting such schemes. At the request of the governing body of a public centre, the Minister may impose a levy, to be used to defray the expenses of running the centre, on any employers engaged in an industry in the area for which training is provided at that centre. Speaking in the Assembly on 19 May, 14 Dr. G. F. Jacobs (UP) stated with regard to this Bill, "Here, at least, we have recognition of the fact that Black workers must be trained in White areas", and said that this was an indication of the acceptance by the Government of the permanence of Black workers in "White" South Africa. He also stated that his party believed that training of workers of all colour groups should be coordinated by one Department, the Department of Labour. (In terms of this Bill, training falls under the control of the Department of Bantu Education.) Dr. A. Boraine, speaking in the debate," drew particular attention to the fact that it was quite possible, perhaps by design, for the Co-ordinating Council to have no Black membership, and said that it was imperative that Black workers should have direct representation on such a body. He appealed to the Deputy Minister to make an appointment from the African Chamber of Commerce. In his reply to the debate the Deputy Minister refused to make a definite answer to this plea.

SUBSIDISED PRIVATE IN-SERVICE TRAINING CENTRES IN INDUSTRIAL COMPLEXES

Details of the lines along which these centres are run are given on page 257 of the 1975 Survey.

The Minister of Bantu Education, replying to a question in the Assembly on 2 June,'6 gave the following information about the centres:

Courses offered and numbers trained from 1 April 1975 to 31 April 1976:

(a) Boithusong Centre (Bloemfontein):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>No. trained</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Motor repair assistants</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welding</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electrician's aids</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plumber's aids</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Builder's aids</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpentry</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14 Hansard 16 cot. 7105.
15 Hansard 16 cols. 7132-33.
16 Hansard 18 col. 1115.

TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>No. trained</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cookery (Chef)</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervisors</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switchboard operators</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Chamdor West Rand Centre:
Course: No. trained  
Motor repair assistants ........... 89  
Assistants for maintenance of business equipment ................... 11  

The Minister stated that other centres in operation or to become operative during 1976 were as follows: Sebokeng (October 1975), Pinetown (January 1976), Port Elizabeth (May 1976), Apex, near Benoni (November 1976), Waltloo, near Pretoria (October 1976), and Potchefstroom (October 1976). Questioned further about income, he said that most of the centres would be operated out of moneys donated by private firms and employers’ organisations, and tuition fees might also be charged. He added that as soon as the necessary legislation had been accepted (see previous section) a levy might be imposed on employers. During the interim period finance is being provided by the Department of Bantu Education in the case of the Boithusong Centre.

PRIVATE IN-SERVICE TRAINING SCHEMES  
The Minister of Bantu Administration and Education stated in the Assembly on 30 April that 160 unsubsidised private industrial in-service training schemes had been approved and registered by his Department, thereby qualifying for tax concessions.  
He had stated earlier, in reply to a question on 26 March, that 460 enquiries had been received from employees with regard to registration of training schemes. 149 completed application forms had been submitted, 117 applications approved and 30 applications withdrawn because of consolidation with other schemes.

TRAINING CENTRES AND WORKSHOPS FOR DISABLED AFRICANS  
The Minister said in the Assembly on 5 May that the number of training centres and workshops for disabled Africans as at 31 March 1976 was 11, and that 1 033 Africans were employed in these schemes. He added that these figures did not include the Ciskei, as the Ciskeian Government had failed to furnish the required particulars.

17 Hansard 13 col. 914.  
’s Hansard 9 col. 675.  
19 Hansard 14 col. 958.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976  
TECHNICAL TRAINING: COLOURED STUDENTS SCHOOL COURSES  
According to the Schedule to the Report of the Department of Coloured, Rehoboth and Nama Relations for 1974-75, 6 high schools offered technical courses.

In the Assembly on 22 April the Minister stated that in 1975 the following numbers of pupils passed technical examinations at multi-lateral high schools. 
Technical Junior Certificate .... 244 Technical Senior Certificate ... 212  
APPRENTICES  
In April 1976, 350 Coloured apprentices were attending the Peninsula College for Advanced Technical Education, 106 on a full-time and 244 on a part-time basis.
During 1975 there were 175 apprentices attending technical colleges or continuation classes in other centres in the Republic, and 7 in South West Africa. The number of students, excluding those at the Peninsula College of Education, receiving full-time instruction by means of group training periods of 10 weeks each were as follows:

Apprentices ...... 2609
Other students ...... 16

The following numbers of students passed National Technical Certificate examinations during 1975:

NTC I ... 946
NTC II ... 755
NTC III ... 302

OTHER COURSES AT TECHNICAL INSTITUTIONS
Besides the Peninsula College for Advanced Technical Education, there are technical colleges for Coloured students at Athlone (Cape Town), Port Elizabeth, Durban, Johannesburg and Kimberley, with Br"Tanch colleges in East London and Pietermaritzburg. Continuation classes are provided in Worcester, Bloemfontein and Queenstown. The number of students, excluding apprentices, attending courses at technical colleges during 1975 was 679.

1 Hansard 2 col. 868.
2 Unless otherwise stated, information in the following paragraphs was given by the Minister of Coloured, Rehoboth and Nama Relations in the Assembly on 22 April and 10 June, Hansard 12 col. 868 and Hansard 19 col. 1171.

TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING
Training Centre for Motor Mechanics in Bellville
The following figures for 1975 were quoted in Alpha:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidates</th>
<th>Passes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NTC part I</td>
<td>40 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTC part II</td>
<td>39 37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Training Centre for Seamen at Kasselsvlei
According to the February edition of Alpha, this centre offers courses for:

Navigating Cadet Officers
Masters and First Navigating Officers for coasting vessels
Trawler Navigating Officers
Fishermen, Skippers and Mates
Radar observers
Radar Training for Trawler Navigating Officers
Radio Telephone Operators
Able seamen Petty officers
Marine Engineering Cadets
Trawler Engineers
Marine Enginemen.

TECHNICAL TRAINING: INDIANS
SCHOOL COURSES
A technical secondary course was offered at 3 secondary or high schools in Natal and 1 in the Transvaal. In addition, all departmental high schools offered one or more technical subjects, such as woodwork, metalwork, technical drawing and industrial arts.
During 1975, 140 Indian students passed a technically orientated Senior Certificate.
TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL COURSES
The first three stages of the NTC examinations are now known as NI, NII and NIII, and the fourth and fifth stages as TI and TII. Numbers passing the full examinations in 1975 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>Passes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NI</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NII</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIII</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 Op cit., March.
x Unless otherwise stated, all information in this chapter was given by the Minister of Indian Affairs in the Assembly on 18 May, Hansard 16 cot. 1029.

364 A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
No Indians passed the full TI or TII courses, certificates being issued only on the completion of the full course comprising 24 subjects. However, there were 815 subject successes representing a 77% pass in TI, and 487 subject successes, representing an 88% pass in TII.
Other technical or vocational qualifications obtained by Indians in 1975 were as follows:
National Diplomas:
Commerce ....... .......
Art and Design (dress design) Art and Design (Textile design) Public Administration .......
Community Health Nursing Health Inspectors ........
Tropical Hygiene ........ Sugar Technology.........
Medical Technology ...... Chemical Technology ...... Civil Engineering .......
Civil Engineering (Intermediate) ....... ....... ....... 22 ....... ....... ....... 22
.... .... .... .... .... .... 3 .... .... .... .... 1 .... .... .... .... .... .... .... 3 .... .... .... .... .... .... .... 7 .... .... .... .... .... .... .... 4 .... .... .... .... .... .... .... 7 .... .... .... .... .... .... .... 3
Most Indians taking technical courses attend the M. L. Sultan College for Advanced Technical Education in Durban or its branches in other Natal towns. Enrolment figures at the College in March 1975 were as follows:

Full-time students Part-time students
1631 4 182.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION: WHITES

According to the annual report of the Department of National Education for 1975, the following technical or vocational institutions existed for Whites in 1974:

| No. of Institutions | 6 | 26 | 4 | 1 | 33 | 26 |

The Report gave the following numbers of technical students who had passed NTC examinations during the period 1 November 1974 to 31 October 1975:

For Apprentices: Block Release Course:

| NTC NTC NTC | 4069 | 3 736 | 2 235 |

Part-time Courses:

| NTC NTC NTC |  
No. of Students

362 531 340
64819 31111
1 825 207
10055 4750

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION
EXPENDITURE
The following information on per capita expenditure by the State on university students for 1974-75 was given by Ministers of the respective Departments of Education in the Assembly:1
Ministers of the various Departments of Education gave figures for degrees and diplomas awarded at universities in the Republic from June 1974 until the end of May 1975:
1 Hansard 9 col. 643; Hansard 8 col. 577.
2 Figures extracted by writer from: Hansard 13 col. 910; Hansard 14 col. 958 and cols, 981-3; Hansard 19 co. 1168.

I
Cola

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

White students:
Residential universities ...... University of South Africa ...

Coloured students:
University of the Western Cape White universities University of South Africa ...

Indian students:
University of Durban-Westville White universities .......... University of South Africa

African students:
University of Fort Hare ...... University of the North ...... University of Zululand ...... White residential universities ... University of South Africa ...

Grand Total ............

Post grad. Bachelors degrees  degrees (inc. medicine)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Postgrad</th>
<th>Non-Graduate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3082</td>
<td>8282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>428</td>
<td>756</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Post grad. Non-graduate diplomas  diplomas
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Postgrad</th>
<th>Non-Graduate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1413</td>
<td>1006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>372</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3510</td>
<td>9038</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1785</td>
<td>1134</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

STAFF
The Minister of Bantu Education gave the following information about staff at African universities in 1976:\footnote{Hansard 8 col. 591. 367}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Africans</th>
<th>Whites</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professors</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Lecturers</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lecturers</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>73</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

WHITE UNIVERSITIES

University of the Witwatersrand

In August the University Council authorised the Vice-Chancellor to seek an interview with the Minister of National Education about the possibility of reopening the university to students on merit, irrespective of race, pending the results of a ballot amongst students, staff and members of Convocation. At a mass meeting called by the Senate Academic Freedom Committee prior to the start of the ballot, the fact was stressed that the university's policy was still one of admitting students on academic merit, but that its right to do so was restricted by legislation.\footnote{Hansard 8 col. 591. 367}

Staff, students and convocation voted overwhelmingly in favour of the reopening of the University to students of all races.

University of Natal Medical School

Following the passing of the Medical University of South Africa Act, No. 78 of 1976, it is planned to phase out African students at the University of Natal Medical School. Initially it was announced that no further African students would be admitted in 1976 except those who were repeating their first year. This decision was subsequently retracted and the Minister of National Education, Dr. Koornhof, stated that if it had the accommodation the University could enrol African students entering their first year. (For full details of the new Medical University, see Chapter on Health.)

University of South Africa

With growing recognition of the necessity for South Africa to solve her labour problems as rapidly as possible, an Institute of Labour Relations has been
established at Unisa. This Institute is being financed largely by means of a R100,000 grant from the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation.

According to a report in the Star of 17 March, Unisa's total enrolment of 40,207 students in 1975 constituted 33 per cent of South Africa's total university student population. Registered at Unisa in 1975 were 53 per cent of the country's African students, 44 per cent of Indian students, 42 per cent of Coloured students and 30 per cent of all White students.

Following reports of the prevalence of "petty apartheid" at Unisa, such as discriminatory signs, separate seminars, graduation ceremonies and cafeterias, and barriers being erected between students of different groups in examination halls, it was reported that a policy decision had been made to do away with these discriminatory measures.

Reports of spying on English University campuses

During the trial of NUSAS leaders (see chapter on Justice) Lieutenant Derek Brune gave evidence for the State. He had attended the University of the Witwatersrand and served on the Students' Representative Council and during this period had been Star, 15 September. Sunday Times, 3 October; Sunday Times, 31 October.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

working for the Security Police. In August Mr. Keith Matthee, president of the Students' Representative Council at the University of Natal, confessed that he had spied for the Bureau of State Security at the university for nearly two years.' (although he had had no contact with the Bureau during the past year). Following Mr. Matthee's confession, Mr. Jimmy Georgiades, former president of the SRC at the University of the Witwatersrand, stated that he had been contacted on several occasions by a Bureau of State Security agent, and a conservative student editor at the same university was accused by other students of having had secret meetings with members of the Security Police.7

UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE

In the May 1976 issue of Alpha it was stated that the following new courses were now being offered or were being planned for the future:

B.A. with Music as a major
3 year diploma in Music teaching
Nursing: 3 year diploma in Theatre technique
Languages: Arabic
Xhosa
Greek and Hebrew as majors in 1977
French (1977)
Geology
Physiology
Industrial Psychology " As majors in 1977
Political Science J
It is also planned to introduce a medical course in 1977.
Apparently there is hostel accommodation for only 340 students.' However, the Minister stated in the Assembly on 24 February9 that additional accommodation was included in the university's current building programme.

An account of the unrest at the University of the Western Cape, which was a part of the unrest which spread throughout the country after 16 June, is included in the chapter on the Soweto riots.

UNIVERSITY OF DURBAN-WESTVILLE
It was reported in the Leader on 7 May that at least 7 White graduates had applied to the University of Durban-Westville to register as students in the Department of Islamic studies and Oriental Studies. Commenting on this Mr. P. R. T. Nel, Director of Public Relations at the University, stated that non-Indians interested in studying Indian languages and culture
6 Sunday Times, 22 August.
Rand Daily Mail, 25 August; Rand Daily Mail, 29 October.
8 Alpha, May 1976.
0 Hansard 5 col. 339.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
would be welcome at the university, but that admission of such students would be dependent on legislation being passed to permit their admission. (Existing legislation precludes any White students from being registered at the University.)

AFRICAN UNIVERSITIES
Unrest at African Universities
On 17 June, following the outbreak of rioting in Soweto, the administration buildings and the library at the University of Zululand were burnt down resulting in the closure of the university for the rest of 1976. The Universities of Fort Hare and the North were also drastically affected by the unrest, with strikes, closures and arson taking place and many students simply leaving. Full details of the unrest are given in a previous chapter.

University of Zululand
The Minister of Bantu Education said in the Assembly on 19 March"e that, following representation made by the Chief Minister of KwaZulu in August 1975, he had requested the Council of the University to institute an investigation into student behaviour on the campus "with a view to identifying any sociological or other influences which may have a detrimental effect on this. In addition the council was requested to give consideration to any positive action that can be taken to counteract these influences, if they do exist, so as to develop a high moral standard of living." About 200 students at the university demonstrated against the "Bantustan" system at a graduation ceremony at which an honorary doctorate of law was conferred upon Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. Chief Buthelezi's car was stoned and there was a clash between the students and Buthelezi supporters. Following this incident student teachers from the university were banned from doing their training at KwaZulu-controlled schools until they had apologised to the Chief Minister.

University of the North
The Reports of the Jackson and Snyman commissions were tabled in Parliament in February.12 The Jackson Report on Africanisation at Turfloop had been commissioned by the university council eight months prior to the pro-Frelimo rallies in September 1974, which were investigated by the Snyman Commission.
Hansard 8 col. 604.
11 Rand Daily Mail, 10 May.
12 For a full summary of these reports see Wolfson J. G. E.: Turmoil at Turfloop, S.A.
Institute of Race Relations, 1976.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION
Among the recommendations of the Jackson report, which was unanimously accepted by the University council, were proposals that legislation should be introduced to give the University the same degree of autonomy as White universities, that the university council should have a Black majority, and that relationships should be established with other South African universities to encourage advanced study and research. The report also stated that the university could not function satisfactorily as long as complete separation of Black and White communities at the university existed. A time-table for Africanisation of posts was not recommended; it was stated that this should take place at a pace which would not require lowering of standards of teaching or management.

The finding of the Snyman report was that the immediate cause of the unrest at the University of the North on 26 September 1974 was extreme hostility to Whites which had been fostered by the activities of the South African Students' Organisation, which, the report said, could no longer claim to be a student organisation, as its membership was apparently open to anybody and it had a comprehensive political policy far beyond the needs of a student organisation. The report went on to state that this anti-White feeling could not be attributed to agitation alone, but was rooted in a resentment of the superior knowledge and status of Whites, a resentment exacerbated by the statutory and traditional discrimination against Blacks and the humiliations which Blacks suffered at the hands of Whites. The report also stated that the real grievance of Blacks was not so much against the policy of separate development as the manner in which this policy was executed, and that the establishment of separate universities for Blacks had been a sound step.

The Report recommended that the disparity between salaries of Black and White staff be eliminated as soon as possible, that the rector be appointed by the Council irrespective of race, that legislation be introduced to make the university clearly autonomous, that control of the university be taken over largely by Blacks, and that the university be opened to all Blacks, regardless of their ethnic groupings.
Speaking in the Assembly on 30 April,13 the Minister of Bantu Education, Mr. M. C. Botha, said that a number of the Commission's recommendations were acceptable and that amendments to the existing legislation affecting African universities would be introduced in 1977 in the light of these recommendations.
In July Professor W. M. Kgware was appointed as the first Black rector of the University of the North. Professor Kgware, 13 Hansard 13 cols. 5727-28

A SURVEY OF ‘RACE RELATIONS, 1976
at present professor of comparative education at the University, will take up his appointment at the beginning of 1977. University Education in the Transkei
An Act providing for the establishment of a non-racial university in Umtata was passed in the Transkei National Assembly on 11 November.14 The existing branch of the University of Fort Hare in Umtata will form the nucleus of the proposed university, which is still in its early planning stages.
I&Star, 11 November.

372

STUDENT ORGANISATIONS
NATIONAL UNION OF SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS (NUSAS)
At the Nusas annual congress held in Cape Town in February it was stated that the Union could go bankrupt if any extra expenditure was incurred during the coming year. Nusas was declared an affected organisation in 1974 and was hence unable to obtain funds from overseas. A new constitution was agreed upon which increased the power of the Student Representative Councils of affiliated universities, thus placing control in hands of the various campuses.’ During the year referenda were held at the universities of Cape Town, Rhodes and the Witwatersrand, and at the Pietermaritzburg campus of the University of Natal, to decide whether these campuses would remain affiliated to NUSAS. (During 1974 the Johannesburg College of Education and the Durban campus of the University of Natal had discontinued their group affiliation with Nusas.) Of the four, only the Universities of Cape Town and of the Witwatersrand voted in favour of affiliation. The president and executive of Nusas resigned as from 1 May in order to "cut administrative expenses and make way for leaders with a less Left-wing image."2 An interim management committee was formed, consisting of presidents of the Student Representative Councils and chaired by Mr. Andre Lamprecht of Rhodes. At a meeting of the SRC executive of the University of the Witwatersrand on 5 May, a motion was passed calling for the dissolution of Nusas. This motion was, however, later rescinded at a meeting of the full Students' Representative Council.3 Later in the year there seemed to be an increase in support for Nusas. Both the Durban and Pietermaritzburg campuses reaffiliated, and Rhodes University sent an observer to the meeting of the Union's national council in October. At the 54th Nusas Congress held at the University of the Witwatersrand at the end of November, one of the major topics of discussion was "White Africanism". Mr. Richard de Villiers, president of Nusas, said that White students could not identify with the totalitarianism and verkramptheid of Afrikaner nationalism, while as Whites they were unable to identify with the Black Consciousness movement, and
it was therefore necessary for them to find an identity for themselves as White Africans and at the same time to rid themselves of the belief that their
1 Rand Daily Mail, 2 February; Star, 6 February.
2 Rand Daily Mail, 20 April.
3 Star, 6 May; Rand Daily Mail, 11 May.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
roots lay in Europe. A resolution was passed that Nusas would campaign for education on English-speaking campuses to be made relevant to the African future of White students, and to seek agreement with both Black and Afrikaans student bodies on this aim.

During 1976 a university lecturer, Mr. E. Webster, and 4 former Nusas office-bearers, Charles Nupen, Karel Tip, Glen Moss and Cedric de Beer, were tried under Internal Security Amendment Act. An account of the trial is given in the chapter on the Administration of Security Legislation.

SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS' ORGANISATION (SASO)
As mentioned earlier, the South African Students' Organisation was heavily attacked in the Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the disturbances at the University of the North4 (the Snyman Commission).

In a statement replying to the allegations of the Commission,5 Saso leaders denied that Saso promoted hatred of Whites and was in favour of armed revolution. They said that the organisation favoured universities catering for everybody involved in the search for truth, and which would promote racial harmony.

The annual conference of the organisation was held at Hammanskraal in July. The outgoing president, Mr. Diliza Mji, said that the South African Government was promoting the growth of an aspiring middle class amongst Blacks in order to preserve the status quo in the country, and that Blacks should see their struggle not only in terms of colour interests, but also in terms of class interests.6 Mr. Mongesi Stofile, a student at the University of the North, was elected president for the coming year.

During the latter half of the year the entire executive of Saso, as well as other members, was detained by the Security Police. Details of these detentions are given on page 114.

The trial of the "Saso nine" as a result of their involvement in the "pro-Frelimo" gathering reported on pages 373, 66, and 92 of the 1974 Survey came to an end in December 1976. This trial is described on page 130. At the time of writing, judgment had not been delivered.

AFRIKAANSE STUDENTEBOND (ASB)
The annual congress of the ASB was held in Port Elizabeth during July. Among those addressing the congress were Professor W. P. Esterhuise of the University of Stellenbosch, whose proposal that White universities should be opened to Blacks undertaking post-graduate study was rejected, and Senator Marais Viljoen, 4 See previous chapter on University Education.

Rand Daily Mail!, 10 February.
Star, 21 June.
STUDENT ORGANISATIONS
who called for the abolition of discriminatory practices not necessary for the preservation of racial identity.
Despite "verlig" views expressed by speakers, resolutions passed by the congress tended to be conservative. Delegates agreed to recognise the permanence of the urban Black, but accepted unanimously that no political self-determination should be allowed to Blacks in White areas. A resolution calling on all students to do everything in their power to improve relations between different race groups was passed unanimously.
Earlier in the year Mr. Marius Schalekamp, chairman of the ASB, had said that Afrikaans student leaders wanted to establish contact with Black and Coloured student leaders.

SOUTH AFRICAN FEDERATION OF ENGLISH STUDENTS (SAFESS)
This "moderate" students' organisation was launched on English-speaking campuses in March. The policy of the organisation is one of political non-involvement, and it hopes ultimately to establish an umbrella organisation, the South African Students' Federation, which would include Saso and the ASB. Mr. Paul Sarbutt, a student at the University of the Witwatersrand, was founding chairman of the organisation. When announcing the new body he said that Safess aimed at ridding the student body of Nusas-"a political pressure group".
However, despite an active campaign by Safess against Nusas at the time of the referendum held to decide on affiliation, a majority of the Wits student body voted in favour of continued affiliation. 7 Star, 10 March.

376
SOME BURSARY (SCHOLARSHIP) FUNDS
BURSAMIES AWARDED BY THE STATE AND HOMELAND GOVERNMENTS
African students
Replying to a question in the Assembly,1 the Minister of Bantu Education said that the following bursaries were awarded to students in the Republic by his Department during 1975:
Students taking technical or vocational courses
A warded to:
School pupils .................
Students at teacher training institutions ... University students ........
Students taking technical or vocational courses ........
Medical students ........
The sums involved were:
Non-repayable bursaries ..........
Loan bursaries ..............
No. of bursaries
507
He had earlier stated that bursaries granted to African students training as teachers amounted to R100 to R200 per annum for students at universities and R80 to R100 per annum for those taking either the Primary or Junior Secondary Teachers' Certificates.

The Minister said that information about bursaries awarded by the homeland governments was not available.

Coloured students

According to the Minister of Coloured, Rehoboth and Nama Relations the following bursaries were made available to students in the Republic:

Awarded to:

- School pupils
- Students at teacher training institutions
- University students
- Other

2243 530 Nil

Bursary (Scholarship) Funds

These amounted to R892 762, and all bursaries were nonrepayable.

Indian students

The Minister of Indian Affairs stated bursaries were awarded by his department in

Awarded to:

- School pupils (travelling and boarding grants)
- Students at teacher training institutions
- University students

The total sum involved was R422 796.

that the following 1975:

| No. of bursaries | 2387 | 499 231 |

Some Privately Sponsored Scholarships for Africans

The Annual Report of the Department of Bantu Education for 1975 gives the following information about scholarships made available to African students (excluding university students) for that year:

Primary pupils

Junior secondary pupils

Senior secondary pupils

Students at teacher-training institutions

Students at trade or technical training schools
These figures exclude bursaries awarded to scholars and students in the Transkei. The South African Council of Churches was able to award bursaries for study at university to only 10 out of 1 000 applicants due to lack of funds. They had, however, been able to grant 300 more bursaries to high school applicants in 1976. The National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (NAFCOC), an organisation of African businessmen in South Africa, announced in July that it would offer bursaries to the value of R10000 every year to help African students wishing to further their studies at any of the universities in the Republic."

Assembly 11 February, Hansard 2 col. 183.
RP 36/1976, page 234,
Rand Daily Mail, 10 February.
Word, 23 July.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 197b
These bursaries will be available from 1977.
The Sable Bursary Fund was set up in Johannesburg in 1975 by a group of former Natal University students, who approached businesses and individuals, asking them to sponsor a child at school for a year at a cost of R40. By September 1976 63 Soweto children had been helped by this fund. However the organisers reported that the unrest in the townships had made it more difficult to raise funds for new bursaries."

Bursary funds administered by the South African Institute of Race Relations
The Isaacson Foundation Bursary Fund awards bursaries to school pupils resident in Johannesburg or within a radius of 40 miles, and, throughout the Republic, to student teachers and university students taking a degree course other than medicine. Bursaries for scholars amount to R60 per annum for day scholars and R93-R250 per annum for boarders, depending on the fees charged by the school attended. Awards to student teachers, which are covered by a donation from International Business Machines, vary from R50 to R120 per annum. University bursaries range from R370-R450 per annum depending on the course followed.
The following table gives the number and total cost of bursaries in operation during 1975 and 1976:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1975</th>
<th>1976</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University bursaries ......</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher-training (non-university) bursaries ......</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School bursaries ......</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>21473</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is estimated that in December 1976 the total amount spent on bursaries by this
fund since its inception in 1955 will be R336 360.
In 1976 the Ford Foundation Black Universities' Fellowship Programme was
started. This programme will enable members of staff of the five Black
universities to study at universities in the United States and Europe. Two-hundred
thousand dollars was initially granted by the Ford Foundation for this programme.
10
The total number of bursaries administered by the Institute's head office during
1976 was 1 407, involving an amount of approximately R344 769.
Star, 30 September.
9 From the Annual Report of the Isaacson Foundation Bursary Fund for the year
ended
30 June 1976.
10 RR 100/76.

HEALTH
GENERAL HOSPITALS IN THE COMMON AREA OF SOUTH AFRICA
The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development stated in the Assembly
on 5 February that there were 70859 hospital beds for Africans in the White areas
of South Africa. This figure did not include beds in mental institutions.
The annual report of the Department of Health for 1975 stated that the shortage
of hospital beds had been eased slightly on the completion of several departmental
building projects. In addition, a private company had financed the Alanridge
Sanatorium near Welkom, which caters for 400 African long-term patients, and
the East Rand Sanatorium near Benoni, which provides treatment for 500 Indian
and Coloured long-term patients.
Following an incident at the White Provincial Hospital in Port Elizabeth, where
an Indian doctor was prevented from assisting in an operation on one of his White
patients, Dr. W. Botha, Director of Hospital Services in Natal, stated that White
patients in Natal who insisted on being treated by their Black doctors could be
admitted to Black hospitals.
The Minister of Community Development said in the Assembly on 7 April that
456 Indian and Coloured people had applied for admission to private hospitals in
White areas during 1975. Of these, 57 were refused permits for admission.
MENTAL HOSPITALS
In the Assembly on 13 May the Minister of Health said that the number of
mental hospital beds in the Republic was as follows:
Whites ...... 10 596 Coloured ...... 3 133 Asiatics ... ... 480
Africans ........ 12089
26 298
It was announced that the International Committee of the Red Cross had accepted
the invitation of the Government to inspect mental health services, including state
psychiatric hosl Hansard 2 col. 91.
Rand Daily Mail, 5 February.
4 Hansard 11 col. 796.
HEALTH SERVICES IN THE HOMELANDS
The Minister of Bantu Administration replying to questions in the Assembly on 18 May,7 gave detailed information about hospitals and health personnel in the African homelands of the Republic and South West Africa. Figures given did not include statistics for BophuthaTswana, Lebowa, Transkei and the Ciskei. These homelands had taken over their own departments of health and the required particulars were, not available.

Republic South West Africa
No. of hospital beds ............ 33 5918     3 641
Republic South West Africa
No. of mission hospitals ............. 75 20
Other hospitals .............. 33 5
Clinic centres ......... Not available 67

Health Personnel White African
Republic SWA Total Republic SWA Total Combined Total
Physotherapists ... 16 4 20 28 0 28 48
Radiographers ... 20 9 29 34 0 34 63
Health inspectors ... 2 11 13 20 4 24 37
Health assistants ... 0 19 19 40 9 49 68
Pharmaceutical assistants ... 7 1 8 41 0 41 49

Mission hospitals
The plan for the take-over of mission hospitals and clinics by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development and subsequent transfer to homeland governments was described on page 350 of the 1973 Survey. According to the Departmental report for 1975,1 18 mission hospitals in 4 homelands were taken over during 1975.

Transkei-South Africa health agreement
Shortly prior to independence, the Transkei and South African governments signed a reciprocal agreement on health matters. '" The agreement included the following provisions:

HEALTH
(i) medical training facilities of both countries would be at the disposal of all their citizens;
(ii) international health documents would not be required by
citizens of either country when crossing common borders;
(iii) citizens of either country who could not individually pay their
own fees would be treated in the State hospitals of either country without
recovery of the costs between the two
countries.

**NUTRITIONAL MATTERS**
Malnutrition continues to be a serious problem amongst the Black people of South
Africa. A report on a special investigation into the matter by the Daily Dispatch,
an East London newspaper, stated that in Mdantsane alone 65 per cent of all
children under the age of five are malnourished.1 A report by the Johannesburg
City Health Department revealed that 58 per cent of Black patients under the age
of 10 at a city hospital suffered from malnutrition as did 80 per cent of the
children up to the age of 2.12
According to the Departmental report3 sufficient quantities of skim-milk powder
were obtainable, despite the shortage, for the Department's scheme to combat
Kwashiorkor. In some areas PVM (proteins-vitamins-minerals) was distributed
instead of skim-milk powder.
In November the Milk Board offered surpluses of skimmed milk to charitable
organisations free of charge, provided they paid for pasteurisation and distribution
of the milk. The Kupugani feeding scheme asked to be supplied with any
surpluses. The Johannesburg regional manager of Kupugani stated that the
organisation intended to distribute the milk free of charge initially, but would later
be forced to charge a nominal fee to help pay for distribution and
pasteurisation.14
According to a report in the Star of 4 August, the cost of implementing a plan to
combat pellagra by enriching mealiemeal, the staple food of most Africans, with
the vitamins they needed, would be R1.4 million for the instalment of machinery
at mills and a recurring amount of about R64 000 a year for the nutrients. The
Health Department accepted the idea in principle in 1973, but the scheme has not
yet been implemented.

**TUBERCULOSIS**
Mr. P. H. Anderson, chairman of the South African National Tuberculosis
Association (SANTA) quoted the following figures for the occurrence of TB in
the past 3 years5 (notification figures):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>56709</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>59911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>63899</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1 Daily Dispatch, 19 July.
2 Star, 3 September.
3 Op cit., page 33.
4 Weekend World, 7 November.
5 Star, 2 September.
However, according to Dr. H. H. Kleeberg, director of the TB research unit of the S.A. Medical Research Council, although there has been a general increase in the occurrence of the disease, the TB rate among children and in urban areas is declining."

MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS
According to information supplied by the South African Medical and Dental Council, on 31 December 1975 there were 13 347 registered medical practitioners, including specialists, in South Africa.

Of 693 medical practitioners who graduated at the end of 1975, 601 (86.7 per cent) were White; 65 (9.4 per cent) were Asian; 21 (3.0 per cent) were Coloured, and 6 (0.87 per cent) were African.17

The Minister of Bantu Administration, replying to a question in the Assembly, gave the following information about medical practitioners in the homelands of the Republic:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>African</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qwaqwa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bophuthatswana</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swazi</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

84 398 482

Information about the salary scales of Government Medical Officers and Dentists was given by the Minister of the Interior in the Assembly on 2 February:

White: R7 740 x 360 - 9 900 x 450 - 11 700
Coloured and Indian: R6 300 x 360 - 9 900
African: R5 340 x 240 - 6 300 x 360 - 8 460.

The Pietermaritzburg Health Department decided to pay Black doctors employed on a part-time basis at the same rate.

11 Rand Daily Mail, 24 June.
17 South African Digest, 9 July.
18 Hansard 10 col. 719.
19 Hansard 2 col. 39.

HEALTH
Increasing numbers of medical practitioners and specialists appeared to be leaving South Africa. Professor H. W. Snyman, addressing a meeting of the South African Medical and Dental Council, said that the country was losing 14 per cent of its medical graduates every year.1

MEDICAL STUDENTS
In reply to a question in the Assembly on 20 April2 the Minister of National Education gave enrolment figures at medical schools in 1975:

**University**
- Cape Town ...... Natal Orange Free State Pretoria .... ... ...
- Stellenbosch ...... Witwatersrand ...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>835</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>44</td>
<td></td>
<td>954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>280</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1186</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1186</td>
<td>2372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>681</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>681</td>
<td>1362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>973</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3955</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>4759</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On 30 April he gave the following numbers of students who gained the M.B.Ch.B. degree at the end of 1975 or early in 1976:'

**University**
- Pretoria ...
- Stellenbosch Cape Town Witwatersrand Natal ... ...

**White Coloured Indian African**
- 199 -
- 169 17 7
- 170 - 19
- 4 39 6
- 601 21 65 6

**University of Natal Medical School**
The Minister of National Education stated in the Assembly on 10 February4 that since its inception in 1951 total expenditure on the medical school at the University of Natal had been R772 400, while R8 316 000 had been spent on running costs.

**A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976**
To date (end of 1975) 46 Coloured, 350 Indian and 199 African students had graduated.

The Minister had said in reply to a question on 31 January that because first year students were to be trained at the three African universities for the new Medical University, the University of Natal had been informed that only African first year students repeating their first year might be admitted to the Natal medical school in 1976 unless there was accommodation available, and on the same day the Minister of Bantu Education stated" that second year medical students would be phased out from 1978.
However this decision was later amended, and the Minister of Bantu Education said in the Assembly on 20 April7 that the training of Africans at Natal was not to be summarily discontinued, but that they would continue to be trained there for several years.

**MEDICAL UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN AFRICA ACT, No. 78 OF 1976**

The Act provides for the establishment of a medical university near Ga Rankuwa to serve Bantu "national units" in the Republic and also such persons who do not belong to one of these units but whom the Council, subject to the approval of the Minister, sees fit to admit. The University will provide dental, medical and veterinary training.

Most of the provisions of the Act are similar to those of the Acts establishing the existing African universities, in terms of which wide powers are vested in the Minister of Bantu Education. Notable differences between this Act and those relating to the other African universities are as follows:

(i) There will be only one Senate and one Council, which will be multi-racial, whereas at the other universities provision is made for non-white Advisory Councils and Senates in addition to the White Councils and Senates. (In practice, the Advisory Councils and Senates are being phased out, however.)

(ii) Provision is made for a Convocation which was not done in the cases of the other African universities.

(iii) The clause prohibiting any White students from attending the university, which is contained in the Acts establishing the existing Black universities, is not found in this Act. (This is probably in order to avoid the situation which has arisen at other Black universities, where White lecturing staff may not pursue post-graduate studies at the institutions at which they lecture.)

s Hansard 1 coi. 26.
6 Hansard 1 cols. 26-7.
7 Hansard 12 co., 5017.
384

**HEALTH**

The Council of the university will include representatives from each of the homelands, from the Councils of the three African universities, and from the medical and dental faculties at the Universities of Pretoria and the Witwatersrand.

**Debate in Parliament**

When the Bill was read a Second Time, the Minister of Bantu Education said" that the existing facilities for Africans at the University of Natal were limited and did not lend themselves to expansion, and for this reason it had been decided to establish the new university. He went on to say that this university would make provision for an annual intake of 200 medical, 50 dental and 50 veterinary students when it started training in 1978. The first year of study will be offered at the existing three African universities and students will then go into their second year of study at the new university. Both opposition parties opposed the Bill
because of the fact that, following the establishment of the new university, medical training for Africans was to be phased out at the University of Natal. At the Third Reading, the United Party supported the Bill; the Progressive Reform Party, however, continued to oppose it. Mrs. Helen Suzman said that "... although we are in full agreement with the need for more facilities in the Republic where African doctors can be trained, we are in principle against the establishment of yet another segregated group in South Africa..." She said that her party objected to the lack of autonomy which the new university would enjoy on account of the fact that virtually every decision taken was subject to the approval of the Minister of Bantu Education.

DENTISTRY

According to the South African Medical and Dental Council there were 2 070 dentists (including specialists) in South Africa as at 31 December 1975. The Minister of National Education, in answer to a question in the Assembly on 20 April, gave enrolment figures for dental students in 1975.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>African</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>429</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stellenbosch</td>
<td>159</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witwatersrand</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>858</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9 Assembly 2 April, Hansard 10 cols. 4541-46.
9 Hansard 14 cols. 5900-01. 10 Hansard 12 col. 13.
385

The Minister gave further information on the number of students who qualified as dentists at the end of 1975:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>African</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General nurses (only)</td>
<td>8935</td>
<td>554</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2819</td>
<td></td>
<td>12 383</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

386 A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

The annual report of the Department of Health for 1975 stated that during the year 9 clinics with full-time dentists had been established in the homelands, bringing the total in the homelands to 12 clinics, with 14 full-time dentists. Six additional posts were created for full-time dentists in the school dental services for Asians and Coloured in the Cape Province and Natal; there was in 1975 a total of 14 full-time dentists in this service.

NURSES

The Minister of Health, replying to a question in the Assembly on 13 May, gave the numbers of registered nursing personnel in the Republic as at 31 December 1975:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General nurses (only)</td>
<td>8935</td>
<td>554</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>2819</td>
<td>12 383</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
General nurses with additional qualifications ... 14 295 2 225 329 11 504 28 353 Midwife only ........ 792 301 - 1 516 2 609
Specialist nurses .... 5830 762 35 2676 9303 29852 3842 439 18515 52648 Enrolled (auxiliary) nurses 
and midwives 2 143 1 810 283 11 882 16 118
Enrolled nursing assistant 8 173 4 307 304 15 742 28 526 Student nurses 
and midwives .... 6003 965 283 5333 12584 Enrolled pupil nurses ... 1 227 1 042 161 3 625 6 055
The numbers of nurses in the homelands were given by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:15
11 Hansard 13 col. 928.
12 RP 2611976, page 28.
13 Hansard 15 cols. 101-102.
1, Psychiatric, fever, children's, etc.
15 Hansard 10 col. 719.

HEALTH 387
African White
Qwaqwa .......... 80 3
Bophuthatswana .... 2742 2
Ciskei ........... 222 1
Gazankulu ......... 568 20
KwaZulu ............ 4219 97
Lebowa ............ 1 558 59
Swazi ............ 233 18
Transkei .......... 3 500 3
Venda ............ 335 16
13457 219
According to the Minister of Health, in 1976 there were the following numbers of training colleges for nurses:16
Whites ........ 13
Coloured ....... 10 Indian ........ 10
African ........ 10
Provincial hospital salary scales for nurses in the Transvaal at the end of 1975 were:7
RR
White Black
Sister ............... 3 000-3 600 1 740-2 100
Senior sister and sister tutor ... 3 840 2340
Senior sister tutor ........ 5 340 3 450
The Minister of Health, Dr. S. van der Merwe, said in June’8 that Black nurses would be permitted to nurse White patients in private hospitals subject to the following conditions:
(i) that no trained White staff were available (to avoid Blacks being employed to save money); and (ii) there was a definite need for Black staff and they were not being employed simply to contravene Government policy.

Miss D. H. Radloff, addressing a meeting of African nurses at Kalafong Hospital, said that it had been suggested that Black nurses should leave the S.A. Nursing Association (at present a multi-racial body) and form separate nursing councils tied to the homelands. The Black nurses rejected the idea of separate ethnic associations and voted for the formation of one Black nurses’ association which should work in liaison with the White association.

PHARMACISTS
The Minister of Bantu Administration stated that 19 African pharmacists employed by his Department were serving in the homelands in 1975. According to the Minister of Health there were 54 White and 2 Indian pharmacists in the employ of his Department. The total annual earnings of the Whites amounted to R384 870, and of the Indians, to R8 760.

FAMILY PLANNING
The Minister of Health, when asked how many persons in each race group had been supplied with contraceptives in 1974 and 1975, said that annual figures were not available because of patients moving from one clinic to another, which led to duplication. However, statistics had been kept on a monthly basis, and he gave comparative figures for December 1974 and December 1975:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>December 1974</th>
<th>December 1975</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>26 850</td>
<td>65 258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>126100</td>
<td>131694</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>21 850</td>
<td>39 636</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>262 200</td>
<td>623 314</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There were 2045 family planning clinics, including mobile services. The following personnel were employed by the Department of Health in family planning:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personnel</th>
<th>Full-time</th>
<th>Part-time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doctors</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurses</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motivators</td>
<td>255</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No training colleges offered full-time family planning courses. Medical-technical courses on family planning were available for qualified doctors and nurses at family planning training centres. Family planning motivators, educators and field workers of all races are trained in Pretoria, Durban, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town, the duration of each course being three to four weeks. During 1974, 109 workers were trained and during 1975, 84. According to Dr. H. Grove, Director of Hospital Services in 19 Star, 22 March.

20 Hansard 3 col. 91.
HEALTH
the Transvaal, the role which provincial hospitals could play in promoting family
planning among all population groups was being severely hampered by lack of
trained staff to motivate and educate people.'
MEDICAL AID SCHEME FOR COLOURED PEOPLE
The Minister of Health announced that a State-subsidised medical aid scheme for
Coloured people was to be established on 1 June.3 Although intended mainly for
State employees, people employed in the private sector could apply for
membership. The Government made R100000 available for the scheme.
Membership contributions for Government employees were to be subsidised by
60 per cent.
2 Star, 22 June.
3 Rand Daily Mail, 9 April.

SOCIAL WELFARE
CHILDREN
Mr. J. P. Reynecke (N.P.) stated in the Assembly on 1 June' that during 1974-75,
2787 White children were found to be in need of care. Of these, 791 were
committed to children's homes and 1 047 placed in foster care. According to the
Minister of Bantu Administration and Development,2 of 1 378 African children in
need of care, 331 were placed in children's homes and 1 047 placed in foster care.
Figures were not given for Coloured children, but the Minister of Indian Affairs' said that 310 Indian children were found to be in need of care; 274 were placed in
children's homes and 36 in foster care.
When introducing the Budget, Senator Horwood, Minister of Finance, announced
that the allowances payable to children's homes and foster parents were to be
increased by R5,00 a month for Whites, by R3,00 a month for Coloured, Indians
and Chinese, and by R1,50 a month for Africans.
PRIVATE SCHEMES
The Anglo American Corporation Chairman's Fund has made a grant of R20 000
which, together with a grant of RIO 000 from industrialist Mr. Anton Rupert, will
be used to finance the appointment of 8 full-time social workers who will work in
high schools in Soweto.4 A committee of parents and teachers has been formed to
run the project.
A scheme known as the Mayoress' Soweto Children's Programme has been started
by a group of women under the patronage of the Mayoress of Johannesburg. Their
aim is to set up recreation and entertainment centres for Soweto school children.'
The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development gave the following information about homes for aged Africans:

- Hansard 18 col. 7726.
- Hansard 10 col. 719.
- Hansard 11 col. 768.
- 4 Star, 7 July.
- 5 Rand Daily Mail, 2 July.
- 6 Assembly 16 February, Hansard 4 col. 234.

### SOCIAL WELFARE

#### Homelands

- Ciskei ... ... ...
- KwaZulu ... ...
- BophuthaTswana ... Lebowa .....  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Homes</th>
<th>No. of Inmates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Venda Gazankulu</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwaqwa</td>
<td>164 2681</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### White Areas

1 home for Africans exists in each of the following places:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Inmates</th>
<th>Run by:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 by a Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 by Ciskei Govt. Churches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 by Lebowa Govt. Churches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 by Churches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 by Venda Govt. Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 by a Church Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Qwaqwa Govt. following places:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. of Inmates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bloemfontein ......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nqutu ......</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### SOCIAL PENSIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amounts</th>
<th>Bantu Affairs Administration Board</th>
<th>Private welfare organisation</th>
<th>Development and Service Board</th>
<th>Private welfare organisation</th>
<th>Church</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A revised edition of "A Guide to Social Pensions", by Inez Barratt, was published by the Institute of Race Relations in March 1976. Some of the amounts mentioned were increased as from 1 October 1976 in terms of the 1976-77 budget. The amounts quoted below are those applicable from 1 October.
Senator Horwood announced when introducing the Budget that the following increases in social pensions were to be made as from 1 October:

Whites ................... R8,00 per month
Coloured, Indian and Chinese ... R4,50 per month Africans .... R3,50 per month

The maximum monthly amounts payable in old age and blind pensions and disability grants, and the maximum free income allowed for the payment of this full pension, were then as follows:

- Maximum pension:
  - Whites: R72,00
  - Coloured and Asians: R38,50
  - Africans: R21,00

- Free income allowed:
  - Whites: R42,00
  - Coloured and Asians: R18,50
  - Africans: R6,66

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

Monthly bonuses are payable to war veterans, of R10 to Whites, R5 to Coloured and Asians, and R2,50 to Africans. African pensions are paid only every two months.

The free income allowed includes benefits received and a computed income value of assets such as investments and property. As a person's free income rises above the maximum permitted, the pension is progressively reduced.

Supplementary amounts are payable if the application for a pension is delayed one or more years after the applicant reaches the prescribed age of 65 years for men and 60 for women.

In reply to questions in the Assembly, the Ministers concerned gave the following information about social pensions paid in 1975. Information in respect of Africans excludes those who received pensions from homeland governments:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Pensioners</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pension</td>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>Africans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old age</td>
<td>133 777</td>
<td>75 265</td>
<td>13 031</td>
<td>171 936</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blind</td>
<td>836</td>
<td>1 626</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>4737</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disability</td>
<td>23 969</td>
<td>35 739</td>
<td>11 521</td>
<td>62 106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War Veterans</td>
<td>15 363</td>
<td>6460</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In terms of the Pension Laws Amendment Act, No. 83 of 1976, provision is made for White and Coloured persons residing in homelands to retain their pension benefits after independence has been granted to the homelands concerned.

A Bill introduced in the Coloured Persons’ Representative Council providing for payment of pensions to Coloured South African citizens in the independent Transkei was rejected and a Labour Party amendment that the Bill be read in six months was passed.

DEPARTMENTAL INQUIRY INTO PENSION SCHEMES

In September an interim report on an investigation carried out by the Department of Social Welfare and Pensions was released. The report recommended that a nationwide contributory pension scheme, run by the State or
the private sector, be instituted.9 The scheme would involve a 7 per cent contribution on the same basis as the Pay As You Earn (PAYE) tax system. Contributors would receive 75 per cent of the final salary on reaching the age of 65.

Mr. G. Oldfield, United Party Member of Parliament and spokesman on pensions, commented: "With the introduction of a contributory scheme for all race groups, we would rapidly move away from the present discrimination in social welfare pensions."

SOCIAL WELFARE

SOME SOCIAL WORK ASSOCIATIONS

Society for Social Workers
A new non-racial association of social workers was formed in the Transvaal in April. Mr. L. Vitus, interim secretary of the society, stated in a letter published in the Star on 16 June that certain members of the White Social Workers' Association (which will continue to exist) had tried to change their association from within, to make it a multi-racial body. These efforts had not succeeded, however, as many social workers were not members because they were not prepared to belong to a segregated association. He also pointed out that there was no professional association for Coloured and Indian social workers in South Africa. Denying reports that the Black Social Workers' Association would have nothing to do with the White body, he said that an informal relationship already existed between the two associations.

Council for Voluntary Social Services
On 2 August African social workers in Johannesburg launched the Council for Voluntary Social Services in Black Communities. The aim of this council is to improve the functioning of existing welfare bodies in Soweto and other African townships of the Rand, where social welfare services are desperately inadequate.2 Immediate plans were to appoint social workers in 10 junior secondary schools, to establish a career guidance programme and to train and organise voluntary workers.

Johannesburg Indian Social Welfare Association (JISWA)
The annual report of this association for the year ending 31 March 1976 stated that three important projects had been undertaken during the year: the finalising of plans to build a community centre in Lenasia, the registration of the JISWA Training Centre for Mentally Handicapped Children, and the establishment of a community self-help project. The latter project started early in 1975 and involves a group of residents from Thomsville and Greyville-the Thom-Grey Family, who examine problems in the community and possible ways of solving these by drawing on the resources of that community.

: Sunday Times, 10 September.
I Star, 28 April.
World, 30 September.
SPORT
GOVERNMENT POLICY
During September, the Government altered its policy in regard to racially mixed sports. On 23 September Dr. P. G. J. Koornhof, the Minister of Sport and Recreation, made the statement quoted below.
"The Federal Information Council of the National Party accepts that, taking into account the applicable legislation and regulations, the interests of South Africa and all its peoples in respect of sport can best be served in terms of the following policy:
1. "White, Coloured, Indian and Black sportsmen and women should all belong to their own clubs. Each should control, arrange, and manage its own sporting fixtures.
2. "Wherever possible, practical, and desirable, the committees or councils of the different race groups should consult together or have such contact as would advance the interests of the sport concerned.
3. "Inter-group competition in respect of individual types of sport (will) be allowed at all levels, should the controlling bodies so decide.
4. "In respect of team sports, the councils or committees of each racial group should arrange their own leagues or programmes within the racial group.
5. "Where mutually agreed, councils or committees may, in consultation with the Minister, arrange leagues or matches enabling teams from different racial groups to compete.
6. "Each racial group should arrange its own sporting relationships with other countries or sporting bodies in accordance with its own wishes, and each should award its own badges and colours.
7. "If and when invited or agreed, teams comprising players from all racial groups can represent South Africa, and can be awarded colours which, if so desired, can incorporate the national flag or its colours.
8. "Attendance at sporting fixtures (will) be arranged by the controlling bodies".
The Minister is reported to have said on 16 November that all South African teams taking part in international sporting events would be selected on merit, on the basis of racially mixed
1 The word "That", which preceded each paragraph in the published statement, has been omitted here.

SPORT
trials. All those selected would be eligible to play in Springbok colours or under the national flag.

DEVELOPMENTS RELATING TO RUGBY AND CRICKET
On hearing that the official policy on sport had been relaxed, eight White rugby players in the Eastern Province accepted invitations to play with Blacks in a match to take place in Port Elizabeth. They did play, despite a "friendly but urgent" appeal from Dr. Koornhof not to do so, and afterwards were carried shoulder-high off the field by the Black players.

Asked by the Press to comment,2 Dr. Koornhof is reported to have said that the match was contrary to the sports policy, which did not provide for mixed teams. It had also been illegal because the White players had lacked permits to play on public grounds in the (Black) area concerned. (Apparently they had applied for permits but received no official reply.3)

If inter-racial sports matches were planned in co-operation with him, Dr. Koornhof continued, he would be sympathetic and would assist in obtaining the necessary permits.

The president of the (White) SA Rugby Board, Dr. Danie Craven, expressed disagreement with the action of the eight White players. He pleaded4 for an evolutionary approach, saying that if the present development of policy succeeded, further steps would follow, such as mixed clubs, mixed provincial teams, and mixed seats on stands.

Meanwhile, a nine-man committee representing both the (White) SA Cricket Association and the (non-racial) SA Cricket Board of Control, known as Sacboc, had been meeting to "normalise" cricket in South Africa. They planned the introduction of mixed leagues, and discussed the whole question with Dr. Koornhof. A couple of mixed matches were played at various levels, and a few outstanding Black cricketers were included in teams for matches between hitherto all-White clubs or in invitation teams. Three ex-Springbok cricketers joined Black clubs as player-coaches.

On 11 October Mr. Billy Woodin, president of the SA Cricket Association, told the Press5 that the cricket administrators and the Minister had agreed to matches between clubs of different races. "We never agreed to multi-racial clubs", he said. "We do, perhaps, need clarification on whether or not the odd cricketer can play for a club of a different race group. I will try to meet both Dr. Koornhof and Mr. Rashid Varachia, president of the SA Cricket Board of Control, to clear that point up."

On hearing of Dr. Koornhof's statements and Mr. Woodin's comments, representatives of Sacboc threatened to pull their teams out of the newly-mixed leagues. They had been misled, they said. The so-called new policy was a fraud. Mr. Varachia told the Press6 that in the interests of all cricketers in SA it would be best for Sacboc to terminate regretfully the happy working relationship that had been established with the Cricket Association. Mr. Les
Petersen, who had been a member of the joint committee, said, "At no stage did the Sacboc delegates on the motivating committee for normal cricket compromise its principles or its stand on non-racialism at club level, either at the nine-man committee level or in negotiations with the Minister of Sport. I am no longer prepared to serve on any committee with people who indulge in double-dealing". The Press asked Mr. Varachia what his understanding had been of the agreement reached between cricket administrators and the Minister concerning "normal" cricket. He replied, "that a cricketer should be picked for and played for a club only in terms of his ability: that his colour should have nothing to do with it."

On 29 October the Press reported Dr. Koornhof as having said that on the next rugby tour of New Zealand South Africa would send a merit-selected, integrated team. The Secretary for Sport, Dr. Beyers Hoek, added that such a team would not be a Springbok team-it would be the South African rugby team.

FINANCE AND ADMINISTRATION

Mr. L. G. Murray (United Party) said in the Assembly that there was a totally unacceptable disparity in the funds provided in the Budget under the heading "Promotion of Sport and Recreation". He said that only R50 000 had been provided for the promotion of African sport and recreation, of which R20 000 was available for grants-in-aid. For Whites there was an amount of R2 480 000, of which R1 627 000 represented grants-in-aid. A mere R100 had been allocated for the promotion of Coloured sport and recreation.

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development stated that during 1974/75, R32 640 was paid from public funds and R431 677 from SA Bantu Trust funds for the furtherance of sport among the African population. Bantu Affairs Administration Boards and homeland governments had also expended considerable amounts, he said, but statistics were not readily available.

The Minister of Indian Affairs said that R1 200 was spent from public funds during 1974/75 to further sport among the Indian population. It was paid in grants-in-aid to the only two sports organizations that had applied for assistance.

The Minister of Coloured, Rehoboth and Nama Relations said that the amount spent from public funds during the same year to further sport among the Coloured people was R333 792.

BANTU SPORT AND RECREATION FUND

Replying to a question in the Assembly, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that the following amounts had been spent since 1 April 1975 from the Bantu Sport and Recreation Fund:

R
Improvements to cricket and soccer facilities at Langa 99 700 Sports fields and playgrounds at Postmasburg ..........3 400 Sports fields at Danielskuil ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1 600
Sports grounds, tennis courts, soccer and rugby fields at Prieska ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 10000
Golf course at New Brighton ....................... 50000
Soccer facilities at Bethlehem ...................... 9 000
Soccer fields with athletic tracks at Frankfort, Koppies, Lindley, Reitz, Vrede and Warden ............... 11 500
Tennis courts and soccer fields with athletic tracks at Harrismith, Heilbron, Parys and Viljoenskroon ... 18 750 Tennis courts, athletic tracks, playgrounds, netball fields, soccer fields and a stadium at Kroonstad ......... 23 250

The Minister added13 that an additional R68 979 had been contributed to the Bantu Sport and Recreation fund since 1 April 1975, and that this had been allocated as follows:
R 99 700 for the development of cricket, athletics, rugby and soccer facilities by the Peninsula Bantu Affairs Administration Board;
R 15 000 for the provision of various facilities relating to soccer, athletics, play parks, and tennis by the Northern Cape Administration Board;
R500 000 for a golf course to be provided by the Cape Midlands Administration Board;
R 62 500 for the improvement of soccer, athletics, and tennis facilities and play parks by the Northern Orange Free State Administration Board.

11 Assembly, Hansard 5 col. 364.
12 Assembly, Hansard 15 col. 1006.
13 Assembly, Hansard 3 col. 135.

INTERNATIONAL MATTERS UNITED NATIONS
Financial contributions by South Africa
In reply to questions in the Assembly on 10 February,' the Minister of Foreign Affairs said that South Africa was R2 625 825 in arrears in the payment of contributions to the United Nations. Since 1963, he explained, SA had deducted a certain percentage from its annual contribution to the regular budget of the UN as a result of the organisation's action in issuing bonds to finance operations undertaken in the Congo in 1960. SA regarded this action as unlawful. Since 1967, SA had also deducted a certain percentage from its annual contribution because it was no longer prepared to help finance the smear campaign being waged against its country by various branches of the UN. Until the end of 1973, R449 831 had been withheld in respect of these two items.
Because of the General Assembly's suspension of SA's participation at the Assembly's 29th session, deemed by SA to be illegal, SA made no contribution to the regular budget of the UN in 1974 and 1975, the Minister said. In the official Estimates of Expenditure from the State Revenue Account, a sum of R500 was allocated towards the UN's 1976 budget, plus R500 as a contribution to voluntary UN funds.

General Assembly, December 1975
During December 1975 the General Assembly of the UN passed another resolution directed against SA, the voting being 101 to 15, with 16 abstentions. Those who opposed the motion included the United States, Britain, France, and most of the other Western European nations. SA did not attend.

It was resolved that "the racist regime of South Africa" was illegitimate and had no right to represent the people of that country. The resolution declared that "the national liberation movement" were the authentic representatives of the overwhelming majority of South Africans. Racial discrimination was condemned as "a crime against humanity". The Assembly again requested the Security Council to consider imposing mandatory sanctions to resolve "the grave situation in the area"

1 Hansard 3 cols. 145-6.

INTERNATIONAL MATTERS
Security Council, January and March
As reported in appropriate chapters of this Survey, the SA Ambassador, Mr. "Pik" Botha, participated in a Security Council debate on South West Africa (Namibia) in January, and in a debate during March on the war in Angola.

Security Council, June
During June, the Security Council unanimously adopted a resolution condemning apartheid as "a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind that seriously disturbs international peace and security". The Council recognized "the legitimacy of the struggle of the South African people" to put an end to apartheid. South Africa was condemned for "massive violence" against the African demonstrators in Soweto and other townships.

Security Council, July, September, and October
The Security Council debate in July on South Africa's alleged attack on a village in Zambia is described on page 401. Its debate during September and October on South West Africa is recorded in the chapter dealing with that territory.

General Assembly, November
On 9 November the General Assembly adopted a series of resolutions directed against South Africa.
1. Support was expressed for the United Nations trust fund providing humanitarian assistance to victims of apartheid (adopted by consensus).
2. Solidarity was proclaimed with political prisoners in South Africa (adopted by consensus).
3. The Assembly "reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements, by all possible means, for the seizure of power" (108 to 11 with 22 abstentions).
4. A call was made for a mandatory arms embargo against SA; and past actions in contravention of an embargo taken by the United States, France, West Germany, Israel, and Britain were criticised (110 to 8 with 20 abstentions).
5. "Continuing and increasing collaboration" between Israel and SA was condemned (91 to 20 with 28 abstentions).
6. The Assembly called for the banishment of SA from all international sports competition and the drafting of an international treaty against apartheid in sports (128 to 0 with 12 abstentions).
6 Rand Daily Mail, 21 June.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
7. It urged the severing of all economic relations with SA (110 to 6 with 24 abstentions).
8. A programme of work for the United Nations special committee on apartheid was adopted (133 to 0 with 8 abstentions). 9. Also adopted was a programme of action against apartheid (105 to 8 with 27 abstentions).
10. A Scandinavian proposal to have the Security Council ban any new investments in SA was adopted (124 to 0 with 16 abstentions). This measure was proposed as an alternative to a stronger African call for economic and military sanctions.

ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY
The annual meeting of the OAU was held at Port Louis, Mauritius, in June and early July. The incoming chairman was the Mauritian Prime Minister, Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam. Only nine of the 47 heads of member-states attended. Deep divisions between certain of the states emerged, and few significant resolutions were passed.
The OAU did, however, agree to increase aid to Southern African guerrilla movements and "front-line" countries (Zambia, Tanzania, etc.). It was decided that recognition of an independent Transkei would be refused.

INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS
A meeting of the ICFTU (the largest grouping of noncommunist workers) was held in Brussels in September, at which thirty items of action against South Africa were decided upon, including:
(a) a ban on the handling of goods to and from SA;
(b) participation in international consumer boycotts of SA goods;
(c) discouragement of emigration to SA and of tourism;
(d) industrial action against multi-national companies with SA interests which did not recognize African trade unions in SA;
(e) lobbying to bring about UN-imposed mandatory sanctions against SA;
(f) working for SA's isolation in the sporting, social, and cultural fields.
A South African who was present told the Press that he had been surprised at the "superficiality" of the debate. In passing resolutions, delegates made no adequate analyses of the resulting consequences for Black workers.2
6 Star, 10 November.
1 Various Press reports between 23 June and 6 July.
2 Star, 22 and 24 September.

INTERNATIONAL MATTERS

E&ITIONS BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND CERTAIN OTHER AFRICAN STATES

Financial assistance given by South Africa
The Minister of Foreign Affairs said in the Assembly' that during the financial year 1974-5 his Department had disbursed R790210 from funds allocated for assisting and co-operating with other countries in Africa. An amount of R1 015 000 had also been made available in the form of loans, not all of which was paid over. It was not in the national interest to divulge more detailed information, the Minister stated.

Zambia
(a) Attitude to the Rhodesian constitutional issue
As described in last year's Survey, during 1975 the Zambian President, Dr. Kaunda, worked in close co-operation with South Africa in trying to make possible a settlement of the Rhodesian constitutional issue. Dr. Kaunda and Mr. Vorster were jointly instrumental in arranging for talks to be held at the Victoria Falls in August 1975 between representatives of Mr. Ian Smith's government and of the ANC.
Not only did President Kaunda then have a deep desire for peace, but it was very much in the economic interests of Zambia that a settlement be achieved, leading to the calling off of sanctions against Rhodesia. During 1976, President Kaunda's attitude changed completely. He was disillusioned by the failure of talks between Mr. Smith and Mr. Joshua Nkomo, and he came to the conclusion that the time for bringing about a peaceful settlement had passed: war had become inevitable. Zambia would give full support to "Zimbabwe nationalists" in their armed struggle.'
(b) Alleged South African attack on a Zambian village
In mid-July, President Kaunda accused South African forces of violating Zambian territory thirteen times (he apparently meant in "hot pursuit" of Swapo guerrillas); of firing on Zambians from across the border in Eastern Caprivi;3 and of attacking the Zambian village of Sialola on 11 July, using helicopters, jet aircraft, and troops, killing 22 people and wounding 45. The village was some 30 km from the Caprivi border, it was stated.
President Kaunda called for an urgent session of the UN
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
Security Council to debate South Africa's "wanton and unprovoked attacks." When the Council met, the SA Ambassador, Mr. "Pik" Botha, told members that his government had no knowledge of the alleged attack on a village. He called on Zambia to agree to a joint investigation. The commander of the SA forces in East Caprivi subsequently firmly denied any suggestion that anyone under his command made such an attack.

Liberia proposed that the Security Council should send a fact-finding mission to investigate Zambia's claims. The SA Government intimated that it would give its full cooperation in the matter. But certain African and other Third World states had meanwhile submitted an alternative resolution asking the Security Council to "strongly condemn" SA's "armed attack" on Zambia. Diplomats noted that any cooperation with the SA authorities could have been seen as tacit recognition of Pretoria's authority over South West Africa.

The British, French, and certain other Ambassadors stated they were satisfied that the raid had taken place. By a 14 to nil vote, with only the United States abstaining, the Security Council condemned South Africa for a flagrant violation of Zambian territory. The United States expressed regret that the Council had not, instead, accepted the Liberian proposal.

Observers commented that a frequent argument during the debate had been that if South Africa could, earlier, have denied a wide-ranging invasion of Angola at a time when the foreign Press was publishing pictures of SA troops and armoured vehicles far in the interior of the country, could its denial of the attack on Sialola be taken seriously? SA's credibility had suffered badly.

(c) Alleged SA training for Zambian terrorists
A further charge publicly made by President Kaunda was that SA had deliberately trained Mr. Adamson Mushala and a gang of more than a hundred of his followers to spread terror and subversion in Zambia. It was reported that these men were operating in the north-west province, and had killed several people. Their activities had become so serious that the Zambian authorities had instituted a convoy system along roads in the area, put armed guards on buses, and discouraged motoring at night.

Mr. "Pik" Botha told the Security Council that Mr. Mushala and 67 followers, including women and children, had arrived in South West Africa on 17 November 1974, by air from Angola.

4 Rand Daily Mail, 17 and 27 July.
5 Star, 28 July and 4 August.
Various papers of 29, 30, and 31 July.
e.g. Star, 3 August.
INTERNATIONAL MATTERS

There had been no prior notification of their arrival. Mr. Mushala presented his group as refugees and asked for asylum. This was granted for humanitarian reasons, on strict condition that no member of the group would undertake, or be allowed to undertake, any subversive activities against Zambia. As it subsequently seemed doubtful whether Mr. Mushala would abide by his promises he was separated from his group for a time. Adults were offered work, but refused it. After raiding a storeroom on the night of 7 December 1975 they all absconded, and efforts to track them down failed because rain had obliterated their tracks. Mr. Botha categorically denied that SA had had contact with the group since, or was supporting their terrorist activities. He said that Mr. Mushala was a disreputable character who became known as a nuisance and an embarrassment.

(d) An end to detente with South Africa

In the course of a Press interview in August, President Kaunda was asked whether he and Mr. Vorster would meet again. He is reported to have replied, "No. Certainly never". There was no longer a basis for friendly relations. It was only SA that was standing between the Smith Government and defeat. The President blamed Mr. Vorster for attacking Zambia, for preventing the achievement of peace in Namibia, and for not putting an end to apartheid in South Africa.

Liberia

The friendly reception Mr. Vorster was accorded in Liberia in February 1975 was described on page 293 of last year's Survey. Relations between the two countries deteriorated during the year now under review.

In January, President Tolbert invited the banned South African leader, Mr. Robert Sobukwe, to attend a ceremony in Liberia. He expressed his disappointment when the SA Minister of Justice refused permission for Mr. Sobukwe to go.' Later that month President Tolbert told a visiting journalist, "We had hoped that by now the many suggestions and ideas exchanged with Mr. Vorster would have had some degree of implementation, but we regret this has not been the case."2

Ivory Coast

Mr. Vorster's visit to the Ivory Coast in September 1974 was reported on page 290 of last year's Survey.

During November 1975 a SA Airways Boeing aircraft was allowed, for the first time, to make a scheduled landing at Abidjan.
While on an official visit to France, in May, President Houphouet-Boigny is reported3 to have said that he would continue his policy of dialogue with South Africa until it had been proved to him that war was preferable to peace.

Central African Republic
The Minister of Foreign Affairs stated in the Assembly on 26 April4 that he had recently paid an official visit, by invitation, to the Central African Republic. The ties of friendship between South Africa and that country had been re-confirmed. He and his party had been very cordially welcomed by President Bokassa at a public function.

Mozambique
At the beginning of 1976, Lourenço Marques was renamed Maputo, and Beira became Sofala. President Machel has continued the nationalisation of privately-owned property in the country. The closure of the Mozambique border with Rhodesia, and the consequences of this, are described in the chapter of this Survey dealing with Rhodesia. Direct relations with South Africa have been without major incident. During March, seventeen Frelimo soldiers were captured just inside the Kruger National Park. They had, apparently, been pursuing some White Portuguese refugees who had cut the game fence at the border. After a few days, the soldiers were handed back to the Mozambican authorities.

The SA Minister of Foreign Affairs said in the Senate on 17 May, that South Africa was making full use of the railway line to Maputo and the harbour there. The flow of labour from Mozambique to the SA mines was particularly satisfactory, the Minister added.

Power from the Cabora Bassa hydro-electric scheme began to reach the Republic of SA on an experimental basis.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND ISRAEL
During April, Mr. Vorster, accompanied by the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the head of his department, paid a four-day visit to Israel, in the course of which Mr. Vorster had wideranging talks with the Israeli Prime Minister, Mr. Yitzhak Rabin.

INTERNATIONAL MATTERS
Subsequently, Mr. Vorster read out in the SA Assembly1 a statement which he had made at a Press Conference in Jerusalem.

-We have decided (that is, the Government of Israel and the Government of South Africa) to establish a Ministerial Joint Committee comprising Ministers of South Africa and Israel. The committee will meet at least once a year and will make an overall review of the situation of the economic relations between the two countries, and will discuss ways and means to expand the economic co-operation and trade between the two countries, such as--

(a) encouragement of investments;
(b) development of trade;
(c) scientific and industrial co-operation; and
(d) utilization of South African raw materials and Israeli manpower in joint
projects.
"A steering group will be established in order to regulate the exchange of
information and ideas”.
"I believe”, Mr. Vorster added, "that this is an example of co-operation between
middle-rank countries . . . which can be enulated by other middle-rank powers”.

AMERICAN POLICY TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICA
Early in 1976, twenty-one American senators wrote to President Ford asking for a
re-appraisal of the attitude of the United States towards South Africa. One of the
President's aides wrote, in reply: "As you know, our South African policy, which
includes the prohibition of the use of export-import bank direct loans, an arms
embargo, and the restricted use of South African ports for United States naval
vessels, has remained fundamentally unchanged for over a decade.
"The policy is based on our long standing support for the principle of self-
determination for all the peoples of Africa, on the inherent opposition of the
American people to the South African Government's policies of institutional
racial discrimination, and our determination to encourage peaceful change in
South Africa by supporting alternatives to the use of force.
"Despite the restrictive elements of our policies towards South Africa we maintain
relations with its Government and a dialogue with all elements of South African
society.
-This position is reflected in the United States veto in the Security Council last
June over a resolution that would have imposed mandatory sanctions against
South Africa.
"United States policy towards South Africa is reviewed on
See a 2 5200-2.
SSec 1975 - vy page 347.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
a continuing basis to assure it is in the best interest of the Unite( States".’

NEGOTIATIONS BY DR. KISSINGER
Tour during April
During April the United States Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, toured
Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia, Zaire, Ghana, Liberia, and Senegal. In a speech made
in Lusaka’ he is reported to have said that his visit was intended to usher in a new
era in United States policy in regard to Africa.
Speaking of South Africa, he is reported to have stated that White South Africans
were not colonialists: historically they were an African people. But they must
recognise that the world would continue to insist that the institutionalised
separation of the races must end.
Dr. Kissinger urged South Africa to announce a definite timetable for the
achievement of self-determination by Namibia. He was concerned that all the
people and political groupings had not been allowed to take part in determining
the form of government they would have.
He urged South Africa to use its influence to promote a quick majority rule settlement in Rhodesia. (His statement of United States policy towards Rhodesia is reported in the chapter of this Survey dealing with Rhodesia.)

According to a Press report, Dr. Kissinger said later that the African leaders had urged him to have discussions with Mr. Vorster, whose government held the key to a peaceful solution in Southern Africa.

Talks in West Germany

In June, Dr. Kissinger and Mr. Vorster held two-day discussions at a Bavarian Forest resort in West Germany. Mr. Vorster was accompanied on this and subsequent occasions by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Hilgard Muller, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Brand Fourie, the SA Ambassador to the United States, Mr. "Pik" Botha, and the head of the Bureau for State Security, General Hendrik van den Bergh. Some sessions of the talks, however, were conducted privately between Dr. Kissinger and Mr. Vorster.

Dr. Kissinger told the Press that he and Mr. Vorster had reviewed in great detail all the aspects of the situation in Southern Africa. A joint communiqué issued after the talks was couched in vague terms, merely stating that Mr. Vorster had agreed "to give further thought" to Dr. Kissinger's suggestions for avoiding a racial war in Southern Africa.

Dr. Kissinger said that he would send the US Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. William Schaufele, to report on the talks to the Black heads of state in Africa who were most concerned with the future of Southern Africa. He himself left for Britain for discussions with the Prime Minister, Mr. James Callaghan, and the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Anthony Crosland.

Prior to the talks, the West German Chancellor, Mr. Helmut Schmidt, had held discussions with Dr. Hilgard Muller. According to Press reports, he said he was speaking for the Common Market countries. He stated that South African race policies were considered to be a danger to peace. He called on South Africa to help find a way of achieving a negotiated settlement in Rhodesia, and to set a date for independence in Namibia.

After meeting Dr. Kissinger, Mr. Vorster went to Bonn to meet Mr. Schmidt."

Talks in Switzerland

A second round of talks between Dr. Kissinger and Mr. Vorster was held in Zurich early in September. In a Press interview on leaving, Mr. Vorster described his mission as the most important any South African leader had ever undertaken. At the conclusion of the three-day talks Dr. Kissinger is reported to have told the Press that these had been fruitful. He believed that progress had been made towards the objectives jointly developed by the United States, Britain, and the
states of Black Africa, and that a basis for further negotiation existed. The objectives referred to were majority rule, minority rights, and economic progress for all the peoples of Southern Africa. The United States believed that these were attainable, given patience, goodwill, and dedication. The United States was prepared, together with the United Kingdom, to offer its good offices in the attainment of these objectives.

Work still remained to be done, Dr. Kissinger continued. It had to be kept in mind, in assessing prospects, that the negotiations were of extraordinary complexity in terms of the issues involved and the parties concerned.

Mr. Vorster invited Dr. Kissinger to South Africa for a third round of talks. Dr. Kissinger told a Press conference that he would accept the invitation provided he made further progress in prior talks with the leaders of Black Africa. He emphasized that a visit would not be a "protocol" one intended to confer an honour on South Africa, but only for the purpose of pursuing his negotiations.

Summary of numerous Press reports between 20 and 25 June.

4 Press reports from 3 to 6 September.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
Following the Zurich talks, Dr. Kissinger visited Britain, France, West Germany, Tanzania, and Zambia for discussions with the heads of state of these countries. Mr. Ian Smith visited Pretoria for discussions with Mr. Vorster. According to various reports, Mr. Smith was anxious to meet Dr. Kissinger. Dr. Kissinger stated that he was prepared to have such a meeting only if prior assurances were given of positive development.

Talks in Pretoria
Dr. Kissinger visited Pretoria from 17 to 20 September. He is reported to have told the staff of the United States Embassy that if war did break out in Southern Africa it would have profound implications for international instability on a global scale. South Africa either held the key or could make a decisive contribution to peace. He hoped that progress was being made on subjects that had a long legacy and were extremely painful to deal with for all parties.

Most of Dr. Kissinger's time was spent with Mr. Vorster at the latter's official residence; but one afternoon was devoted to two rounds of talks held at the United States Embassy residence. Those invited to the first talks were all Blacks: they included the leaders of the Coloured Labour and Federal Parties, the Chief Ministers of various African homelands, the Rectorelect of the University of the North, leaders of the Soweto Urban Bantu Council, the general secretary of the Union of Clothing Workers, and the chairman of the SA Indian Council.

Interviewed by the Press afterwards, those who had been present stated that the Blacks had been unanimous in asking Dr. Kissinger to try to persuade Mr. Vorster to summon a national multi-racial convention. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said he had stated that the Black people wanted majority rule as a basic principle of a unitary South Africa. Mr. Sonny Leon said he had told Dr. Kissinger that those present represented the last generation of Black leaders who would be willing to meet Whites round a conference table. South Africa was a time-bomb and the fuse was burning short.
Dr. Manus Buthelezi of the Soweto Black Parents' Association was not among those who met Dr. Kissinger; but he accepted an invitation to have discussions with Mr. Schaufele, the US Assistant Secretary of State.

The second group to meet Dr. Kissinger included Sir De Villiers Graaff of the UP, Mr. Colin Eglin of the PRP, three businessmen (including an African), three newspaper editors (again including an African), and three Rectors of universities.* e.g. Rand Daily Mail, 17 September. See page 26.

INTERNATIONAL MATTERS
(including a Coloured man). They were of varied shades of political thought. The nature of their discussions was not revealed.

Dr. Kissinger agreed to meet Mr. Ian Smith, doing so first privately and then in Mr. Vorster's presence at the American Ambassador's residence. Thereafter, the Americans left for Zambia, Tanzania, and Kenya. 7

Decisions and events following Dr. Kissinger's negotiations are described in appropriate chapters of this Survey.

7 Account compiled from various Press reports from 16 to 22 September.

408

ANGOLA

PRESENCE OF THE SA DEFENCE FORCE IN THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA (NAMIBIA)

As reported in previous issues of this Survey, after the Portuguese coup in April 1974 the authorities in Lisbon attempted to set up a provisional government in Angola, representative of all sections of the population; but efforts to bring about stable government failed largely because of mounting tension between the MPLA,' led by Dr. Agostinho Neto, and the FNLA,2 led by Mr. Holden Roberto. There were reports of fighting between members of these groups.

In the Assembly on 26 January,3 the SA Minister of Defence, Mr. P. W. Botha, said that at the beginning of 1975 the governments of Owambo and Kavango in South West Africa repeatedly pointed out how essential it was that their northern borders with Angola should be safeguarded. They requested the presence of the SA Defence Force, and also intimated that they would like to participate in the protection of their territories. Similar requests were received from the Caprivi. In consequence, the Minister continued, units of the SA Defence Force were deployed in these areas of South West Africa, and police protection was afforded where necessary. In cooperation with other government departments the Defence Department launched a civil action programme, selecting suitably qualified national servicemen to assist in local educational, health, and agricultural services.

CIVIL WAR IN ANGOLA

From March 1975 on there were frequent reports of very serious fighting between MPLA and FNLA forces, in many parts of the country. The situation degenerated
into civil war. Unita,' led by Dr. Jonas Savimbi, was drawn in later as an ally of FNLA.
In the speech quoted earlier,' the Minister of Defence stated that according to the November 1975 issue of Conflict Studies, published by the Institute of Strategic Studies in London, in March 1975 the MPLA began receiving large-scale supplies of arms from Russian-controlled sources. Previous to this, smaller-scale supplies had been sent. In April 1975 alone, 100 tons of arms were delivered to the MPLA, he said. Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola.
2 Front for the Liberation of Angola.
Hansard I cols. 44-5.
* National Union for the Total Independence of Angola. s Col. 52.

ANGOLA
THE CALUEQUE DAM AND RUACANA HYDROELECTRIC SCHEME
The Minister of Defence stated6 that because chaos and confusion were increasing across the border, during April 1975 the South African Government requested the Portuguese High Commissioner in Luanda to take appropriate action to ensure the safety of the workers at the Calueque Dam; but nothing of significance was done.
This dam, which is on the Cunene River about 20 km inside Angola. Is being built by South Africa under an agreement made with Portugal in 1969, in terms of which SA would draw ten per cent of the water free of charge. A pipeline and some 260 km of canals have been constructed, along which water is pumped and conducted by gravity to feed water courses in Owanbo, which are otherwise dry for about nine months of the year.
Further downstream, on the border, are the Ruacana Falls. SA agreed to pay the Portuguese about R400 000 a year in royalties for generating hydro-electric power here. A subterranean hydro-electric complex is being built on the SWA side of the border, water for the generators being taken in at a weir within Angola. It was planned that by April 1978, 320 MW of power would be passing into the SWA grid. Some 2 000 Black Angolans and 700 Whites and their families were employed on the projects early in 1976.
The Minister of Economic Affairs said in the Assembly on 18 February8 that SA's total commitment in regard to these schemes, according to the latest estimates, would be R127 432 000. This excluded the cost of the water reticulation system, which would probably amount to about R3 265 834.
The Minister of Defence stated9 (also on 18 February) that in August 1975 the Government learned that workers at Calueque were being threatened by soldiers from Angola. Many of them fled. After further unsuccessful negotiations with the Portuguese authorities, a platoon of SA troops was sent to the dam site to try to restore order through negotiations with Angolans. They were fired upon, and retaliated, in the process occupying Calueque. The Portuguese authorities and other governments were notified of this by SA. Work was resumed on the dam, but both the Black and the White workers informed the Director of Water Affairs in South West Africa that they would refuse to continue work if the SA troops
were withdrawn, the Minister said. (These developments, which took place early in August 1975, were not officially announced in South Africa until some months thereafter, although the presence of SA troops in Angola
Cols. 46-7.
South African Digest, 5 March.
mansard 4 col. 270.
Col. 47. According to The Star of 10 April, the first units of SA military forces crossed the border on August 9 or August 11.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
had been widely reported overseas—e.g., in The Economist on 16 August and Le Monde on 20 August 1975.)

GUERRILLA ACTION
On 17 August 1975 Chief Filemon Elifas of Owambo was shot, near his home, and died of wounds. His assailants escaped. It was widely believed that they were members of Swapo, coming from a camp in South Angola.
During October 1975 Swapo guerrillas from across the border raided two villages in northern Owambo, murdering a deputy headman, his wife, and seven tribal policemen. Shortly thereafter, a SA national serviceman was killed and two others injured in a landmine explosion in the Caprivi Strip. The SA Defence Headquarters announced that SA troops had made a reprisal raid, destroying two Swapo camps in southern Angola, killing seven members of Swapo, and seizing military equipment. It was announced from Cape Town on 19 October that SA forces had adopted the practice of "hot pursuit" and had made incursions into Angola against Swapo.1

REFUGEES IN LATE 1975
Within Angola, FNLA in the north, and Unita and FNLA in the south, advanced against the MPLA troops, increasingly confining them to the central part of the country. Havoc was left in the trail of the fighting.
Refugees began streaming south, many of them crossing the border by road or arriving in South West Africa by sea. In the speech quoted earlier1 the Minister of Defence said that by mid-September there were about 11 000 Angolan refugees in four camps in South Africa and South West Africa. Costs of maintaining them had mounted to almost R4 000 000. Two other refugee camps had been established by SA troops in southern Angola, at Chitado and Calai.

PROGRESS OF THE WAR, AND SOUTH AFRICAN INVOLVEMENT
On 10 November the last of the Portuguese officials and army personnel left Angola. In a brief ceremony, the Portuguese High Commissioner handed over independence to "the people of Angola": there was no government to which power could be transferred.
In opening a new session of the SA Parliament early the following year, the State President said12 that on 11 November South Africa had recognized the independence of Angola, but "like many other countries, including about half of Africa, we have not yet recognized any of the combatant groups as the

10 1975 Surrey of Race Relations, and summary of events in The Star, 10 April C1 col. 48.
ANGOLA
government of that country”. At the time of independence, Unita and the FNLA were making rapid advances against the MPLA, and were threatening the capital, Luanda, to which area the MPLA had retreated. As recorded later, the United States, through the Central Intelligence Agency, had been giving covert assistance to Unita, through Zaire. The Soviet Union continued to send large supplies of sophisticated arms to the MPLA. Apparently from mid-October 1975, it assisted in transporting Cuban troops to train members of the MPLA to use these armaments and to help in the fighting: a Press report3 on 24 October stated that more than 1 000 Cubans had arrived in Luanda, having come by sea. On the following day, the Washington Post published a report based largely on information from a pro-communist Lisbon newspaper, which claimed that South Africans, with Unita forces, were advancing on certain towns in Southern Angola. On 2 November The Observer of London featured a report claiming that a motorised column of White soldiers coming from the south had taken Pereira de Eca near the border.14

SOUTH AFRICAN ADVANCE INTO ANGOLA
At the time, the South African authorities released no information about an advance into Angola, but a few reports dealing with specific actions were made public later. The most comprehensive account available at the time of writing was contained in a report published in May 1976 by the International Institute of Strategic Studies.5 This Institute stated that an initial force of several hundred South Africans, rising later to about 2 000 men, was sent to reinforce the FNLA/Unita alliance, with maintenance, logistic, reconnaissance, and limited combat functions. On 23 October 1975, it was stated, a FNLA unit spearheaded by SA armoured cars and helicopters captured Pereira de Eca, and subsequently Sa Da Bandeira to the north-west. It then divided, one section capturing the port of Mocamedes, while the other advanced north and, together with a Unita force coming from the east, seized the ports of Benguela and Lobito. By 13 November the SA-sponsored column had advanced and driven the MPLA out of the port of Novo Redondo. Meanwhile, Unita and FNLA forces were threatening Gabela, nearby, and towns further east. At that point, however, the position became stabilized. China was stated to have ceased giving support to the FNLA; but further supplies of highly sophisticated Russian weapons had been received by the MPLA, and the

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
Soviet Union had rushed in more Cuban troops by air: United States intelligence estimated that by about 24 November some 7500 Cubans had arrived to help the MPLA. Meanwhile, there had, apparently, been further action to the south, in the border area. In mid-November two SA officers were killed by landmine explosions, one man was fatally injured by a mortarr bomb, and two others were killed in a Swapo attack. About ten of the attackers were killed in the fighting, and a number wounded. In further actions later that month, six South Africans were killed and guerrillas suffered a number of casualties.

It gradually became evident that South Africans were involved in the fighting in the Gabela-Quibala area inland from Novo Redondo. Again, no public announcement was made at the time. In a speech during January in the SA Assembly, Mr. Vorster merely said that the SA forces had gone into Angola "to chase Cuba and the MPLA away from the dam... It is rather difficult, Sir', when you chase a man to decide when to stop... I make no bones about the fact that we chased him a very long way, and I take full responsibility for that". The Minister of Defence, Mr. P. W. Botha, is reported to have said that, at first, the SA troops "had so much success that we went in further than we wanted".

However, announcements of casualties provided an indication that South Africans had been involved in severe fighting. It was reported that nine SA servicemen were killed in the "operational area" during December, three of them on 16 December 1975 "in one of the biggest skirmishes yet involving South African troops". In this fight, 61 members of the opposing force were killed, it was stated.

It was announced by the Minister of Defence on 14 December that four young SA national servicemen were missing, and believed to be prisoners of the MPLA. They had been sent to fetch an unserviceable vehicle, and had presumably become lost. The MPLA claimed that these men had been captured between the towns of Cela and Quibala, which are, respectively, near or on the road from Luanda to Huambo (previously called Nova Lisboa), roughly 300 km south-east of Luanda and 900 km by road north of the South West African border. The men, in handcuffs, were paraded before the Press and publicly interrogated by the MPLA.

On 7 January it was announced that three more SA servicemen had been captured near Quibala by Cuban troops. These men, also in handcuffs, were paraded at a Press conference in Luanda, then at the OAU meeting in Addis Ababa, and subsequently in Khartoum.
Considerably later, on 30 April, Defence Headquarters in Pretoria for the first time revealed information about one of the actions that had taken place during December: the "Battle for Bridge 14". The SA Broadcasting Corporation produced a TV documentary on this action. The locality was not mentioned. Apparently, during December 1975 a South African combat group came under heavy mortar and rocket fire from a considerably larger force of Cubans who were in a strong position on the other side of a river, having destroyed the only bridge. An artillery battle ensued, lasting some days. The South Africans succeeded in knocking out the mortar positions. Meanwhile, sappers repaired the bridge with tree trunks, suffering casualties in the process. The SA armoured cars then crossed and launched a final attack, causing the Cubans to flee. Between 150 and 200 Cubans, but only four South Africans, were killed. Vehicles, arms and ammunition, including a 40-barrel "Stalin Organ" rocket launcher, were captured, and some Cubans were taken prisoner.

During this period the MPLA received ever-increasing assistance. SA's Ambassador to the UN, Mr. "Pik" Botha, is reported to have said at a Security Council meeting on 27 January that the Soviet Union had sent the MPLA armaments worth between R170 000 000 and R260 000 000. There were about 12 000 Cubans in Angola, he added, with more being flown in by Russian aircraft at the rate of some 200 a day. (These estimates were borne out, in various statements, by officials of the US State Department.)

On 15 February the newspaper Rapport told of a meeting between an American Senate Assistant, Mr. Bill Coughlin, and Dr. Savimbi of Unita. Dr. Savimbi was reported to have said that during December 1975 he had twice travelled to meet South African authorities to plead for military assistance. The latter had agreed that SA troops should for the time being remain in Angola in a defensive capacity, at any rate until after an OAU meeting in January, in spite of the fact that support requested from Western countries had not been forthcoming.

Mr. Vorster was quoted by the Press as saying on 24 December 1975, "If it was just a question of the Angolans themselves the war would have been over already. The MPLA has inferior forces and controls only a quarter of Angola's territory and population. But the Russians send in sophisticated weapons: tanks, 122-mm rockets mounted in clusters of 50 on lorries, infantry-borne SAM's. Only big powers can off-set this arsenal above all the 122-mm rockets. It is certainly beyond our limits".

In his New Year message to the nation Mr. Vorster said that Russian and Cuban involvement in Angola faced Africa with an unavoidable choice—resist or submit to "the yoke of atheist communist enslavement". The communist bid to "force a Marxist state on a resisting and unwilling people" could not be stopped by Africa alone. Only bigger Western involvement could achieve that.

The Minister of Defence announced in December that the period of service of a limited number of national servicemen who were serving in the operational area
would be extended for a month. During 1976, he said, a number of Citizen Force units would serve in the operational area. Members of units called up for annual training camps would serve for twelve weeks beyond the previous period of 19 days. This would be necessary because of the long distances to be travelled and the time this would take, and would facilitate the relieving and replacement of troops in the operational area.

It was reported that on 21 January a major fight took place in the "Bloody Triangle" to the south and west of Quibala, around Cela, between White troops and soldiers who were using sophisticated Soviet armaments. The reporter commented, "No one said the White troops were South Africans—and no one denied it." The Whites were stated to have been defeated.

In an interview with a representative of the Washington Post21 the Minister of Defence was reported to have said that after the South Africans had made their swift advance the MPLA and their Cuban allies struck back with superior weapons, notably the 122 mm rocket launcher and the "Stalin Organ" with its salvo of 40 rockets. "We were not routed as some of your papers said", the Minister claimed, but he admitted that the South Africans did pull back. (This may have resulted from a policy decision rather than a military defeat.) The Chief of the SA Army, Lt. General Magnus Malan, said in a TV interview22 that the South Africans had emerged as victors in every action they fought. In the Assembly on 6 May29 the Minister of Defence repeated this statement. He divulged that Cuban prisoners had been taken. Healthy ones were handed over to the provisional government in South Angola. The wounded were treated in SA hospitals and had been visited by the International Red Cross.

The Minister said in the Assembly30 that between July 1975 and 23 January 1976 South Africa lost 29 men killed in action.

On 19 February the Minister stated32 that "not as many as three dozen" servicemen had been seriously wounded since the beginning of 1975. Five had been permanently disabled, and six needed plastic surgery. Later, in an address to the South African Legion, the Chief of the Air Force, Lieutenant-General R. H. D. Rogers, stated that 28 men had been killed in action and about 100 wounded.

**ANGOLA**

and another 14 who died as a result of accidents. Two more were killed in a rocket raid during February, and one died of wounds."

On 19 February the Minister stated32 that "not as many as three dozen"

servicemen had been seriously wounded since the beginning of 1975. Five had been permanently disabled, and six needed plastic surgery. Later, in an address to the South African Legion, the Chief of the Air Force, Lieutenant-General R. H. D. Rogers, stated that 28 men had been killed in action and about 100 wounded.

**ATTITUDES IN THE UNITED STATES**

The US Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, is reported to have said, in a speech made in Brussels during December 1975 to the Foreign Ministers of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation members, that the United States regretted Soviet intervention in Angola and could not accept the establishment of a Soviet
base there. President Ford called for a cease-fire, an end to all foreign intervention, and a government of national unity.

As mentioned earlier, the US had been giving covert military aid to the anti-Soviet forces in Angola. This programme had been organised through the Central Intelligence Agency, which is reported to have contributed supplies worth about R25 500 000. During December 1975, however, Congress voted in favour of terminating this aid: President Ford denounced the vote as an "abdication of responsibility". He then tried, but failed, to obtain Congress approval of the granting of limited direct aid to the anti-Soviet factions in Angola. It was clear that many members of Congress feared that continued aid might lead the country into another Vietnam-type war. Furthermore, the CIA had been discredited, and presidential elections were shortly to take place.

According to a SABC broadcast on 9 March, the US Gulf Oil Corporation paid the MPLA about R100 000 000 in return for rights in respect of oil in the enclave of Cabinda. During December 1975 the US State Department forced suspension of these payments.

During January Dr. Kissinger visited the Soviet Union to discuss the Angolan situation, suggesting a phased withdrawal of foreign troops. He was stated to have informed the Nato foreign ministers, after his visit, that he had achieved nothing.

PARTIAL WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS

On 21 January the withdrawal of SA troops from the fighting zone was ordered. It was reported that this movement was completed within two days. Estimates of the number of men involved ranged from 1 200 to 2 000.1 In interviews with the representative of the Washington Post and with SA Pressmen, the Minister of Defence said that SA troops were still guarding the Calueque area, and the refugee camps in Angola (described later). They were occupying a stretch of territory along the whole border, its width within Angola varying, reaching 50 km at some points. Between 4000 and 5 000 troops were deployed in "the area for which we are responsible", which included Ovambo, Kavango, and Caprivi, besides the strip of land within Angola.

LEGALISATION BY SA OF PRESENCE OF SA TROOPS IN ANGOLA

A Defence Amendment Bill was introduced in the Assembly on 2 February which (with some amendments) became law as Act 1 of 1976. It provided, inter alia, that a member of the SA Defence Force might in time of war be required to perform service against an enemy at any place outside the Republic. Service for the prevention or suppression of terrorism or of any armed conflict outside the
Republic would be deemed to be service in time of war against an enemy. 
(Previously, a member of the SA Defence Force could not be sent outside the 
Republic to perform service against an enemy unless with his written consent.) 
The employment for a period exceeding one month, beyond the borders of the 
Republic, of members of the Defence Force to perform service against an enemy 
would be deemed to be mobilisation. The principal Act already provided that 
when mobilisation is ordered and if Parliament is in session, the reason will be 
communicated to it forthwith. If Parliament is not in session at the time, it will be 
reconvened within 30 days. 
The new provisions were made retrospective to 9 August 1975. (Some of the 
Citizen Force men who had served in Angola between then and the date of the 
legislation, having agreed in writing to do so, were minors in age.)

FURTHER PROGRESS OF THE WAR
The MPLA reinforced by Cuban troops continued to advance on all fronts. By 
mid-February the FNLA in the north had been defeated, and all the towns of any 
size in the south had been overrun. Dr. Jorge Sangumba, Unita's Foreign 
Secretary, said,6 "We cannot match the tanks and rockets." Dr. Savimbi and a 
considerable number of his Unita troops retired into the bush and planned a 
guerrilla war against the MPLA.
5 Rand Daily Mail. 26 and 27 January.
6 Star, report, 12 February.

ANGOLA
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE ON SA's ROLE IN ANGOLA
SA's role in the Angolan war was debated in the Assembly at the end of January. 
Opposition spokesmen very strongly condemned the Government for not keeping 
the country informed about SA's involvement. It was stated, inter alia, that by 
becoming involved, SA had departed from its long-standing policy of non-
intervention in the domestic affairs of other states.
The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Hilgard Muller, said7 that a civil war was not 
an ordinary civil war if one of the parties was assisted by foreign troops, advisers, 
and equipment. It then constituted a serious threat to neighbouring states. No one 
could accuse a neighbouring state of intervention or aggression if it took steps it 
considered necessary to ward off that threat. The earlier presence of members of 
the South African Police on the banks of the Zambezi had not been considered to 
be intervention in the domestic affairs of Rhodesia or of states to the north. 
South Africa had been one of the first states to recognize Angola as an 
independent country, Dr. Muller continued. It thereby accepted the principle that 
the people of Angola could and should elect their government. "We did not try, 
nor will we try, to prescribe what type of government the people of Angola should 
elect... However, it is an entirely different matter if a foreign power intervenes 
by force of arms and in that way tries to decide who should govern that country". 
Dr. Muller said that SA had remained in constant contact with as many African 
leaders as possible, as well as with other governments. "They are all aware of our
standpoint. Where possible and where necessary we held consultations, and we are still doing so."

What was happening in Angola, Dr. Muller maintained, was part of Russia's global strategy aimed at world domination. It represented "the unfolding of a terrible danger and threat not only to Southern Africa, but also to Africa as a whole as well as to the entire world".

The Prime Minister stated that by becoming involved, South Africa had brought to the notice of the free world the fact that an unwilling people was being driven forcibly into the communist fold. If this action had not been taken the MPLA, with Russian and Cuban help, would at the outset have taken over the whole of Angola, creating the impression in the outside world that the people of the entire country supported the MPLA. In fact, at the time, the MPLA had the support of only about a third of the population. South Africa's action had exposed the Russian-Cuban involvement, which was then not widely known.

7 Hansard I cols. 110-5. s Cots. 365-9.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

Furthermore, it had prevented the flight of tens of thousands of Unita and FNLA supporters into South West Africa.

Sir De Villiers Graaff (United Party) drew up a list of "the pluses and minuses" of the Angolan venture. An important "minus," he said, was the likelihood that the hostility of other states towards SA's continued occupation of South West Africa would be increased.

Mr. C. W. Eglin (Progressive Reform Party) stated that his party believed that the Government's decision to become involved in the civil war had been a serious error of political judgment. The Government had overestimated Western European response to the Russian involvement; had evaluated incorrectly the degree of fragmentation which existed within the total American system of government and miscalculated the mood of the American people in the post-Vietnam era; and had misassessed the sophistication of the weapons which the Russians and Cubans would throw into the fray. And the Government had not resolved the Angolan issue.

ATTITUDES OF OAU AND OTHER STATES

Towards the end of 1975 and early in January, certain African states expressed their support for the MPLA: among them were Somalia, Guinea Bissau, and Congo-Brazzaville, where the Soviet Union had established a significant presence,' and Mozambique, Tanzania, Ghana, Nigeria, Algeria, and Libya. Others, notably Zambia, Kenya, Zaire, Botswana, and Tunisia, called for an immediate cease-fire in Angola, the withdrawal of all foreign powers, the formation of an interim coalition government, and the establishment of an international observer force to supervise proper elections.' These proposals were, in general, supported by the United States and by Britain. It was reported that Britain tried but failed to reach agreement with the other eight EEC countries on a joint policy: the Netherlands and Denmark expressed support for the MPLA.
Dr. Agostinho Neto of the MPLA, however, rejected the call for a coalition government pending national elections. It was alleged that he was aware that the MPLA might not command a majority of votes: the Ovimbundu tribe, for example, constituting about 36 per cent of the population, supported Unita. A summit meeting of the then 46 member-states of the OAU met in Addis Ababa in mid-January, under the chairmanship of

9 Cols. 391-3.
10 Cots. 104-7.
1 Rand Daily Mail, 21 February.
3 Rand Daily Mail, 29 January.
420

ANGOLA

President Idi Amin of Uganda.5 Nigeria introduced a motion calling for the recognition of the MPLA as the legal and only government of Angola. President Samora Machel of Mozambique appealed for the acceptance of this motion and urged that the "South African racialists" be driven out. The socialist countries should not be asked to withdraw, he said, because they had always helped Africa to fight against colonialism.

President Leopold Senghor of Senegal maintained that those who condemned the alliance with South Africa would be honest only if they also condemned the alliance with Russia and Cuba. He moved a resolution calling for a ceasefire, the withdrawal of all foreign forces, peace talks supervised by an OAU-appointed committee, and the establishment of a government of national unity comprising all three factions in Angola.

Each of the two resolutions gained 22 votes: Ethiopia and Uganda were uncommitted at that time. The meeting ended without agreement on the course to be pursued by the OAU.

After the meeting, President Kaunda of Zambia is reported to have told the Press that "our failure to find a solution confirms that the OAU has no power to shape the destiny of Africa. The power is in the hands of super-powers to whom we are handing over Africa by our failure".

During the weeks that followed, as it became clear that the MPLA had won the war, increasing numbers of states recognized this organisation as constituting the de facto government. President Idi Amin is reported to have said early in February that 26 African states, including Uganda, had by then done so, and this majority entitled the MPLA to full membership of the OAU. By mid-April all the OAU states except Kenya, Senegal, and the Central African Republic had recognized the MPLA.7

Among the Western European states that took similar action were Britain and the rest of the EEC countries.

The United States decided, however, that it would not recognize the MPLA until the Cuban troops were out of Angola.'
The establishment of the People's Republic of Angola was announced by the MPLA, with Dr. Agostinho Neto as President, Mr. Lopo Nascimento as Prime Minister, Mr. Jose Eduardos dos Santos as Foreign Minister, and Mr. Iko Carreira as Defence Minister. Mr. Dos Santos headed an Angolan delegation at a meeting of the OAU's ministerial council at the end of February. The account that follows is derived from various Press reports between 11 and 15 January.

6 Rand Daily Mail, 11 February.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
REFUGEES, AND UNSUCCESSFUL REQUESTS FOR UNITED NATIONS' ASSISTANCE

The International Red Cross is reported to have estimated early in February that there were at least 255 000 displaced, sick, and wounded people in Angola in dire need of help. Plans to fly in food and medical and other supplies were being discussed.

As described in last year's Survey, thousands of refugees escaped by road to South West Africa, the first of them arriving in June 1975. Transit camps were opened for them at Grootfontein, Oshakati, and Tsumeb. As their numbers mounted, many were flown to camps in South Africa at Cullinan, Magaliesoord, and Lyndhurst, in the Pretoria/Johannesburg areas. According to the Report of the Department of Immigration for 1975, by the end of that year about 2000 of them who could satisfy SA's immigration requirements had been allowed to remain, the breadwinners taking up temporary employment. The rest had gone, in the main, to Portugal. The Portuguese Government had agreed to refund the transportation costs. There had been 2 919 sent by ship from Walvis Bay, 7 172 sent by air from Windhoek or Jan Smuts Airport, and 750 who left SA at their own expense. Besides this, the Portuguese Government is stated to have used its TAP airline to fly out some 200 000 refugees direct from Angola.

It became increasingly difficult for people to escape by road to South West Africa: petrol supplies along the route became exhausted, and convoys of cars and lorries were looted by members of guerrilla movements. Early in January, about 2 450 sailed to Walvis Bay in some 42 grossly overcrowded fishing vessels, coming mainly from the Angolan harbour of Mocamedes where, it was stated, fighting was in progress between Unita and FNLA troops. For some days the vessels were required to anchor outside the Walvis Bay harbour, the SA authorities meanwhile supplying food and medical and other supplies. The then Minister of the Interior announced that those of the refugees who were Portuguese citizens would be allowed to land, would be transported to Windhoek, and from there flown to Portugal. The Portuguese Ambassador to SA and his staff boarded the vessels to determine which of the people qualified for citizenship. The Minister of Foreign Affairs stated subsequently' that Portugal had accepted responsibility for 1 920 of the people, while 324 who were not Portuguese citizens would be taken to the Calai camp just over the Angolan border. The rest,
including members of the crews of the vessels, remained at Walvis Bay harbour until early April, receiving supplies from SA, and eventually
I Star, 12 February.

Various Press reports between 16 and 24 January, and Rand Daily Mail, 31 March. Rand Daily Mail, 7 February; also SABC news broadcast, 30 March

ANGOLA
sailed in two convoys bound, respectively, for Portugal and Brazil.

As the MPLA/Cuban forces swept south, invading towns and villages, thousands of people who had been Unita supporters fled before them, arriving in the area occupied by the SA forces. The SA authorities arranged for them to be accommodated and cared for temporarily in camps established within Angola near the SWA border, at Calai, Cuangar, Chitado, Ruacana, and at the village of Pereira de Eca. They lived in SA army tents, supplemented by makeshift dwellings erected by themselves.

It was reported on 12 February5 that nearly 90 000 more refugees were fleeing before the advancing MPLA/Cuban forces. In the event, these further people did not arrive in the SA-held area: troops had, apparently, cut the roads. But SA was, by the end of January, caring for thousands of refugees in the five camps in Angola, besides those still in SWA or SA.

On 23 January the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Hilgard Muller,7 announced that he had written to the UN Secretary-General asking whether the UN High Commissioner for Refugees would assist with the problem. Since August 1975, he said, the SA Government had taken care of some 13 000 Angolan refugees. SA's Ambassador to the UN, Mr. "Pik" Botha, asked the Security Council to do all that it could to help. SA, he stated, had already spent about R4 300 000 in supplying the refugees with accommodation, transportation, food, medical services, and other necessities. However, a proposed investigatory visit by UN officials was suddenly cancelled, no reasons being given.

The Press reported on 7 February that Dr. Muller had sent a second note to the UN Secretary-General, calling on the UN to give meaningful assistance to the more than 11 000 people who were then in the camps in Southern Angola, or to accept the consequences in human suffering if the situation got out of hand. The UN Secretary General is reported8 to have replied, "I am sure, you will appreciate that the United Nations will not be able to respond to a request from South Africa for assistance to camps set up on Angola territory. I am deeply concerned about the humanitarian aspects of the Angolan conflict . . . As soon as conditions permit the United Nations system will certainly do whatever it can to meet the needs of the situation."

In a third note to the Secretary-General,9 Dr. Muller "noted" Dr. Waldheim's response that the UN would not be able to give aid, since the camps run by SA were in Angola. "This implies that the sole obstacle to United Nations assistance is the fact
I Ibid, 12 February.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

that South Africa has assumed this humanitarian task. It must, therefore, be assumed that if South Africa were to cease this task, the United Nations would undertake its responsibilities towards these refugees. In consequence, South Africa will seriously have to consider terminating its role in this regard, and if it should do so, please advise urgently whether the United Nations will render all the services at present rendered by South Africa”.

In an explanatory statement, Dr. Muller said that SA wanted at all costs to avoid a situation where refugees were totally disrupted and would have to spend years in refugee camps. If SA did terminate its aid, this would not mean that she was indifferent to the needs and problems of the refugees. Indeed, SA had clearly shown its hospitality towards refugees who had been accommodated for long periods.

Dr. Waldheim replied,10 "The United Nations can only undertake humanitarian assistance within a country at the request and with the co-operation of the competent authorities in the country concerned". The Press posed the question, "Who does the UN recognise as the competent authority in Angola? A decision by the UN is unlikely until the General Assembly meets again in September."

Meanwhile, officials of the International Red Cross in Geneva visited Windhoek to discuss what help their organisation could give. Shortly afterwards, tents, food, medical supplies, and clothing began to arrive. Members of the South African public contributed to a special fund set up by the S.A. Red Cross to provide relief: the Northern Transvaal branch of this organisation reported that by early April it, alone, had received R228 894.11

It was announced on 23 February12 that the SA Government had decided to airlift refugees who could qualify as Portuguese citizens from South Angola to Windhoek, from where the Portuguese airline would fly them to Lisbon. A large number of these refugees were children who had lost their parents in the war.

The Deputy Minister of Social Welfare and Pensions said in the Assembly on 17 February13 it was estimated that by then, SA had assisted about 6 000 refugees from Mozambique and 16 000 from Angola.

A further announcement was made by the Minister of Defence on 12 March.14 All refugees eligible for admission to Portugal had by then been transported out of Angola, he said. The remaining people (reported to number between 5 000 and 6 000) had been gathered together in Cuangar and Calai, close to Windhoek. The remaining people (reported to number between 5 000 and 6 000) had been gathered together in Cuangar and Calai, close

10 Sunday Times, 15 February; SA Digest, 19 March; Star, 7 April. 12 Rand Daily Mail, 23 February.
11 Hansard 4 col. 252.
14 Rand Daily Mail, 13 March; Star, 15 and 16 March.
424
ANGOLA

to the Kavango border. All South African troops had been withdrawn from Angola except for those administering these camps and guarding the Calueque Dam and Ruacana scheme.

The Press reported that three representatives of the International Red Cross were at Cuangar and Calai, giving as much help as possible, mainly in the form of food and tents; but that this organisation had no kind of security force to afford protection nor the manpower to undertake administration.

A few days later the Minister of Defence stated that South African assistance at the refugee camps would cease on 27 March. The International Committee of the Red Cross then announced in Geneva that the responsibility for administering the camps would become that of the new Angolan Government. The SA Red Cross stopped sending supplies to Calai and Cuangar because of the uncertain situation, and the International body withdrew its representatives. When the South Africans returned across the border, they left tents and food for the refugees' use.

A Commission for Refugees was established in the Calai and Cuangar camps. Its leaders appealed to the Chief Minister of Kavango, Mr. Alfons Magevere, for political asylum in his territory: they feared that those who had supported Unita or the FNLA would be massacred when MPLA troops arrived. Several thousand of them, Black and White, swam across the dangerous Okavango River, or paddled across in hastily-fashioned canoes, leaving most of their remaining possessions behind. A temporary refugee centre was established for them about 16 km south of Rundu.

Besides this, about 270 Black Angolans, most of the men claiming to be former Unita soldiers, crossed the border into Owambo from Pereira de Eca. After consulting his cabinet the Chief Minister, Pastor K. Ndjoba, said that they would be admitted, the SA authorities being asked to help care for them. They were accommodated in a temporary camp at Ohangwena, some 12km south of Oshikango.

Increased military activities in south Angola towards the end of August and during September caused many hundreds of further refugees, mainly women and children, to flee across the border into Kavango, Caprivi, and Owambo. They were gathered together in the temporary camps. According to Press reports, by the end of October there were totals of about 2 500 in Owambo and 4 700 in Kavango. The total number had mounted to some 8 000 by 10 November. The Owambo Cabinet asked local headmen to absorb as many of these people as possible into their

19 Star, 10 September.
1, Star, 19 March.
16 Rand Daily Mail, 23 and 27 March.
17 Ibid, 27 and 29 March; Sunday Times, 28 March. 18 Rand Daily Mail, 16 March.
19 Star, 10 September.
425
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

communities; but the Kavango Government felt that the problem was beyond its resources and declined to accept responsibility.

OTHER APPROACHES BY SA TO THE UNITED NATIONS

In a speech made at a Security Council meeting at the end of January, the SA Ambassador, Mr. "Pik" BbTha, refuted charges that SA had committed "acts of aggression" in Angola. He is reported to have said that it was Russia that threatened the African continent as "the greatest imperialist of modern times". Cubans, using USSR armaments, were being used to "kill, maim, humiliate, and intimidate black Africans". Massive quantities of lethal Soviet arms were being used to destroy and devastate African villages, schools, and hospitals.

Mr. Botha said that his Government proposed that a UN fact-finding mission be sent to Angola to establish for itself whether it was South Africa, or Russia and Cuba, that was posing a threat to peace there. His Government would lend its willing co-operation to such a mission.

Mr. Botha also suggested that the Security Council should assume responsibility for protecting the Calueque dam and Ruacana hydro-electric scheme until an Angolan government could handle the situation satisfactorily.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs followed up Mr. Botha's speech by sending a note to the UN Secretary-General, calling upon the Security Council to conduct an on-the-spot investigation in Angola, and offering to hand over the protection of the dam and hydro-electric scheme to a UN force.

NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE MPLA AND SOUTH AFRICA, AND THE WITHDRAWAL OF SA TROOPS FROM ANGOLA

The MPLA Minister for Foreign Relations, Mr. Jose Eduardo dos Santos, is reported to have told the Press, during a visit to Paris in mid-February, that South African interests in Angola "must not be considered a pretext for violating our territorial integrity. The Pretoria government should recognise the fact of our existence as an independent sovereign state and as the legitimate representatives of the Angolan people. Then we could settle all the problems concerning South African interests and investments in Angola".

It was widely reported in the Press that SA diplomatic efforts were directed towards securing an agreement for the protection of the Cunene River schemes in exchange for a complete withdrawal of SA troops from Angola. However, in a speech made in Luanda at the end of February, Dr. Neto is reported- to have said that he was not prepared to discuss with SA any guarantees for the security of the schemes until the troops had been withdrawn. Shortly afterwards he stated that the dam belonged to the Angolan people, not to South Africa.
As mentioned earlier, SA decided to terminate its assistance at the refugee camps by 27 March.

In a statement made on 20 March, Mr. Vorster said that in August 1975, while Portugal was still legally responsible for Angola and was the governing power there, SA had been forced to occupy the Calueque dam site because of "the complete breakdown of law and order". The Portuguese Government was immediately informed, and was asked to take over the task of protecting the workers and the installations. However, this Government requested SA to continue protective measures until such time as it could assume responsibility. The SA Government, Mr. Vorster continued, had on a number of occasions stated that its forces were at the dam only for the protection of the workers, and would be withdrawn as soon as assurances had been received that no harm would come to them, and that the flow of water to Owanbo would be safeguarded.

Mr. Vorster concluded, "We have, during the past few days, received, through a third party, assurances which, in general terms, appear to be acceptable to us. We are checking whether we are interpreting these assurances correctly, and if this is so, South Africa will withdraw its troops also from the Calueque area not later than 27 March".

The Foreign Office in London confirmed speculations that Britain had been the "third party" referred to by Mr. Vorster. Britain's role had been to secure, via diplomatic contact with the Soviet Ambassador, certain assurances about the safety of the Calueque Dam.

The MPLA issued a statement to the effect that the installations of the hydro-electric complex, "whose defence is the sole and entire responsibility of the authorities of the People's Republic of Angola, will continue to function normally for the benefit of the brother people of Namibia, with whose legitimate representatives we shall soon establish the necessary agreements." A revision of agreements signed by South Africa with the Portuguese for the use of the Cunene River would "obviously be a matter of examination" after SA withdrew from Angola and ended its rule over Namibia.

On 25 March the SA Minister of Defence told the House - Star, 1 March.

Star, 19 March.

4 Sunday Times, 21 March; Rand Daily Mail, 22 March. Star, 22 March; Rand Daily Mail, 23 March.

Rand Daily Mail, 22 March.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

of Assembly that the necessary clarification of the assurances received via Britain had been obtained through the UN SecretaryGeneral. Seen as a whole, the assurances by the Government of the People's Republic of Angola were that it would not damage the Ruacana and Calueque projects or endanger the workers, and that the international boundary between SWA and Angola would be respected.

In view of these assurances, the Minister stated, all SA troops would be withdrawn from Angola by 27 March.
The workers on these schemes were apprehensive, however; and requested permission to move, with their families, from Angola to South West Africa. As a temporary measure some 130 Portuguese men, mainly artisans or foremen, and a number of black Angolan workers, were housed with their families in prefabricated houses and tents in South West African territory. Work within Angola ceased for the time being.

On 6 April, seven unarmed SA officials, including Mr. Jannie de Wet, Commissioner-General for the Indigenous Peoples, the general manager of the SWA Water and Electricity Commission, and senior police and army officers, crossed the border for discussions with MPLA representatives: a political commissar from Luanda and a military commander. The MPLA undertook to guarantee the security of the workers and equipment at the Cunene projects. Both sides agreed to respect the international border; and it was decided to establish two check points on the border where police from both countries could control the movement of the workers. After this, most of the Ruacana employees agreed to cross the border daily to work, leaving their families behind; but some of the Calueque employees were still afraid to do so. However, it was reported on 6 May that work was again proceeding normally. A few Portuguese workers who were unwilling to return had been replaced. As described later, work was once more halted from 10 September.

SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING, MARCH

A meeting of the Security Council had been arranged, to start on 23 March, to debate South Africa's "occupation and aggression" in Angola. Mr. Vorster's statement that if the assurances he had received proved acceptable the SA forces would be withdrawn by 27 March, was reported to the UN Secretary-General by telephone by the SA Minister of Defence on 20 March. The full text of the message was then delivered to Dr. Waldheim. The MPLA delegate cabled Dr. Waldheim stating that he could not arrive until 25 March, thus the Security Council meeting was postponed, its opening practically coinciding with the withdrawal of the last SA troops from Angola.

At the beginning of the debate the current president of the Council, Mr. Thomas Boya of Benin, and the current chairman of the African group, Mr. Charles Maina of Kenya, declared that the debate was to be a limited one, dealing only with South Africa's alleged aggression in Angola and with no other issues. It was reported that, after much lobbying and appeals for unity after months of division, the African group had agreed on a "unity" strategy. An MPLA representative, Mr. Pascal Luvuala, denounced SA's aggression in his territory and accused the SA forces of the "barbaric killing" of many Angolans, the looting of banks, farms, factories, hotels, and homes. He claimed that SA had
intervened "at the very moment in time when the puppet armies had been all but defeated, and the MPLA controlled most of the country", and stated that the MPLA had taken many SA prisoners. He demanded reparation from SA for war damages.

The Portuguese Ambassador informed the Security Council that the SA troops had penetrated Angola on 9 August 1975 with neither the knowledge nor the advance authorization of the Portuguese Government. The Cuban Ambassador accused China of acting in collusion with SA in an attempted take-over of Angola. He alleged that SA troops had engaged in unrestrained looting and had adopted a "scorched earth" policy as they withdrew.

The president of the UN Council for Namibia maintained that all contracts entered into by SA relating to the Cunene River schemes were null and void. Only the UN through its Council for Namibia had the right to negotiate contracts with Angola. The projects, he stated, had been part of SA's "policies of plunder" of Angolan resources, in connivance with the former Portuguese authorities.

Other African states, together with countries such as the Soviet Union and Poland, condemned SA's alleged aggression.

The Chinese Ambassador disregarded the ruling by the president of the Council. After a perfunctory reference to SA he denounced the resolution before the Council because, he said, it legitimised Soviet and Cuban intervention, and the "towering crimes" committed by these countries in Angola, including the slaughter of tens of thousands of black people there.

South Africa's Ambassador, Mr. "Pik" Botha, attacked as spurious, transparently contrived, and hypocritical all "trumpedup" charges that SA had committed aggression in Angola. He accused the Soviet Union and its Cuban "alien army", which had been manipulated in the interests of Russia's "global ambition", of brutal aggression in the territory.

At no stage had SA become involved, nor had it desired to become involved, in the civil war as such, Mr. Botha stated. SA had played a very limited role, motivated by essentially protective and humanitarian considerations. Any involvement beyond that had been the direct result of the "naked aggression" of the Russians and Cubans, seeking to introduce into Angola a new and dangerous imperialism and neo-colonialism. "Even as we sit here . . . the question remains why the Russians and Cubans are still in Angola", he said.

The British Ambassador, Mr. Ivor Richard, said that Britain associated itself with those countries which had condemned SA's intervention. The presence of foreign troops anywhere in Southern Africa could only render it more difficult to achieve a solution in Angola, and would make the White minority regimes in Rhodesia and Namibia still more stubborn in their resistance to international opinion. Mr. Richard added, however, that the Security Council was not the appropriate forum...
for determining questions of compensation. He suggested that this matter be taken to the International Court of Justice.
France's Ambassador said, inter alia, that the trend of South Africa was to consider itself as a sort of gendarme in the region. There was no excuse for this, as there was no excuse for others who had intervened.
The United States Ambassador made no reference to criticisms during the debate of his country's actions in sending money and military equipment to anti-MPLA movements in Angola. He stated that SA was to be censured for the role it had played. But he also condemned Soviet and Cuban intervention. The attempt of the Cuban representative to distort the tragic story of foreign intervention had been a self-serving misstatement of the facts. The US strongly supported the motivation inherent in the resolution, but would abstain from voting because of the failure of that resolution to refer to other continuing interventions. "Such a blatant disregard of facts, such a double standard, such an exercise in hypocrisy, cannot further in our judgment this Council's discharge of its own responsibilities", he said.
By a majority of nine votes to nil, with five abstentions, the Security Council adopted the African resolution branding SA as an aggressor and demanding reparation for alleged looting, pillage, and plunder. China did not participate in the voting. The countries that recorded abstentions were Britain, the United States, France, Italy, and Japan.

430

ANGOLA
SOUTH AFRICAN PRISONERS
After some months of doubt, the SA Minister of Defence announced in the Assembly on 18 June' that an assurance had been obtained that the seven South Africans who were captured in Angola were being regarded and treated as ordinary prisoners of war. There had been fears about their safety, aggravated by the fact that certain British and American mercenaries who were captured had been executed by the Angolan authorities.
A further South African was captured by the MPLA at the end of August when, by mistake, he drove his truck across the border from Caprivi into Angola.

GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES WITHIN ANGOLA
As mentioned earlier, after the surrender of all the major towns in Angola to the MPLA-Cuban forces, Dr. Savimbi and a considerable number of his Unita troops retired into the bush and began a guerrilla war against the MPLA. Their headquarters were in the south, where they had received the backing of the large Ovimbundu tribe.
It was reported in mid-February that two or three supply planes had been transporting arms and supplies to Unita from Kinshasa. About a month later, however, one of Unitas's aircraft was destroyed on the ground by MPLA MiG fighter bombers, while another two were impounded in Zambia.' President Kaunda made it clear that he would no longer allow Unita to use Zambia as a base.
Nevertheless, Dr. Savimbi is reported' to have said that by early in March he had sufficient weapons for a year of fighting. Unita had 6 000 hard-core troops formed
into a semi-conventional force, with 7 000 more men undergoing intensive training.

According to various reports, Unita troops attacked a number of Cuban convoys, killing many men and capturing others. They countered various attacks on their camps made by Cuban-led MPLA forces. From time to time other Unita units blew up sections of the Benguela railway line.

The FNLA, too, was reported to be conducting guerrilla operations against the MPLA, in the northern part of the country.

A report published in August stated that, by then, Unita controlled large parts of the rural areas, especially in the south. On 10 September work at Calueque was halted again at the request of the Angolan Government. This request preceded a major offensive launched shortly afterwards by MPLA troops with Cuban officers, and with support from Swapo, apparently

Hansard 20 col. 1251.
1 Star, 16 February, 19 and 22 March.
2 Star, 16 February and 11 March; Rand Daily Mail, 8 March. e.g. Star, 12 March: Sunday Times, 18 July.
* Rand Daily Mail, 29 June.
Ibid, 19 August.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

Aim at wiping out pockets of Unita guerrillas and their supporters and sympathisers. As mentioned earlier, many hundreds of refugees, mainly women and children, poured across the Angolan border into Owambo and Kavango. They told of the killing of hundreds of people, the burning of villages, the destruction of livestock, the shortage of food. It was stated that a large number of men had been captured and handed over to Swapo guerrillas, who shot more than a hundred of them.

CONTINUED PRESENCE OF CUBANS IN ANGOLA

It was reported in May and June that, according to informants in Stockholm and to a Nato official, at their peak the Cubans had about 18 000 troops in Angola. By May, possibly 15 000 remained there. The Cuban Premier, Dr. Fidel Castro, had stated that their numbers would gradually be reduced; but several thousand would be left there for an indefinite period, to help to counter the growing guerrilla resistance and to help Dr. Neto to tackle serious economic difficulties.

A subsequent report stated that Dr. Neto had visited Cuba and had been promised the assistance of trained people to fill gaps left by the Portuguese who left. Volunteer doctors, nurses, teachers, engineers, and others would be sent to Angola, as well as experts in trade, labour organisation, propaganda, and other fields. The families of many of the Cubans who were remaining were being flown out to join them.

During a visit to Lusaka in September, Dr. Henry Kissinger said that an estimated 10 000 Cubans remained in Angola.

TREATY WITH THE SOVIET UNION

It was reported on 9 October that Angola and the Soviet Union had concluded a 20-year friendship treaty.
RHODESIA
THE BACKGROUND
As reported in previous issues of this Survey, the African nationalist movements Zapu' and the succeeding Zanu2 were banned in Rhodesia in 1962 and 1964 respectively and their leaders, Mr. Joshua Nkomo of Zapu, and the Rev. Ndabiningi Sithole of Zanu, and others, were placed under detention. Some of the leading members escaped to Zambia, however, and from there and Tanzania organised guerrilla activities against Rhodesia. Dissidents from the two movements-in-exile formed a body called Frolizi, headed by Mr. James Chikerema. Meanwhile a new body, the African National Council, was established in Rhodesia itself under the leadership of Bishop Abel Muzorewa. Following discussions and negotiations between South Africa and Zambia, a conference was held in Lusaka in December 1974, attended by the Presidents of Zambia, Tanzania, and Botswana, and representatives of Zapu, Zanu, Frolizi, and the ANC. Following representations made by SA and the other negotiating governments, Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Sithole were released from detention in order that they might be present. Terms proposed by Mr. Ian Smith for a cessation of guerrilla activities and for the holding of a constitutional conference were discussed. No clear-cut decisions were published. It was agreed, however, that the four African nationalist movements would come together under the banner of the ANC with Bishop Muzorewa as interim leader.
Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Sithole returned to Rhodesia as free men, but Mr. Sithole was re-detained in March 1975. A court of law, especially convened to consider the matter, ruled that the detention had been fully warranted. Nevertheless, on the next day, after representations had been made by Zambia and SA, Mr. Sithole was released to enable him to attend an OAU conference in Dar es Salaam. After this conference he remained outside Rhodesia, fearing re-detention if he returned. As reported in last year's Survey, Mr. Vorster of SA and President Kaunda of Zambia were instrumental in arranging for preliminary talks to be held in August 1975 between representatives of Mr. Smith's government and of the ANC, the object being for each side to declare its genuine desire to negotiate an acceptable constitutional settlement. Detailed discussions would follow. The talks were held in a train made available by SA and positioned on the Victoria Falls bridge, on the border between Rhodesia and
Zimbabwe African People's Union.
2 Zimbabwe African National Union.
I The circumstances are explained on page 315 of the 1975 Survey.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
Zambia, in order that political exiles like Mr. Sithole and Mr. Chikerema could attend without fear of arrest. The parties to the talks failed to reach agreement on all the points at issue.
During September 1975 the ANC split into two factions. A statement was issued from Lusaka in the name of Bishop Muzo. rewa (who was on a visit overseas) announcing the formation of an external wing of the ANC, with Mr. Sithole as chairman and Mr. Chikerema secretary. Mr. Sithole made it clear to the Press that he believed a peaceful constitutional settlement to be impossible.

Mr. Nkomo challenged this new move, and called a meeting in Salisbury of those members of the ANC's national executive committee who were able and willing to attend, in order to plan a national congress. Thereupon Bishop Muzorewa, who did not return to Rhodesia, expelled Mr. Nkomo and his associates from the ANC. As they refused to accept expulsion, this Council split into two factions, headed, respectively, by Mr. Nkomo and Bishop Muzorewa as presidents. Dr. Elliott Gabellah became acting president of the Muzorewa/Sithole faction within Rhodesia.

CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS
As mentioned on page 327 of last year's Survey, it was announced on 1 December 1975 that Mr. Smith and Mr. Nkomo had jointly signed a declaration of intent to plan a constitutional conference. It was stated in this document that any representative of the ANC, nominated by the ANC to attend any meetings held inside Rhodesia in connection with this conference, would, while there, be allowed free movement, free speech, and immunity from preventive detention or restriction.

On the eve of a further meeting to draw up an agenda for the talks, Mr. Smith said in the Rhodesian Senate that he ruled out a settlement based on immediate majority rule. He and his colleagues would do their best to reach a solution that would provide stability and security for the country as a whole and would safeguard the rights and interests of all the people. This would be no easy task, and he did not anticipate any quick result.4

Talks began early in January, both delegations being assisted by constitutional and legal experts, and were continued at intervals for more than two months. According to a document issued by the Nkomo group, ‘both sides made various compromises, but it nevertheless proved impossible to reach agreement. It was reported that the proposals described below were among those discussed.

1. It was agreed that there should be an interim government on a national basis. Mr. Nkomo's ANC considered that the life of such a government should be short, for example twelve months. Mr. Smith's Rhodesia Front believed that it should be part of an evolutionary change to majority rule over an indefinite period.

2. The ANC proposed that the interim government should take the form of an executive council with legislative powers, on which council there should be parity. The RF was unwilling to consider this, as it was of the opinion that the period of transition should be a long one, and that a parliament would
be necessary.
The RF suggested that during the interim period there should be a Cabinet with half White and half African members, which would have the sole right to introduce legislation. The Africans considered that such an arrangement would be impractical if Parliament itself were to be dominated by Whites (as, in terms of the RF proposals, it would be). Such a Parliament could refuse supply. 3. The ANC was strongly in favour of a non-racial franchise on the basis of one-man-one-vote. However, to meet White fears, it said it would reluctantly agree to a three-tier Assembly in which one-third of the seats would be White, one-third African, and one-third national, elected on a common roll.
The ANC wanted the African members to be elected by universal adult suffrage; but it was reported that the RF would not agree to this.
There was difference of opinion, too, on the franchise for the national seats. The RF was in favour of a high qualification, but the ANC wanted one no higher than the existing qualifications for the B (African) roll. The RF rejected this on the ground that it would lead to majority rule at the first election. The ANC calculated that, according to the RF proposals, there would at first be a White majority of almost two-thirds in the Assembly, with a continuing White majority for possibly 10 to 15 years.
It was officially announced on 20 March that the talks had broken down. The ANC team agreed to the inclusion in the statement of the words "this will provide an opportunity for consultation and consideration", but Mr. Nkomo told the Press that he regarded the talks as dead. Any new initiative, he said, would have to come from the British Government. Rhodesia was a British responsibility, and Britain must act. "As the Prime Minister of South Africa has put it, what will happen now is too ghastly to contemplate." But I want it to be very clear that these consequences are not of our choosing and not of our making... We made every possible effort to allay White fears. We offered every possible protection for individual rights and in addition, to meet these fears, protection for minorities". Mr. Smith, too, called on the British Government to intervene in the issue.
6 Ibid.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
Dr. Kaunda described the matter as "the gravest hour in the history of our sub-continent". Africa, he said, had no option now but to intensify the armed struggle.
CONDITIONS FOR A SETTLEMENT PROPOSED BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT
During February Lord Greenhill of Harrow, a former head of the British Diplomatic Service, visited Salisbury to hear the points of view of both Mr. Smith and Mr. Nkomo. He was to report back to the then Foreign Secretary, Mr. James Callaghan. The Muzorewa wing of the ANC in Rhodesia declined an invitation to meet him.6
The Secretary of State at the Foreign Office, Mr. David Ennals, said in a BBC interview that if Britain were forced to choose between majority rule or a
continuation of White minority rule in Rhodesia "then we are on the side of majority rule". It should not be thought that Britain was committed to mounting a rescue operation in Rhodesia for her "kith and kin who have shown an extraordinary neglect of their responsibilities". It would be madness to send British armed forces into a Rhodesian war. (The Press pointed out, however, that the UK Government would remain responsible for at least 36 000 Whites and a few hundred Coloured and Asians who held British citizenship.)

In reply to questions in the House of Commons, Mr. Callaghan said that the first request to Britain to play a part had come from Mr. Smith. Then Mr. Nkomo and Presidents Kaunda, Khama, Nyerere, and Machel had urged Britain to do so.1° In Salisbury, Mr. Smith said at a Press conference that he had been left with no option in the matter, since the British Government had already held discussions with members of the ANC negotiating team who had visited London."

He would continue to seek a constitutional settlement, Mr. Smith continued. Such a settlement would have to involve Blacks and Whites working together to govern the country. "I don't believe in Black majority rule ever in Rhodesia. Not in a thousand years. I believe in Blacks and Whites working together. If one day it is Whites and the next day it is Blacks, I believe we will have failed".

On 22 March2 Mr. Callaghan outlined four conditions which Mr. Smith would have to meet before Britain would be prepared to help in new negotiations between Mr. Smith and Mr. Nkomo:

(a) acceptance of the principle of Black African majority rule;
(b) elections for majority rule to be held in eighteen months to two years;
(c) no formal independence from Britain for Rhodesia before majority rule; and
(d) negotiations must not be long drawn out.

The transfer of power would have to be orderly, and guarantees would be necessary for Whites who wished to stay. Given these conditions, Britain would be willing to discuss lifting the economic sanctions that it had imposed, with UN backing, after UDI, and would assist with the development of the country. "As things are, Mr. Smith is leading his country on the path of death and destruction. Even at this late stage I ask the European population of Rhodesia to believe that there is an alternative path. It is still just possible for Mr. Smith to follow it".

Interviewed by the Press,3 Mr. Nkomo said that a transitional period of eighteen months to two years was too long.

The Rhodesian Cabinet met to discuss Britain's proposals. Afterwards, Mr. Smith said his government did not consider that these offered any hope of making real progress."
In May, after the guerrilla war had escalated, the British High Commission in Lusaka advised British nationals living in Rhodesia to leave the country for their own safety. Those who decided to remain would be doing so at their own risk. The British Government would be unable to extend the usual consular protection to them.\(^5\)

**UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE**

In a statement made during February, the United States Department of State warned Mr. Smith that the Rhodesian Government could not expect American protection in the event of armed conflict with the country's Black nationalists.\(^8\) Dr. Henry Kissinger, the US Secretary of State, praised Mr. Callaghan's proposals as being "most constructive". He said, "The United States has made clear its strong support for majority rule and minority rights in Southern Africa".\(^7\) President Ford is reported\(^8\) to have said in a TV interview that anything the United States could do to avoid violence in Southern Africa, to go ahead with self-determination with full guaranteed rights for minorities, including White minorities, would be in the interest of the world as a whole.

13 Ibid.
14 Ibid, 24 March.
15 Ibid, 21 May.
16 Ibid, 21 February.
17 Star, 23 March.
18 Is Rand DaWiy Mail, 18 May.

**A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976**

**CLOSURE OF MOZAMBIQUE'S BORDER WITH RHODESIA**

As described later, a new front in the guerrilla war opened early in 1976, in the south-east of Rhodesia along the border with Mozambique. Rhodesian security patrols tracked guerrillas responsible for several acts of sabotage near the small town of Chipinga, following them across the border, in "hot pursuit", into Mozambique. It was reported\(^1\) that at least 24 guerrillas were killed and quantities of arms destroyed or seized. The Rhodesian casualties were one man killed and four wounded.

A report of an action at apparently the same time, emanating from President Machel, was published later.\(^'\) He alleged that Rhodesian armoured cars and aircraft had attacked the small village of Mavue near the border, where there were nine huts and two concrete buildings used as barracks. These buildings were destroyed, and three women, a child, and two soldiers were killed. Two of the Rhodesian aircraft were shot down by machineguns, it was stated.

Apparently as a result of this raid, the Frelimo authorities arrested the driver and guard of a train that had just crossed the border, and the Rhodesian railway workers who were employed at Malvernia (renamed Chichalacuala), a station just within Mozambique. The families of these men were detained too. In retaliation, the Rhodesian Government stopped all rail traffic between the two countries.\(^'\)

(These arrested people were freed at intervals afterwards.)
Four days after the rail traffic had been stopped, President Machel announced the closure of Mozambique's border with Rhodesia, the seizure of all Rhodesian property in his country, and the mobilisation of the people for defence against attack from Rhodesia. He called on other socialist states for help in meeting the economic difficulties that would result.4 President Kaunda welcomed this decision and said that Zambia would stand by Mozambique until victory for the Black majority in Rhodesia had been achieved. Any attack by Rhodesia on Mozambique would be regarded as an attack on Zambia.5

On the same day Mr. Vorster said in the SA Assembly,6 "South Africa adheres to its standpoint that boycotts and the closing of borders do not provide any solution to political disputes, and far from solving problems rather have the potential of accentuating points of difference . . . The closing of the border and the stopping of commercial traffic between Rhodesia and Mozambique causes certain immediate problems for both countries and will in due course leave gaps and require adaptations not only for these two countries but also for quite a number of other countries in Southern Africa, including Zaire and South Africa . . . Every further development will have to be carefully evaluated."

The SA Minister of Transport said a few days later, "Within the limits of physical means, we will continue to make our (rail and harbour) services available to Rhodesia. This cooperation will also be extended to other neighbours and near neighbours such as Zaire and Zambia."

The OAU planned to send a team of experts to Mozambique to assess its needs. Various countries promised financial and other help. Mozambique became the base for certain of the guerrilla movements.

SECURITY COUNCIL, APRIL

At a meeting held in April the Security Council voted unanimously to prohibit the insurance of Rhodesian imports and exports by companies based in other countries; to require business concerns to cease granting franchises to Rhodesian firms; and to prevent the use in Rhodesia of international trade names."

DR. KISSINGER'S POLICY STATEMENT IN APRIL

As mentioned in an earlier chapter, during April Dr. Kissinger visited seven African states to the north of Rhodesia. While in Lusaka, on 27 April, he made an important policy statement. On the subject of Rhodesia, Dr. Kissinger said that the United States declared its support in the strongest terms for the British proposals for a rapid negotiated settlement (see page 436). Until such a settlement was achieved the Salisbury
regime would face unrelenting American opposition. The United States would approach its Congress and other nations to ensure the broadest international compliance with sanctions. American travellers would be advised against entering Rhodesia, and American residents would be urged to leave. The US would give RIO 900 000 in aid to Mozambique to help it to overcome problems caused by the closure of the border.

A new constitutional structure should protect minority rights together with establishing majority rule, Dr. Kissinger continued. The US was ready to join other interested nations in a programme of economic, technical, and educational assistance to an independent Rhodesia established on such a constitutional basis.

Hansard 8 col. 2825.
8 Rand Daily Mail, 7 April.
439

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
VIEWS OF CERTAIN AFRICAN LEADERS
It was announced over Uganda Radio on 21 March9 that the Organisation of African Unity would not support "any further meaningless talks with the White minority in Zimbabwe".

During 1975 President Kaunda of Zambia helped to arrange the Victoria Falls talks which were designed to achieve a peaceful settlement. But when these talks failed, his views changed. He said in a Press statement in April10 that it had become too late for the Rhodesian problem to be solved by peaceful means: war was now inevitable.

At the time of Dr. Kissinger's visit, Presidents Kaunda and Machel issued a joint statement reaffirming their intensified backing for the "Zimbabwe nationalists in their armed struggle", and also their "unconditional support for the freedom fighters in South Africa".

INTENSIFIED GUERRILLA ACTIVITY, AND SECURITY ACTION TAKEN BY THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT
During the first three months of the year there were occasional clashes in the Centenary area of north-eastern Rhodesia between security patrols and guerrillas, with casualties on both sides. Landmines laid by guerrillas caused deaths and injuries among local Africans.

Further casualties resulted from guerrilla attacks on African tribesmen who were unwilling to help them. A number of stores were robbed and buses attacked. Other tribesmen lost their lives when they were shot by security patrols when they went out at night in the operational area, breaking a curfew imposed there, or were caught in cross-firing.

The Rhodesian authorities mounted "Operation Hurricane" in this area. Increasing numbers of members of the territorial units were called up for service, at more frequent intervals.

Thousands of Africans in tribal trust lands in the operational area, such as Manyikha, Mrewa, and Shamva, were moved by the Rhodesian Government to live either in consolidated villages of up to 3 000 people, which provided safety in numbers, or in protected villages behind fences, guarded at night by searchlights
and armed sentries. The Star estimated on 13 March that up to 79 000 Africans were living in such villages in the three areas mentioned. Those in protected villages went out to tend their fields during the day.

When guerrilla incursions began from Mozambique in February, in the Chipinga district, the security forces mounted "Operation Thrasher" there and "Operation Repulse" further to the south. Farmers in the Chipinga area began turning their homes into fortresses, in radio contact with local security headquarters.

Severe sentences were imposed on African kraal heads who were convicted of failing to report the presence of guerrillas.

It was reported towards the end of April that since the incursions began in December 1972, those who had lost their lives were 847 guerrillas, 101 members of the security forces, 22 White civilians, and about 327 civilian Africans.

On 1 May, Security Force Headquarters in Salisbury announced the partial mobilisation of the territorial force. Men under 25 years had previously been required to do an initial year of training, after which they were liable to be called up for periods of further service. In future, they might be required to continue in service indefinitely, and the initial training period might be extended to eighteen months. Men in older age groups would continue to be liable to carry out intermittent periods of service.

The authorities organised helicopter assault teams, which were used to track down guerrillas.

The Rhodesian President, Mr. John Wrathall, called for a national day of prayer on 19 May "to seek God's guidance at this time".

The Government banned the issue of membership cards by both factions of the ANC in Rhodesia.

Regulations were published in a Government Gazette on 26 April to provide for the establishment of a national security committee with members appointed by the President. It would have powers (which could not be challenged in courts of law) to issue "D-notices", forbidding the publication by any of the news media of certain specified information relating to defence, public safety and order, the economic interests of the State, or which could cause alarm and despondency. Maximum penalties for contravening D-notices were R13 400 or five years or both.

Special courts were set up to try guerrillas at summary trials, their powers including the imposition of the death sentence. The courts were to be presided over by magistrates, advocates, or attorneys and to have three other members. Appeals against their decisions lay to the Appellate Division.

Very severe penalties were imposed, too, on persons convicted of giving any assistance (including humanitarian assistance) to "terrorists". The Roman Catholic Bishop Donal Lamont of Umtali was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment with hard labour for having done so.

I Rand Daily Mail, 20 and 27 April.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
GOVERNMENT MEASURES DESIGNED TO LESSEN RACE DISCRIMINATION

Mr. Smith announced on 28 April that he was appointing four African Senator chiefs to Cabinet rank in his government, and three African M.P.s as deputy ministers. They would have equal status with their White colleagues and would be responsible for such matters as African education and the development of African areas.

On 14 June Mr. Smith announced plans to provide for African promotion to commissioned rank in the Rhodesian army and police force. Earlier, an eleven-member multi-racial Commission of Inquiry into Racial Discrimination had been appointed, headed by a former Judge President, Sir Vincent Quenet, Q.C. Its report was published on 14 June. Some of the main recommendations are described below.

1. The Commission recommended a return to the common roll. It stated that it did not think it was called upon to make proposals in regard to the qualifications for enrolment on such a roll.

2. It proposed the establishment of a race relations board to hear complaints about discrimination. As this board would have no punitive powers, aggrieved persons should, as an alternative, have the right of appeal to the High Court for redress.

3. Far-reaching changes to the Land Tenure Act were proposed. There should be private land, and state land. The private land would include White residential and agricultural areas, African townships, African purchase land, and existing multi-racial areas. Rural tribal trust lands would form part of the state land. Urban commercial and industrial land should be made available to all races. Residents of African townships should be able to convert their tenure to freehold.

More land should be set aside for those who chose to live in a multi-racial community. Africans should be able to buy farms in existing White agricultural areas (subject to conditions, applying to all, relating to the farmer’s experience and use of acceptable husbandry standards), and African purchase land should be open to purchase by all races.

4. People of all races should be able to use any hotels, restaurants, and cafes in the central parts of towns. An owner would retain the right to reserve admission to his establishment, but a refusal of entry would have to be based on some good ground, not on skin colour. Owners would be given a period of two years to comply, to enable them to leave the trade if they so wished.

4 Star of that date,
RHODESIA
5. The restrictions on Africans drinking in public bars after 7 p.m. should be abolished.
6. Public toilets should not be reserved for specific races. Instead, there should be free sections and "pay-in-the-slot" sections.
7. Government schools should continue to cater for separate races, but there should be no arbitrary restriction on contact between Black and White schools in the form of plays, debates, seminars, etc. Multi-racial sport should be allowed at school level, with the proviso that every parent should have the right to refuse permission for his child to participate.
8. Permit restrictions limiting the numbers of African students at private schools should be abolished.
9. There should be no restrictions on multi-racial sport at adult level.
11. There should be more appointment and promotion on merit in government service.
12. An old age pension scheme should be established for Africans who had lived and worked in urban areas for many years.
13. More elasticity was needed on the question of Indian immigration.

Speaking in Parliament in a debate on the Quenet Report, Mr. Smith is reported to have said that the Commission had strayed from its terms of reference in recommending a return to the common roll. He was convinced that the existing two-roll electoral system was the best for Rhodesia. The "B" roll increased opportunities of Africans to take part in politics.

Mr. Smith did not agree with the proposal that the judicial system should concern itself with complaints about racial discrimination. He rejected the recommendation that Africans should be able to buy White farming land. One reason for this, he said, was the importance of maintaining maximum productivity in White agricultural areas. Security considerations were another factor. Mr. Smith pointed out that there was no shortage of land for sale in African purchase areas.

The Prime Minister stated that the large majority of the Commission's other recommendations were acceptable to his government.

During September, a Constitution Amendment Bill was introduced in the Rhodesian Parliament. It was designed to enable the Prime Minister to appoint, as further Ministers or Deputy Ministers, persons who were not members of the House of Assembly or the Senate. The measure would be in force only until the end of the life of the existing Parliament. A number of Star, 23 July.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
the Rhodesian Front backbenchers were reported' to have suspected that the object
was to enable Mr. Smith to appoint a “parity” cabinet. They opposed this concept,
yet voted for the measure lest the party whips should expel them.
It was reported in November7 that the first 23 Africans had been selected as
candidates for a police officer training course. A start had been made with
opening industrial and commercial land in White areas for purchase by African
businessmen, and with making more residential land in urban areas available to
Africans for home ownership. The Government had accepted that restrictions on
multi-racial sport at government schools should be lifted.
DIVISIONS WITHIN THE ANC AND THE GUERRILLA MOVEMENTS
There continued to be deep division within Rhodesia between the Nkomo faction
of the ANC (previously Zapu) and the supporters of Bishop Muzorewa
(previously Zanu). The Bishop was living mainly in Zambia, in self-imposed
exile. Within Rhodesia his supporters were led by Dr. Elliot Gabellah and Dr.
Gordon Chavunduka. During April about 200 members of the latter group were
reported1 to have stoned a house at which a private meeting of the Nkomo group
was being held and to have damaged cars outside. Several arrests resulted, the
men concerned being charged with committing public violence.
In March, top leaders of the Muzorewa faction were prohibited by the
Government from entering the Rhodesian midlands to convene a series of
meetings, this order to be in force for three months.' Some of them apparently
disregarded the order: Mr. Enos Nkala, the deputy secretary-general, was arrested
in Bulawayo on 10 April. During the weeks that followed a number of officials of
this faction were arrested and detained by the Rhodesian authorities.
As mentioned earlier, Bishop Muzorewa dissociated himself completely from the
Smith-Nkomo talks that were held early in 1976.
A so-called Third Force emerged: the military high command of the Zimbabwe
People's Army (Zipa) which was based in Mozambique. A former Zanu leader,
Mr. Robert Mugabe, left Rhodesia without travel documents during 1975 and
associated himself with this group, apparently becoming its political spokesman.
It was reported3 that Zipa decided to sever all ties with the Muzorewa/Sithole
faction of the ANC after Mr. Mugabe had visited Europe and had discovered that
large sums of money
6 Rand Daily Mail, 2 September.
7 Rand Daily Mail, 1 November.
1 Rand Daily Mail, 12 April.
2 Sunday Times, 28 March.
3 Star, 18 May.
444

RHODESIA
contributed to the Zimbabwe People's Army via Bishop Muzorewa had never
reached the men for whom it was intended.
President Machel of Mozambique was, apparently, of the opinion that at the
conclusion of the war against Rhodesia, the military would appoint the political
leaders, as it had done in his country. At an OAU meeting in June he pressed,
unsuccessfully, for the political direction of the nationalist movements to be handed over to Zipa.

Divisions along the old Zanu (mainly Shona people) and Zapu (Ndebele) lines developed in Zipa, too. It was reported in June4 that after a visit to Mozambique by Mr. Nkomo, ex-Zanu men turned on his supporters, killing nearly 300 of them. About 70 more young men who were Zapu-orientated were stated to have been massacred at a training camp in South Tanzania later in June.5

At the time of Dr. Kissinger's "shuttle" in Southern Africa, in September, a "mini-summit" meeting was held in Dar-es-Salaam of the heads of the five Southern African independent states—Presidents Kaunda, Nyerere, Khama, Machel, and Neto. According to reports,6 the leaders of the various rival Rhodesian African nationalist groups were virtually ordered to be present. Efforts to unite these factions failed, however: the ANC broke up completely. Mr. Sithole was reported7 to have said that he had reformed Zanu and was withdrawing it from the ANC. (In this action he was, apparently, supported only by a dissident faction.) Bishop Muzorewa and Mr. Chikerema did not publicly announce their intentions.

ESCALATION OF THE WAR ON THE BORDERS

Eastern border

The main action from about April onward took place in the "Operation Thrasher" area along the border with Mozambique. The road through Umtali to the south, which runs parallel to the border (about 30 km away) was closed at night, while traffic by day travelled in convoys.

Mortar bomb or machine gun attacks were made on several White-owned farms. Between April and July, one White farmer was wounded, another was abducted and taken into Mozambique, and a White man installing a rural power line was murdered. A White couple was murdered on a farm near Inyanga in October. Shots were fired at motorists on country roads: at least one White was killed and two wounded. Other casualties resulted from landmine blasts: early in June a White woman motorist

4 Sunday Times, 13 June.
5 Star, 29 June; Rand Daily Mail, 28 July.
Star, 7 September.
7 Rand Daily Mail, 19 September.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

and two of her daughters were killed near Chipinga, two other girls in the car being very seriously injured. No record is available of the number of African civilians killed in such blasts.

There were a number of clashes between security force patrols and guerrillas, with casualties on both sides. On a number of occasions Rhodesian border posts were fired upon. On one occasion, Rhodesian jets knocked out the mortar positions from which the shots had come, and blew up an ammunition dump. A more sophisticated attack was made early in August on a Rhodesian military and police base in the Honde Valley, northeast of Umtali and about 3 km from the border. Those responsible were believed to be Rhodesian nationalist guerrillas assisted by Frelimo troops from Mozambique. No casualties were reported: the
attackers retreated in good order after the Rhodesian troops had returned the fire. But a few days later, on 8 August, five White security force men were killed and others wounded when another camp, about 30km south of Umtali, was attacked. Early in September there was a yet larger attack on a Rhodesian base camp to the north of Umtali. Some of the defenders were, apparently, wounded, and a number of guerrillas killed. (Combined casualty figures are given later.)

After the attack on 8 August the Rhodesian Government issued a Press statement in which it said that the Rhodesian troops had followed the guerrillas in "hot pursuit" over the border. They had attacked an insurgent headquarters and base camp in Mozambique, killing more than 300 guerrillas, some 30 Mozambican troops, and about ten civilians who were supporting the insurgents. There was irrefutable proof that the insurgents concerned had been operating against Rhodesia. During the operation it had been necessary for the troops to destroy a roadblock and a bridge: further casualties were inflicted in this action. Apart from a few minor injuries, the Rhodesian forces had suffered no casualties, it was stated.

The Press reported it was understood that this attack was made by motorised troops with air support.

The Mozambique Government stated that the settlement attacked had been a camp for Rhodesian refugees, not a guerrilla base, and that more than 620 people had been killed. The representative in Mozambique of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees is reported to have telephoned his headquarters in Geneva, saying that it was in fact a refugee camp, known as Margonha, one of three supported by his agency. He had visited it after the raid, finding about 500 wounded refugees and ten mass graves in which men, women and children had been buried.

Mr. Ted Sutton-Pryce, the Deputy Minister in the Rhodesian Prime Minister's office, held a Press conference and showed reporters a number of items captured in the raid. These included

RHODESIA
a register of guerrillas based there (including some women) which gave real names, code names, ages, and home areas, records of the questioning of recruits by intelligence officers, a map of the lay-out of the camp, the parade states of each of three battalions (totalling more than 3 000 people) in training, written lectures given to trainees, records of medical examinations and of punishments meted out, and a register of arms and persons to whom these had been allocated. Two rocket and mortar attacks were made on Umtali, apparently by Frelimo troops just across the border. No casualties resulted.

North-eastern area
Sporadic attacks continued on farms in the Centenary area, during which cattle were mutilated. Another White farmer was killed in October.

Roads linking Rhodesia with the Republic
On 18 April three South African tourists travelling by motorcycle on the main road from Salisbury, between Rutenga and Beit Bridge, were shot dead. A woman travelling with them was wounded. For some days this portion of the road was
sealed off, traffic being re-routed. More territorials in the district were mobilised
to search for the guerrillas responsible. When the road was re-opened travellers
were advised to motor in convoys, with armed escorts. Those not using the
convoy system were allowed on the vulnerable sections by day only.
Two people travelling by car were shot and wounded about 32 km north of Beit
Bridge on 24 May. In an ambush 50 km south of Fort Victoria on 13 July three
cars were attacked, a White child being shot dead and five other people wounded.
On 9 July a White farmer was killed on a ranch near the road.
Rail links
During April and May a number of attempts were made to sabotage the railway
line between Rutenga and South Africa. Only minor damage resulted.
There were similar attacks in June on the line linking Salisbury with Umtali, and,
between May and July and again in October, on the passenger line between
Bulawayo and the Botswana border. In the October attack, trucks were derailed
and the train driver was shot and wounded. A bridge near Plumtree was blown up
at about the same time.
Bulawayo area and western part of Rhodesia
Towards the end of May a White farmer and his son were shot dead in the West
Nicolson area, south-east of Bulawayo.
447
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
After cars on the Bulawayo-Beit Bridge road had been fired on, a convoy system
was introduced along this road, too. Early in July, a White man was shot dead,
and his wife wounded, in a trading store 60 km south-east of Bulawayo. Later that
month shots were fired at a car travelling along the main road between Bulawayo
and the Victoria Falls, wounding four people. This road also was then closed to
night traffic.
Later in July two Whites were murdered near the Bulawayo-Victoria Falls road—a
rancher and a timber worker. During September two White women were killed on
isolated farms, near Plumtree and Wankie respectively.
On 2 September an African policeman was killed and another wounded in a
Bulawayo African township while they were trying to arrest an armed man
thought to have committed the murders in July. He was later shot dead by other
policemen.
Salisbury area
On about 25 May two African men, believed to be guerrillas, were killed by
Security Force men at a popular resort only 40 km from the centre of Salisbury
city, near the Msana tribal trust land. Roadblocks were set up on roads leading
into this trust land.
Early in June, one of the ten African Senator chiefs was abducted from the Bikita
tribal trust land, to the south-east of Salisbury.
Zambian border area
In a Press interview published on 29 May, President Kaunda said that his
government would allow Black nationalist guerrillas to use Zambian territory for
attacks against Rhodesia. Men were already in intensive training in Zambia in preparation for the opening of another front.

Two aircraft were damaged at a resort near Lake Kariba on about 9 June: it was thought possible that those responsible for this deed entered from Zambia. During August, two African policemen, an African civilian, and two Spanish tourists were killed near the headwaters of Lake Kariba, apparently by landmine blasts. In mid-September infiltrators, believed to have come from Zambia, attacked a Rhodesian camp at the eastern end of the Zambian border: two Rhodesian soldiers and a number of guerrillas were killed.

Early in October a rail bridge about 47 km from the Victoria Falls was blown up as a goods train approached it. Eleven wagons were thrown into the river bed: they were carrying copper from Zaire to a South African port. No-one was injured.

A motel at the Victoria Falls was raided on 31 October. Numerous shots were fired by the guerrillas, who killed a White man and wounded two others. On the following day a gang of five men entered a bar at an hotel in Wankie, firing indiscriminately, and wounding two African patrons. One of the attackers was killed when a bullet ricocheted. On 15 November a White man was murdered on his farm less than 30 km from the Falls.

Offensive by Rhodesian armed forces in November

On 31 October, Rhodesian armed forces crossed the border into Mozambique along a wide front, mainly from the "Hurricane" area in the north-east into the Tete province, and from the "Thrasher" and "Repulse" areas in the south-east, from the north of Chipinga down to the Transvaal border. Using fighter bombers, armed helicopters, armoured vehicles, infantry and cavalry, cannons and mortars, they launched a three-day attack on at least seven guerrilla training camps within 60 to 95 km of the border (reports of the distance varied). According to a Mozambique radio broadcast, they destroyed all telephone, road, and rail links in the areas they penetrated. Casualties were not announced, but various reports stated that several hundred Zipa troops were killed, whereas Rhodesian losses were comparatively minor.

The Commanding Officer in the "Hurricane" area told newsmen that the Rhodesian forces concerned had been ordered to avoid confrontation with civilians and with Frelimo troops. He said that the Rhodesians had destroyed more than 70 tons of war material and had seized about eight tons of weapons and equipment.

It was reported from Maputo on 20 November that the Rhodesians had launched another attack near Pafuri in the far south-east. Rhodesian military spokesmen denied this.

Numbers of guerrillas

Mr. Ted Sutton-Pryce, Deputy Minister in the office of the Prime Minister, is reported to have said early in August that, according to estimates by his government, there would be 4000 fully-trained Rhodesian guerrillas in...
Mozambique by the end of September, with a few thousand more half-trained. There were some 400 fully-trained men in Zambia, and a back-up of about 600 undergoing training.
Rhodesian security forces estimated in mid-November that there were between 1 200 and 2 000 guerrillas within Rhodesia.

Casualty figures
The escalation of the war in Rhodesia is clearly demonstrated by Press estimates of the number of casualties since the incursions:
I Star, 6 August; Sunday Times, 8 August.

449

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
of guerrillas began in December 1972. Some of the estimates of the numbers killed are given.

End April 19 August 24 September 17 November
Guerrillas 2 ...... 847 1150 1 309 1 905
Security Force men ... 101 144 163 186
White civilians ...... 22 39 42 56
African civilians3 ... 327 425 466 566

INITIATIVE TAKEN BY DR. KISSINGER, AND SOUTH AFRICA'S RESPONSE
As described in an earlier chapter, Dr. Kissinger and Mr. Vorster met in West Germany in June to discuss the situation in Southern Africa.
Mr. Vorster said very little about what had transpired. However, in a major speech made at a National Party meeting the SA Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Hilgard Muller, is reported to have declared that his government welcomed the United States' initiative for a peaceful solution of the Rhodesian question, and "we are prepared to comply with the request to demonstrate our commitment to Africa by giving our full support for a peaceful outcome".

After his second round of talks with Dr. Kissinger, in Zurich, Mr. Vorster told the Press that he was not prepared to participate in sanctions or boycotts, nor to prescribe to Rhodesia what its policy should be. "What I am prepared to do is to create the climate in which negotiations can take place. This I have done. I have been prepared to advise and to point out alternatives and to use persuasion".

Before the third round of talks, held in Pretoria, Dr. Kissinger and his aides had discussions with the heads of the Southern African independent states, and Mr. Smith came to Pretoria for discussions with Mr. Vorster.

ATTITUDE OF WHITE RHODESIANS
There had been differences of opinion within the ruling Rhodesia Front government, a group of confederationists advocating the division of the country into Shona, Ndebele, and White provinces.'

On 16 September, however, the Party congress met and agreed to give Mr. Ian Smith carte blanche to negotiate on its behalf with Dr. Kissinger and Mr. Vorster on the future of all the people of Rhodesia.'

2 The figures from August On possibly exclude the persons, claimed by Rhodesia to be
guerrillas, who were killed within Mozambique on 8 August and in October.
3 Considerably higher figures were given in some reports. 1 Star, 13 and 17 August.
2 Sunday Times, 5 September.
3 Rand Daily Mail, 17 September.

RHODESIA
On 18 September Dr. Colin Barlow, M.P., read to the Press a statement which, he
said, had Mr. Smith’s approval. 4 The main points made were that the continued
development of Rhodesia depended on a stable government and a political
environment which Black majority rule could not sustain. The most important
objective of the Government’s policy should be the preservation of government in
responsible hands and no lowering of acceptable standards.
The opposition Centre Party and Rhodesian National Party played no part in the
negotiations with Dr. Kissinger.
MEETING OF DR. KISSINGER AND MR. SMITH
Mr. Smith again visited Pretoria on 20 September to meet Dr. Kissinger, Mr.
Vorster being present during the latter part of the discussions.
Questioned by the Press afterwards, Dr. Kissinger said that he had reported to Mr.
Smith the proposition developed jointly by the United States and the United
Kingdom in close consultation with the presidents of Black Africa. He was
satisfied that Mr. Smith and the three Rhodesian Cabinet Ministers who had
accompanied him would report favourably to their colleagues, and would
thereafter present the propositions to their party caucus. 1
On returning to Salisbury, Mr. Smith immediately convened meetings of his
Cabinet and thereafter of his party caucus. Lengthy discussions were held behind
closed doors. Then, on 24 September, Mr. Smith made a major statement over
radio and television.
TERMS OF THE SETTLEMENT, AS ANNOUNCED BY MR. SMITH
Mr. Smith announced that he and his party had accepted a package deal proposed
by Dr. Kissinger, subject to its acceptance by the other parties involved and
subject to the lifting of sanctions and the cessation of terrorism. The terms of the
proposals were as follows.
(a) Rhodesia agreed to majority rule within two years.
(b) Representatives of the Rhodesian Government would meet
immediately at a mutually agreed place with African leaders to organise an
interim government to function until majority
rule was implemented.
(c) The interim government would consist of a Council of State,
half of its members being Black and half White, under a
White chairman without a special vote.
1 Star, 18 September. Rand Daily Mail, 21 September.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
(d) The White and Black sides would nominate their representatives.
(e) The functions of the interim government would include legislation, general supervisory responsibilities, and supervising the process of drafting a constitution.

(f) The interim government would have a Council of Ministers with a majority of Africans and an African First Minister.

(g) For the period of the interim government the Ministers of Defence and of Law and Order would be White.

(h) Decisions of the Council of Ministers would be taken by two-thirds majority. Its functions would include delegated legislative authority and executive responsibility.

(i) The United Kingdom would enact enabling legislation for the process to majority rule. Thereafter, Rhodesia would enact such legislation as might be necessary.

(j) On the establishment of the interim government sanctions would be lifted and all acts of war, including guerrilla warfare, would cease.

(k) Substantial economic support would be made available by the international community to provide assurance to Rhodesians about the economic future of the country.

(l) A trust fund would be established outside Rhodesia which would organise and finance a major international effort to support the internal and external circumstances of the country, and provide development assistance, guarantees, and investment incentives. The aim would be to expand the country's industrial, mineral, and agricultural production and to provide the necessary training facilities.

(m) Pension rights, the investment of the individual in his own home or farm, and the remittances overseas of an individual's liquid resources within levels yet to be stipulated would be guaranteed by the interim and subsequent governments. These measures would be underwritten by the trust fund.

Mr. Smith commented that he would be dishonest if he did not say that he and his government did not think the proposals were the best solution for Rhodesia's problems. "Regrettably, however, we are not able to make our views prevail, although we are able to achieve some modifications in the proposals . . . The alternative to acceptance of the proposals was explained to us in the clearest terms, which left no room for misunderstanding." It had been made abundantly clear that as long as the existing circumstances prevailed in Rhodesia, the country could expect no help or support of any kind from the free world. "On the contrary, the pressures on us from the free world would continue to mount".

Mr. Smith said that he and his colleagues had expressed concern to Dr. Kissinger and those who were working with him over their ability to fulfil their undertaking to halt terrorism. He doubted whether this could be done immediately-in fact, there might even be a temporary increase in terrorist activity. The security forces and all those living in the affected areas would have to act accordingly.
Mr. Smith also warned that the security of commercial information should be
strictly preserved in the coming months. All those concerned were urged to be
particularly careful not to reveal any information on the breaking of sanctions.
IMMEDIATE REACTIONS OF AFRICAN LEADERS
Commenting on this broadcast, Mr. Nkomo said that there were very serious
flaws in the settlement proposals which he would have to discuss with other
African leaders. The most important flaw was a lack of clarity over the role of the
Council of State in the interim government. Would real power be vested in this
proposed Council (with equal numbers of Blacks and of Whites, under a White
chairman), or in the proposed Council of Ministers (with a majority of Blacks and
a Black First Minister)? He would be unwilling to accept the first of these
alternatives.
A special mini-summit meeting of the five African front-line presidents was
convened in Lusaka, under the chairmanship of President Nyerere. The presidents
rejected some aspects of the proposals as outlined by Mr. Smith which, if
accepted, would be "tantamount to legalising the colonialist and racist structures
of power", they said. Those who had met Dr. Kissinger maintained that they had
not accepted the aspects concerned.1
President Nyerere was reported to have said, before this minisummit, that he did
not agree with Mr. Smith that the Ministries of Defence and of Law and Order
should remain in White hands for the duration of the interim government.
The mini-summit called upon the British Government to convene an urgent
conference, outside Rhodesia, and attended by the authentic representatives of the
people of Zimbabwe, to discuss the structure, functions, and establishment of the
interim government, and the procedure for convening a full constitutional
conference.2
Mr. William Rogers, the US Under-Secretary of State who had accompanied Dr.
Kissinger on his Southern Africa shuttle, confirmed that the African leaders
consulted had not accepted all the proposals outlined by Mr. Smith. Their
acceptance had been confined to the fundamental principle of majority rule within
two years, negotiations for an interim government, and negotiations for arranging
a constitutional conference. The addi-
I Rand Daily Mail, 27 September.
2 Sunday Times, 26 September; Rand Daily Mail, 27 September.
453
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
tional points enunciated by Mr. Smith had, apparently, been drawn up by Dr.
Kissinger and his staff after a wide range of talks, and they represented Mr.
Smith's "negotiating position".3
Commentators said4 that Mr. Smith's stipulation that the Ministries of Defence
and of Law and Order should remain in White hands for the time being was based
on his view that the anti-guerrilla war effort would, otherwise, be thrown into
chaos. Troops in the insurgent forces would be introduced as the new defence
force, with "explosive results".
President Mabuto Sese Seko of Zaire made no publicly reported detailed comment on the proposals, but stated 5 that Dr. Kissinger had convinced him and other African leaders of the need for a peaceful solution of the problems of Southern Africa.

There were differences of opinion about the cessation of fighting. According to Mr. Smith's announcement this would take place as soon as an interim government, constituted as outlined in his statement, had been established. But President Nyerere is reported 6 to have said that guerrilla warfare would end only on the orders of a Black majority provisional government when it took power in Salisbury.

According to an unidentified spokesman for Zipa in a radio broadcast from Maputo monitored in Johannesburg, African nationalists of the "Third Force", in Mozambique, were determined to continue the armed struggle until a "people's government of Zimbabwe" had been established. 7

Angola is stated 8 to have rejected the whole package as an "imperialist ploy". Bishop Muzorewa, who clearly did not propose being ousted in favour of Mr. Nkomo in international circles, returned to Salisbury after a 15-month voluntary absence, being greeted by welcoming crowds estimated at more than 200 000. 1 It seemed apparent that he then enjoyed considerably greater popular support within Rhodesia-in Mashonaland at any rate-than did Mr. Nkomo. (The African population of Rhodesia is about 77 per cent Shona, and 17 per cent Ndebele.)

PROPOSALS FOR AN INTERNATIONAL TRUST FUND

Initial talks were held in Washington at the end of September on the proposed international trust fund to assist with the economic development of Rhodesia and to underwrite the rights of White citizens.

Mr. "Pik" Botha, SA's Ambassador to the USA, attended Star, 28 September.

Rand Daily Mail, 23 September.

Ibid, 27 September, Star, 28 September.

7 Rand Daily Mail, 23 September.

Star, 5 October.

Rand Daily Mail, 4 October.

RHODESIA

the talks, but made it clear to the Press that SA did not intend contributing to the fund. It would, however, provide a home for White Rhodesians who wished to emigrate. A subsequent report 2 indicated that the United States and Britain might decide to drop plans to compensate White Rhodesians who wanted to leave the country.

PROPOSALS FOR AN INITIAL CONFERENCE

On 29 September the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Anthony Crosland, announced that his government would convene a conference to discuss the formation of an interim government in Rhodesia. The chairman would be Mr. Ivor Richard, the United Kingdom's Ambassador at the UN, and the venue anywhere in Southern Africa that was acceptable to those involved. The parties concerned
were invited to inform him as soon as possible who their representatives would be.

At the time, the British Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Relations, Mr. Ted Rowlands, was in Botswana to attend celebrations of the anniversary of the independence of that country. Also present was Mr. William Schaufele, the US Assistant Secretary of State. They took the opportunity of having discussions with African leaders who were present, and afterwards travelled together to various capitals of Southern African countries for discussions with heads of state.

It was subsequently announced that the conference would take place in Geneva. Delegates would begin to assemble there on 21 October for preliminary private discussions before the formal opening on 25 October. (At the request of certain of the African delegates, the opening was postponed for a few days.)

ALIGNMENTS OF AFRICAN NATIONALIST LEADERS

For some time the composition of the leadership of Zipa in Mozambique had not been publicly known. Mr. Robert Mugabe (ex-Zanu) had emerged as a political voice for Zipa, but his exact link with the army had not been known. Rex Nhlongo had been signing communiques as "army commander". It transpired later that he had been standing in for General Josiah Tongogara who, with more than 50 other Zanu members, had been in prison in Lusaka since the assassination of Mr. Herbert Chitepo during 1975.

In mid-October the Zambian authorities dropped charges against some of the imprisoned Zanu leaders. On his release, Mr. Tongogara went to Mozambique to take over command of Zipa. He was reported to be a close associate of President Machel. He affirmed loyalty to Mr. Mugabe as the political leader of

I Rand Datly Mail, 27 September.

2 Ibid, 26 October.

455

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

Zanu and Zipa members in Mozambique.

Earlier in October Mr. Nkomo visited Maputo for discussions with Mr. Mugabe. They decided to form an alliance, the Patriotic Front, partly aimed at reuniting the Zanu and Zapu factions of Zipa. Mr. Mugabe was not well known within Rhodesia, but Mr. Nkomo could count on the support of most of the Ndebele there. One of his associates, Mr. Alfred Mangela, is reported to have claimed leadership of Zapu troops who were attacking Rhodesia from Zambia and possibly via Botswana. It appeared that the alliance would, thus, control most of the armed forces.

As mentioned earlier, Bishop Muzorewa had a wide political following among the Shona, who constituted the majority of the population in Rhodesia, but he had no army. It was reported in mid-November that some influential former Zanu members were deserting him and becoming Mugabe-supporters.

It was reported in November that there had been fighting in Mozambique between two factions of Zipa-supporters respectively of Mr. Mugabe and of Mr. Sithole.

THE GENEVA TALKS
Britain invited Mr. Smith, Mr. Nkomo, Mr. Mugabe, and Bishop Muzorewa to send delegations to the Geneva talks. Mr. Sithole was subsequently included in the participants. Mr. Tongogara was a member of Mr. Mugabe's delegation.

Before the formal talks began and at intervals in the proceedings Mr. Richard held informal discussions with the various delegations in the attempt to resolve differences, which were great and likely to cause stalemate in plenary sessions. Mr. Smith repeatedly insisted that his delegation was in Geneva purely and simply to implement the Kissinger "package". If any portion of this were not generally accepted, the entire package would fall away, including his acceptance of majority rule within two years.

Speaking in the House of Commons, Mr. Crosland is reported to have said that the British Government had no power, even if it had the wish, to impose the terms of the package, as described by Mr. Smith, on the Rhodesian African nationalists or the front-line presidents. This package, he stated, including details such as the composition of the interim government, was a matter for negotiation at Geneva. (Dr. Kissinger confirmed this statement later.)

Despite internal differences, the African nationalists agreed with one another that independence should be granted in less than twelve months. They considered that a period of two years was too long for a transitional government to function without real power. It was also reported that they feared that if Whites controlled the army and police during the interim period, Mr. Smith might try to engineer another UDI.

The front-line presidents sent representatives to Geneva to try to assist in achieving a settlement. Dr. Kissinger sent Mr. William Schaufele, who was in a position to testify, if asked, what had been actually agreed to in the private negotiations between Dr. Kissinger and the Black and White leaders.

All the delegations were reported to have agreed that initial steps should be the setting up of an interim government, the introduction of enabling legislation by the British Parliament, the appointment of a commission to draw up a future constitution, a decision on the franchise, the registration of voters and the delimitation of constituencies. Mr. Richard suggested that a period of 15 months might be required for these processes, but the Whites stuck to a period of not less than 23 months, and the Africans to one of not less than 12 months. Bishop Muzorewa made a compromise, alternative procedural suggestion, which was rejected by the Patriotic Front.

As little progress was being made, Mr. Smith returned to Rhodesia for the time being, leaving Mr. Peter K. Van der Bijl in charge of the White delegation.

It was announced on 15 November that Britain would grant Rhodesia independence not later than 15 months after a successful end to the Geneva conference. But if all the necessary legal and constitutional processes could be completed in a lesser period, independence could be granted sooner than this.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE OFFERED TO MOZAMBIQUE
According to news reports on 20 and 21 November, supplies of heavy Russian sophisticated military equipment had been unloaded in Mozambique. Cuba had sent messages to President Machel promising unconditional support for the "heroic struggle" of the Mozambique people against attacks by the "racist forces of the illegal regime".

Defence Ministers from Zambia, Tanzania, and Angola had met in Mozambique, it was said, and had agreed that any attack against one state would be regarded as an attack on them all and would be met with joint retaliation.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA/NAMIBIA
DAKAR CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN NAMIBIA
A four-day conference on Human Rights in Namibia was held in Dakar early in January.1 The conference was organised by three non-governmental groups: the International Institute for Human Rights, the International Commission of Jurists, and the International Association of Democratic Lawyers (the Eastern equivalent of the ICI). It was hosted by the Senegalese Government and sponsored by the UN Commissioner for Namibia, Mr. Sean MacBride.

Some 300 people attended: lawyers, politicians, churchmen, and leaders of Swapo. Decisions were taken by consensus instead of by voting, in order to achieve compromise on matters upon which there had been differences of opinion, for example the degree of emphasis to be placed on forcible action by the UN.

A Declaration was approved. It denounced the policy of "consultation and détente" advocated by South Africa towards other African states, stating that this caused confusion in international public opinion and undermined African unity and the struggle for the elimination of apartheid. The United Nations would be asked to call upon South Africa to allow free elections in Namibia, supervised by the UN. If SA failed to comply, mandatory sanctions should be applied. Every effort would be made to implement the Decree on Natural Resources (described below). The "armed struggle" of Swapo was approved, and the declaration called upon the international community, and in particular the countries of Africa, to give Swapo "political, moral, and material support".

A programme of Action was approved, which stated, inter alia, that if the Security Council did not take effective action to put an end to "the illegal occupation of Namibia" by South Africa, the General Assembly should exercise its legal authority.

DECREE ON NATURAL RESOURCES
In 1974 the UN Council for Namibia adopted a decree in which it announced that any natural resources removed from South West Africa without the consent of this UN Council would be confiscated, the proceeds to be held in trust by the Council for the people of a future independent Namibia.

The decree was designed to discourage foreign investment in South West Africa.
1 The report that follows was compiled by the writer from an address by Professor C. J. R.
Dugard to the Natal Region of the Institute of Race Relations, entitled The South Wes, Africa,Na:nibia Dispute, and various Press reports on 9 January and subsequent days.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA/NAMIBIA
The SA Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Hilgard Muller, visited London during January, and was invited to participate in a BBC radio broadcast on current events. He is reported to have denounced the decree as "completely illegal", and to have said that "any enforcement action on the part of the UN would, therefore, be nothing else than piracy".

SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE AND RESOLUTION IN JANUARY
A heated debate was held in the Security Council at the end of January of SA's "illegal presence in Namibia" and its use of the territory as a "springboard for aggression in Angola". Various Third World states again urged the imposition of mandatory sanctions; but it appeared clear that the Western powers would once more veto these. Considerable behind the scenes negotiation took place. The SA Ambassador, Mr. "Pik" Botha, sent a letter to the Security Council and, with its permission, he addressed the Council on 27 January. His remarks on the subject of Angola are reported in an earlier chapter. On the subject of South West Africa, he pleaded for a clearer understanding of the issues involved. He said, "We are astonished at the lack of appreciation for the real efforts we have made to encourage and assist the constitutional development...

"Despite the hostile reaction, the South African Government reiterates its offer to negotiate with a mutually acceptable personal representative of the Secretary-General in order that he may acquaint himself with the development of the process of self-determination in the territory. Moreover, as far as the South African Government is concerned, there would be no objection to such a representative attending the Constitutional Conference as an observer.

"The South African Government also reiterates its offer to discuss the progress and development with leaders of Africa, the Chairman of the United Nations Council for South West Africa, and the Special Committee of the Organisation of African Unity. They would also be welcome to visit South West Africa".

On 30 January the Security Council unanimously adopted a resolution that condemned SA's illegal occupation of Namibia, the "brutal oppression" of its people and persistent violation of their human rights, as well as efforts to destroy the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia, the aggressive military buildup in the area, and the utilization of the territory as a base for attacks on neighbouring states.

The Council declared that in order that the people of Star. 26 January.

Various reports, a, confirmed by the Minister of Transport (for Foreign Affairs), Assembly Hansard 5 col. 408.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
Namibia should be enabled to freely determine their own future, it was imperative that free elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations be held for the whole of Namibia as one political entity. Adequate time should be allowed by the Security Council to enable the United Nations to establish the necessary machinery for elections and to enable the people of Namibia to organise politically.
The resolution called for a solemn SA declaration of intention to accept UN-controlled elections, and to withdraw from the territory. It demanded that SA should release all political prisoners, allow the free return of political exiles, and abolish discriminatory and repressive laws.
The resolution proposed that the Council should meet again by 31 August to review SA’s compliance with these demands and, in the event of non-compliance, to consider "appropriate measures to be taken under the Charter".

OPENING OF THE INSTITUTE FOR NAMIBIA
The Institute for Namibia was opened in Lusaka during September. It was established under the aegis of the UN to train young Africans who had fled from SWA to take over civil service jobs in an independent Namibia. The first group of students numbered about 100, and another fifty would begin classes in January 1977. The course was planned to take a little over two years to complete.'

POPULATION OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA
Replying to a question in the Assembly,' the Minister of Statistics said that the estimated mid-year population of South West Africa in 1975 was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>100 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Coloured&quot; groups:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>33 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehoboth Basters</td>
<td>19 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namas</td>
<td>38 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Native&quot; groups</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ovambos</td>
<td>39 600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaokovelders</td>
<td>7 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kavangos</td>
<td>56 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tswanas</td>
<td>5 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bushmen</td>
<td>26 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>15 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>665 000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The official break-down of the "Native" groups a year earlier, in mid-1974, was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ovambos</td>
<td>39 600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaokovelders</td>
<td>7 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kavangos</td>
<td>56 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tswanas</td>
<td>5 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bushmen</td>
<td>26 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>15 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>665 000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

EXTENT OF HOMELANDS DEMARCATED IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA
Questioned in the Assembly on 9 February, the Minister of Coloured, Rehoboth and Nama Relations said that the areas of homelands under his department's jurisdiction was:
Ha
Rehoboth Gebiet 1 428 788
Namaland 2 163 672
(No homeland has been allocated to the Coloured group, but it is proposed that a stretch of grazing land should be set aside for farmers of this group.)
The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said on 19 February that the "Native" homelands included large tracts of unsurveyed land.
Approximate statistics were:
Estimated percentage of population domiciled
Area in ha in its own homeland
Kaokovelders .................. 4898 000 92
Ovambos .................... 5 607 000 97
Kavangos .................... 4 170000 98
East Caprivians .............. 1153 000 98
Damaras ..................... 4 799 000 34
Hereros ...................... 5899000 56
Tswanaas .................... 155400 91
Bushmen .................... 2 392000 4

SOME NOTES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF HOMELANDS
According to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, there are only two small agricultural schools in "Native" homelands: a recently-opened one at Masari in Kavango, and another at Ongongo in Owambo which, in 1976, had eleven second-year students and 50 applicants for admission.
2 Hansard 3 cot. 132.
3 Hansard 4 cols. 276-7.
4 Apparently including temporarily absent migrant workers.
5 Assembly Hansard 3, col. 134.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
On 5 May the Minister replied to a series of questions about the activities of the Bantu Investment Corporation in the territory. During the year ended 31 March 1975, he said, the Corporation had made 33 loans to African businessmen, the total sum involved being R244 537. Since its inception the Corporation had established 16 light industrial concerns and 38 trading concerns: 13 of the latter had been transferred to African ownership. It had erected 66 business premises for letting to Africans. The numbers of people employed in activities controlled by the Corporation were:
Whites Africans
Trading concerns 112 425
Industrial concerns 52 1 161
Building operations 23 722
During the year under review separate development corporations have been established in Kavango and Owambo, called Ekuliko Kavango Ltd. and the Owambo Development Corporation Ltd. Directors will be appointed by the SA Government.

NOTES ON CERTAIN POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS AFFECTING SPECIFIC GROUPS

SWA Coloured Council
Chief Clemens Kapuu, leader of the National Unity Democratic Organisation and of the Herero delegation to the constitutional conference, was invited to open the 1976 session of the SWA Coloured Council. The chairman of the Council's executive, Mr. A. J. F. Kloppers, said that the invitation was "symbolic of the new dispensation" in the territory. "We do not want to see colour any more". The Council (which is an advisory body with six elected and five nominated members) unanimously approved a motion thanking the SA military forces for their protection and asking for their continued presence. Among other issues discussed at the meeting the acceleration of the opening of hotels and restaurants to members of all racial groups was urged.

The Coloured delegates to the Turnhalle constitutional talks were the six elected members, consisting of three members of the Federal People's Party, two of the National Independence Party, and an independent.

Hansard 14, cols. 959-60.
7 Proclamations R67 and R68 of 30 April; Government Notices R1069 and R1070 of 25 June. Star, 13 April.
2 Star, 4 May.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA/NAMIBIA

Rehoboth Gebiet
1. Rehoboth Self-Government Act, No. 56 of 1976

When introducing the Rehoboth Self-Government Bill at its Second Reading in the SA Assembly, the Minister of Coloured, Rehoboth, and Nama Relations said that in 1872, soon after settling at the Gebiet on land they bought from the Hereros, the Rehoboth Basters drafted their own constitution and laws to regulate communal life. These were called the paternal laws. They wanted to retain them. Unfortunately, during the early 1920s there was a dispute with the Administration. As a result, in 1924 administrative authority was placed in the hands of the local magistrate, who became known as "the Kaptein". Since 1928 he had been assisted by an advisory council of seven elected Rehoboth citizens. Following discussions with the Secretary for Coloured, Rehoboth, and Nama Relations in 1973, the council formulated proposals for a new constitution, the Minister continued. However, five of its members felt that the people had not been adequately consulted, and they resigned in order that popular feeling might be tested in by-elections.

According to information from other sources, these five men tended to accept Swapo views (described later) as to the future of South West Africa. The remaining two members joined with other prominent men to found a middle-of-
the-road Liberation Party. This formed an alliance with the conservative Rehoboth Baster Party (or Baster Association) to fight the by-elections, capturing four of the five seats, and thus having a majority of six to one on the council. The one seat is apparently held by a member of the more radical Volksparty. The ruling party, led by Dr. Ben J. Afrika, is stated to stand for self-rule within a multi-racial, independent country. It supported the constitution that had been drafted earlier, the terms of which were embodied in the 1976 Act.

The Act provided for the constitution of a Kaptein's Council, headed by a citizen of Rehoboth as Kaptein, elected by other citizens for a period of five years. (The Minister said that the people of the Gebiet had their own register of persons who qualified for citizenship.) The Act laid down that citizens will be descendants of existing citizens, or any person married to a citizen and accepted as a citizen by the Kaptein's Council.

This Council will consist of two persons designated by the Kaptein and holding office during his pleasure. It will constitute the Executive Government.

The Legislative Authority will be the Kaptein's Council and the Legislative Council, the latter being elected annually during January, and consisting of six members. Members will choose a Speaker from amongst their ranks. Bills will be drafted by the Kaptein's Council and transmitted to the Speaker for consideration by the Legislative Council.

Unless this Council reaches a decision on a Bill within sixty days after its receipt by the Speaker, it will be deemed to have accepted the measure. If the Legislative Council rejects a Bill, the Kaptein will convene a joint meeting of both councils, at which a decision will be reached by majority vote.

Should the joint meeting reject a Bill, the Kaptein may, if he wishes to proceed with the measure, call a meeting of adult citizens. At such a meeting each citizen will have one vote, but the two members of the Kaptein's Council will each have two votes, and the Kaptein himself will have a number of votes equal to onetenth of the total number of other votes cast.

The Legislative Authority will have power to make laws, not inconsistent with this Act, in respect of a variety of matters set out in a Schedule to the Act. Such laws provide for an amendment to or the repeal of an Act of Parliament or an Ordinance of the South West African Legislative Assembly. Laws passed require the assent of the State President, who may refer a law back to the Kaptein's Council for further consideration.

The South West Africa Division of the Supreme Court of SA will have jurisdiction if the validity of a law of the Legislative Authority of Rehoboth is questioned.

A citizen of Rehoboth will not be regarded as an alien in the Republic or SWA, and for foreign purposes will be afforded full protection according to international law.

The official languages will be English and Afrikaans.
The United Party did not oppose the Second Reading of the Bill because the fundamental principle involved was not in conflict with the UP's policy of the decentralisation of authority within the framework of a federal structure. But during the Committee stage it moved, without success, that wherever the Bill referred to "self-government", the words "local self-administration within the territory of South West Africa" should be substituted.

The Progressive Reform Party moved that the Bill be read that day six months. It argued that the measure was not in accordance with the Government's stated policy that all the inhabitants of South West Africa should discuss with one another the country's constitutional future, all options being open; and that there was insufficient evidence that the measure was acceptable to the Rehoboth community as a whole and to all the other population groups. The leading speaker, Dr. F. Van Zyl Slabbert, pointed out that the Volksparty, which opposed the Bill, had received 34 per cent of votes cast at the by-elections.

Hansard 8 cols. 3216-23.
Hansard 9 col. 3642.
Hansard 8 cols. 3359-71.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA/NAMIBIA
2. Opposition party in the Gebiet
It was announced later in that year that the Baster Volksparty, led by Dr. F. F. Stellemacher, had been dissolved. Members would join Swapo. They dissociated themselves from any homeland policies. This group was not represented at the Turnhalle conference.

Namas
The proclamation providing for the establishment of a Nama Council, tribal authorities, and village management boards in Namaland was described on page 334 of last year's Survey. In terms of Government Notices 777 and 805, of 7 and 14 May 1976, a Nama Council and seven tribal authorities were brought into being.

The Council was officially installed at Tses by the Minister during July. He is reported to have said that its functions would in no way militate against the work of the Turnhalle conference. The council would, for the time being, be mainly an advisory body, dealing with the authorities through the Nama Commissioner, but certain powers of general supervision and partial administration would be delegated to it.

According to an article by Dr. Jan Moolman, Director of the Africa Institute (who quoted Dr. G. K. H. Thtemeyer and Bruckner de Villiers Research as his authorities) a majority of the Nama chiefs and headmen could be termed conservative. Five chiefs of this group (out of a total of eight chiefs) represented their people at Turnhalle. The rest of the Nama chiefs fell into a "middle-of-the-road" category, it was stated.

However, according to Press reports, the four strongest Nama tribal groups, with between 8 000 and 10 000 members, decided on 27 October that because of
continued delays in the granting of independence to South West Africa, they would reject the Turnhalle negotiations and join Swapo.

Owambo

The revised constitution for Owambo, and the 1975 elections, were described on page 334 of last year's Survey. Largely because the emergency regulations set out in Proclamation R17 of 1972 were still in force, Swapo and the Democratic Co-operative Party boycotted the elections. The conservative Owambo Independent Party, then led by the late Chief Filemon Elifas, again came into power (all the candidates for election had, however, stood as independents). After the assassination of Chief Elifas in August 1975, Pastor Cornelius Ndjoba was elected as Chief Minister.

7 Rand Daily Mail, 18 August.
1 Rand Daily Mail, 28 July.

A SURVEY OF TRACE RELATIONS, 1976

Proclamation R138 of 30 July increased the number of Cabinet Ministers from six to seven, to allow for the appointment of a Minister of Health.

Questioned in the Assembly on 7 April, the Minister of Police said that during 1975, 45 men and 12 women had been detained by the Owambo authorities under Proclamation R17 of 1972. Of these, 41 men and 9 women had since been released.

At the request of the Owambo Government the SA Defence authorities provided training facilities for a small battalion of Ovambo troops. The warfare in the border area with Angola is described later in this chapter.

Kavango and Kaokoland

The Kavango constitution was described on page 391 of the Survey for 1973. Proclamation R218 of 22 October provided for the election of an additional Cabinet Minister, making five in all. No political parties have, apparently, yet emerged. In this homeland, too, the SA authorities acceded to a request to train local troops.

The delegates to the Turnhalle conference from both Kavango and Kaokoland were traditional chiefs, of conservative views.

East Caprivi

In terms of Proclamation R42 of 19 March, Caprivi was declared a self-governing homeland within the territory of South West Africa, with its seat of government at Ngweze. The official languages were stated to be English, Afrikaans and Lozi. The Legislative Council consists of the chiefs of the two tribes in the area (Basubia and Mafwe), together with 18 members designated by the two tribal authorities (9 by each of them), and 12 elected members (half from each tribal area).

The office of Chief Minister will alternate between the two chiefs, each holding office during a term of the Legislative Council, normally five years. (The first Chief Minister was Chief M. Moralismwani of the Basubia tribe.) The Cabinet will
consist of the two chiefs and four other Ministers, two from each tribe, appointed by the Chief Minister from the members of the Legislative Council. The chief who is not currently holding office will be consulted in regard to the selection of members from his area. The traditional leaders represented the Caprivians at Turnhalle. There is an opposition group in this homeland, the Caprivi National Union, whose members hold radical views. In 1972 its
4 Hansard 11 cols. 793-4.
5 Rand Daily Mail, 27 July.
466

SOUTH WEST AFRICA/NAMIBIA
leader, Mr. Branden Simbwaye, was reported to have been restricted to a farm in Damaraland.6
Damaras and Tswanas
Political groups among the Damara people were described on page 339 of last year's Survey. Firstly, there is the Damara Advisory Council, composed of members of ward councils elected by the minority of the Damara who live in the homeland allocated to their group. Its chairman is Mr. Justus Garoeb. In the article quoted earlier, Dr. Jan Moolman included the Advisory Council with the "middle-of-the-road" group. Some years ago, most of the Damara living outside the homeland rejected the authority of the Advisory Council and, instead, set up a Damara Tribal Executive. Another smaller group was the Voice of the People, which also claimed support among the Namas. The Advisory Council laid down preconditions for attending the constitutional conference, more or less along the lines adopted by Swapo (described later). The Tribal Executive split, those members who supported the SA Government breaking away to form the Damara United Front. This group, led by Mr. E. L. H. Christie, represented the Damara at Turnhalle. Early in 1976 it changed its name to the Namibia People's Democratic United Front (DUF). It stated that it favoured the maintenance of the territorial integrity of SWA, rather than the homeland concept.7
The Tswana delegation was composed of tribal leaders.
Hereros
Divisions among the Herero people, too, were described in last year's Survey (page 340). The largest group, consisting of those living in the west of the country, is led by Chief Clemens Kapuuo. Dr. Moolman stated that he is supported by some 60 per cent of the Hereros and the majority of the tribal chiefs. Smaller groups are the Association for the Preservation of the Tjamuaha/Maherero royal house, and the pro-SA Government Mbanderos group. They were not represented at the constitutional talks. Chief Kapuuo is the leader of the National Unity Democratic Organisation (Nudo), and, until its partial break-up in 1975,8 was the moving spirit in the National Convention of Freedom Parties. This body stood for SA's withdrawal
from SWA, the preservation of the territory as one identity, an end to racial segregation, the release of political prisoners, and the abolition
Star, 26 April.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
of the labour recruitment system. On several occasions Chief Kapuuo appeared before UN bodies and officials, urging the recognition of the National Convention, rather than Swapo-in-exile, as the organisation most representative of the peoples of Namibia.
As described later, Chief Kapuuo played a prominent part in the Turnhalle discussions. His representations frequently gained the support of the Tswana and various other delegations.

Bushmen
According to the article by Dr. Moolman, quoted earlier, at the time when the Turnhalle conference was convened, the Bushmen had no representative organisation. A people's meeting was held at Tsumkwe at which two delegates to the conference were appointed.
In terms of Proclamation R208 of 8 October, a Bushman Advisory Board is to be established. Between ten and twenty members will be elected by adults domiciled in Bushmanland. The Bushman Affairs Commissioner will determine the election procedure.

Whites
Attitudes and decisions by the National Party in SWA are mentioned in the course of this chapter.
The opposition SWA Federal Party held a congress in Windhoek during November. It unanimously accepted a proposal that alliance be established with other like-minded political parties and groups, irrespective of race, in order that common principles and policy could be furthered. It was further agreed that Blacks should be accepted as full party members. 10

POLITICAL GROUPS CUTTING ACROSS PARTY LINES
Swapo
On a number of occasions, over some years, Mr. Vorster made it clear that he was not prepared to negotiate personally with Mr. Sam Nujoma, the president of the SWA People's Organisation (Swapo). He said in the Assembly that he differed completely from the UN view that Swapo was the only organisation representative of the people of SWA. Mr. Nujoma, he emphasized, was not a natural leader of the territory or of any of its people. He was a communist, and Swapo was established by White communists in Cape Town in the late 1950s under the original name of the Ovambo People's Organisation. Its external wing had organised
9 Originally part of the United Payty of SA.
10 Rand Daily Mail, 11 and 13 November.
1 Hansard 1 col. 361; Hansard 12 col. 5270.
the Namibia People's Liberation Army, which was launching attacks on the territory. Some of the members of its internal wing had been accused of complicity in murder and other crimes in SWA.

Nevertheless, as described later, Mr. Vorster said subsequently that he would not interfere if the Turnhalle conference decided to hold talks with Swapo. According to various reports there was dissension among the ranks of the external wing of Swapo over the question of whether or not the organisation should participate in the Turnhalle conference. During July between 50 and 60 of those who were in favour of participation were taken into "protective custody" on orders from President Kaunda and detained in a remote part of Zambia: they included publicity secretary Mr. Andreas Shipanga and labour secretary Mr. Solomon Mifima. Later, eleven of the detainees, among them these two former leaders and the head of the youth league, were moved to Tanzania.

Another report stated that the men had been detained in April, the main reason being that they had called for elections to the movement's leadership, which were more than two years overdue, and had accused the existing leaders of corruption. The report added that a large number of others, possibly up to 1 000, had been detained subsequently and were confined to a camp near Kabwe in Zambia.

In mid-October, when the UN Security Council was to meet to debate the Namibian situation, Swapo released news of policy decisions that had been made by its central committee some three months earlier at a meeting held in Zambia. They had resolved to establish a people's government in Namibia which would build "a classless, non-exploitative society based on scientific socialist ideals and principles". The government would "exercise control over the means of production and distribution". This would "facilitate the way to social ownership of all the resources of the country". Swapo undertook to unite all Namibians, particularly the working class, the peasantry, and intellectuals, in a single "vanguard party".

The leadership of Swapo within SWA was decimated early in 1976 by events following the assassination on 17 August 1975 of Chief Filemon Elifas. During April, Mr. Aaron Mushiamba was sentenced to death on being found guilty of assisting persons who intended to overthrow the administration of the territory by violence. (An appeal is pending at the time of writing.) Mr. Sam Shivuti, the chairman of Swapo in SWA, was called as a State witness at the trial. So was Mr. Axel Johannes, the secretary-general, but he refused to give evidence and was jailed for 12 months for contempt of court. A former chairman, Mr. David Merero, fled the country at the time of the arrests of suspects. The acting president, Mr. Nathaniel Mahuili, was placed under a banning order.
In reply to a question in the Assembly on 10 February, the Minister of Justice said that Swapo in SWA had the same freedom of propaganda, publication, and action as other political parties in the territory. As mentioned on page 335 of last year's Survey, Swapo refused to participate in the 1975 elections in Owambo, mainly because Proclamation R17 of 1972 was still in force, making free electioneering impossible.

Following the Kissinger negotiations, Swapo laid down preconditions, described later, for attendance at any conference that resulted.

Swanu
The SWA National Union was founded in 1959 by radical young Africans. It differed from Swapo mainly, over tactics. It has resented the decision of the UN and OAU to recognise Swapo as the sole authentic representative of the people of SWA. In a statement issued from its New York office in September, it said, "Swanu will fight any hegemony of one party which may be imposed upon the people of Namibia by diplomatic or political manoeuvres". The majority of Swanu members are stated to be Herero.

Namibia National Convention
As described on page 341 of last year's Survey, the NNC was founded in 1975 by radical bodies that broke away from the Kapuuo-led National Convention of Freedom Parties. It rejected any discussion of federalism, multi-nationalism, or separate development, and was totally opposed to constitutional talks held on an ethnic basis.

The bodies composing the NNC were Swapo, Swanu, the (Damara) People's Democratic United Front, and some of the members of the Damara Tribal Executive. The Rehoboth Baster Volksparty was a member until it dissolved, its supporters joining Swapo. The executive committee was reported to consist of five Ovambos, seven Hereros, a Rehoboth Baster, and a Coloured woman. During December, however, Swapo broke away from the NNC following differences with Swanu.

Okahandje Conference
Various parties and tribal factions that had rejected participation in the Turnhalle conference, but were in general less doctrinaire than the NNC, formed a loose alliance called the Okahandje Conference, under the chairmanship of Mr. Justus Garoeb. They included the Damara Advisory Council, Damara Tribal Executive, Voice of the People (Damara and Nama), the two minor Herero groups, and clans of Nama people.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA/NAMIBIA

TURNHALLE CONFERENCE
Membership of conference
The start, on 1 September 1975, of constitutional talks in the Turnhalle at Windhoek was described on page 348 of last year's Survey. All eleven population
groups were represented: the composition of the delegations has been described in the preceding pages. It was agreed that all decisions should be reached by consensus, that the Press should be excluded, and that proceedings would not be reported. The leader of the National Party in SWA, Mr. A. H. du Plessis, resigned his post in the SA Cabinet and his membership of Parliament, and took over from Mr. Dirk Mudge the leadership of the White delegation. It became clear that two of the three White delegates, Messrs. du Plessis and Eben Van Zyl, MEC, believed that a form of separate development should form the basis of a new constitution, whereas Mr. Mudge kept his options open. The Coloured delegates expressed dissatisfaction over the Government's extension of powers of local self-government to the Rehoboth Gebiet and other homelands. They considered that further legislation along "Odendaal" lines should be suspended pending the adoption by the conference of a new constitution for the territory as a whole.

Declaration of Intent
The Declaration of Intent, adopted in September 1975, was described in the Survey for that year. Briefly, delegates resolved to create a form of government which would serve "the interests of South West Africa in its entirety", would guarantee to every population group the greatest possible say in its own and in national affairs, would protect the rights of minorities, and would do right and justice to all, without discrimination merely on the basis of race, colour, or creed. The draft constitution would, if possible, be completed within a period of three years.

Possible inclusion of political parties
During May, the Coloured delegation requested the conference to invite political parties such as Swapo to join its deliberations. The proposals was supported by the Rehoboth delegates, A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
After discussion, most of the Black delegations agreed in principle, but were said to differ on a formula for arranging this. Mr. Mudge said on various occasions2 that Swapo could certainly not be ignored: it was a legitimate political party which represented a percentage of the population. But, because of ideological differences, he doubted whether consensus could be reached if Swapo were included in the Turnhalle conference. Speaking in the Assembly,3 Mr. Vorster said that the Turnhalle Conference decided upon its own procedures. Whom it invited was its own business. He would not interfere even if it acted in a manner with which he did not agree. His standpoint, Mr. Vorster emphasized, had consistently been that the various peoples of South West Africa should work out their own future without any interference from South Africa, the United Nations, or anybody else. Swapo, the NNC, and the Okahandje Conference gave notice of preconditions under which they would agree to participate, most of which would clearly have been unacceptable to the SA Government.
Early in June the Turnhalle conference agreed to defer a decision on the admission of political parties.

Committees of the conference appointed in November 1975
At a session held in November 1975, the conference appointed four committees to undertake in-depth studies. The reports of these committees were considered at a subsequent session held in March.

The First Committee had been required to study discriminatory practices based solely on race and colour in relation to remuneration, pension schemes, general conditions of employment, and compulsory minimum wage scales. It was also asked to examine the system of pass laws and the possible introduction of an identity document system for all South West Africans.

A number of the recommendations made by this committee were adopted and referred to the Government. It was resolved that differences in salaries and wages which existed merely on the basis of colour or race should be eliminated. A reasonable starting wage should be paid to all unskilled workers: a minimum of R106 a month in cash or R54 plus accommodation and rations was suggested. Within a period of three years, the principle of equal pay for equal qualifications and work should apply in the cases of all skilled and professional persons employed in the public sector. Coercive measures should, however, not be introduced to force these decisions on the private and agricultural sectors.

(It was reported in May 1975 that commerce and industry had responded well to the wage recommendations. The Department of Labour had laid down minimum cash wages for unskilled workers receiving free housing and food, ranging from R52.87 to R54.12 a month according to hours worked. These minima were not applicable to domestic and farm workers.)

The conference decided that the pass laws should be replaced by a system of control that eliminated measures that had caused ill feeling in the past. The SWA Administration drew up a suggested revised system, but at a subsequent meeting all the Black and Brown delegations rejected this. It was decided to shelve the question for the time being."

It was generally agreed that people of all racial groups should be issued with "books of life". Until the territory became independent, these books would be marked "South African citizen (South West African resident)". The ethnic group of the holder would be indicated in code. Two of the Rehoboth delegates opposed this decision and subsequently left the conference.

The Second Committee was asked to collect and study information on economic conditions, with special reference to property owners, entrepreneurs, and
professional groups. The Third Committee was directed to consider the improvement of social conditions, with special reference to housing, public facilities and services, social pensions, welfare, and medical services. Arising from the reports of these committees, the conference made detailed recommendations in regard to minimum standards of housing and hostel accommodation and recreational and sporting amenities. It was recommended, inter alia, that all apartheid signs be removed from public buildings, and that hotels, restaurants, and holiday resorts be opened to people of all racial groups. A compulsory pension scheme for all workers should be introduced. (As described on page 345 of the 1975 Survey, the Legislative Assembly's Executive Committee had already decided to effect some of the recommended changes.)

The Fourth Committee investigated educational matters. After examining its report the conference made various recommendations for the extension of school and hostel facilities, for augmenting the teaching staff, and for improving service conditions. It decided that compulsory school attendance should be introduced as soon as possible, in phases if necessary. The conference failed to reach consensus on the question of segregated schooling. After lengthy debate, it was agreed that a university

5 Rand Daily Mail, 25 May.
Star, 6 August.
South African Digest, 12 March.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
be established which would be open to all races.
A finance committee was appointed to consider priorities in implementing the decisions of the conference.
The conference unanimously requested the South African Government to continue protecting the county's northern border in order that planning for the future could continue in a peaceful atmosphere.'
At the session held in March, some of the delegates expressed impatience over the slow progress being made and the amount of time being spent on considering details. They urged that the conference should proceed without delay to discuss a constitution for a future independent South West Africa.

Special constitutional committee
A special constitutional committee was accordingly appointed, consisting of four members of each of the eleven population groups under the chairmanship of Mr. Dirk Mudge. Draft constitutions were submitted by the Herero, Coloured, Damara, and Tswana delegations. All called for a multi-racial interim government and a unitary constitution. It was widely reported that Messrs. A. H. du Plessis and Eben van Zijl of the White delegation were at first opposed to the concept of a unitary state, but eventually yielded to the general view.
The committee reported to the conference. After its report had been discussed it was announced, on 18 August, that consensus had been reached by the conference. All the delegations had accepted the territorial integrity of the country. They had agreed that a multi-racial interim government should be
established as soon as possible. South West Africa would become fully independent on 31 December 1978. Meanwhile, a constitution would be drawn up, which would have to be enacted by the South African Government. Governmental functions which had been taken over by Pretoria would have to be transferred to the new South West African government.

The National Party congress met in Windhoek on 26 August and was reported to have accepted these proposals unanimously with provisos that the interim and the final constitutions should in writing guarantee existing property rights, preserve the identity of the different racial groups, and protect minority rights. For the time being, South Africa should continue its economic aid, military protection, and preservation of law and order.

Reports of what subsequently transpired at the conference are not necessarily fully reflective of the proceedings because, as mentioned earlier, these were held in camera. However, according to the Press, the conference agreed that a three-tier interim government should be established. Firstly, there would be a central government representative of all eleven population groups and operating on the basis of consensus. The second tier would be composed of ethnic legislatures and advisory councils, while the third would consist of municipalities and other local authorities.

It was reported that some of the delegations, e.g. the Damara and Tswana, considered that the second tier should be a temporary arrangement, not necessarily to be retained after independence. The view was expressed that ethnic legislatures and councils represented a continuation of the policy of separate development and conflicted with the concept of multi-racial rule.

Early in October the conference proceeded to discuss the powers of these governmental bodies. Deadlock was reached. The Coloured, Damara, Tswana and Herero delegations, with broad support from most of the other Blacks, wanted the central government to have the widest possible powers, the second-tier bodies dealing with domestic matters only. But Messrs. Van Zijl and Du Plessis of the White delegation insisted that the central government should deal only with broad matters of national interest. They wanted the existing (White) legislative assembly to be retained with its powers intact as the White component of the second tier. Assemblies with the same powers should be created for each of the other population groups. Each assembly would control a large number of ministerial departments.

Members of the constitutional committee visited Pretoria late in November for talks with the Prime Minister and members of his Cabinet. Mr. Vorster is reported to have indicated that as soon as a concrete proposal on an interim government was submitted to him he would take the necessary steps to obtain authorisation to put South West Africa on the road to independence as soon as possible.

When it became clear that deadlock had been reached the chairman, Mr. Mudge, adjourned the discussion, and the conference went on to consider local government. Here, again, there was profound disagreement, the Blacks opposing
completely a White proposal that local government bodies should be constituted on an ethnic basis.

Further adjournments took place later in October, following altercations between the Black and the White delegations. The Blacks resented a refusal by the Whites to tell them about discussions they had held with the Prime Minister and senior Ministers and officials, and in particular objected to ill-considered racist remarks that had been made by Mr. Eben van Zijl. The Tswana, Damara, and Coloured delegations walked out, and the

10 Star, 3 September and 8 October; Rand Daily Mail, 9, 16 and 17 September and 9 and 12 October.

475

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
Kavangos threatened to follow suit.
However, the three delegations returned following a reiteration by Mr. Du Plessis that an interim government would be established as soon as possible to negotiate with Pretoria for a transfer of powers to South West Africa in preparation for independence in 1978.

Fresh disquiet was caused among Black delegations when, three days later, Mr. Du Plessis stated that the Whites in the territory would vote in a referendum or general election in order that the SA Parliament would be able to gauge public opinion on the proposed independence constitution. The other ethnic groups would also canvass public opinion. Some saw this plan as a further delaying tactic."

It was reported late in October2 that delegates returning to the Rehoboth, Nama, Ovambo, and Caprivi homelands during a recess of the conference found dissatisfaction because of the slow progress being made, and increasing support for Swapo.

FUTURE OF WALVIS BAY
Walvis Bay was annexed by Britain in 1878, and did not form part of the territory subsequently annexed by Germany. In 1884 it was incorporated into the area of jurisdiction of the then Cape of Good Hope, from 1910 becoming part of the Union of South Africa. It was not included in the mandate granted by the League of Nations in 1919 in terms of which SA would administer South West Africa. On 9 September Mr. Vorster announced' that legislation would be introduced in 1977 to provide that Walvis Bay would remain part of South Africa after SWA became independent.

OVERSEAS REACTIONS TO THE TURNHALLE PROPOSALS
The Turnhalle agreement on 18 August that SWA should become independent on 31 December 1978 as an integral country with a multi-racial government (composed as decided upon by the Turnhalle with the agreement of the SA Government) was widely rejected overseas.

The United Nations' Council for Namibia stated that the proposals "do not even approach any of the requirements for genuine self-determination and independence" laid down by the UN Security Council (see page 459), and they
made no mention of the elimination of apartheid legislation. 2 the UN Secretary General, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, expressed similar views. 3 The 11 Rand Daily Mail, 23 and 26 October. 12 Ibid. 29 October; Sunday Times, 31 October. I Rand Daily Mail, and Star of 9 September. 2 Rand Daily Mail, 21 August. I ibid, 27 August. 476

SOUTH WEST AFRICA/NAMIBIA

nine countries of the European Economic Community (EEC) denounced the proposals. 4 The UN Commissioner for Namibia, Mr. Sean MacBride, called for urgent negotiations between the SA Government and Swapo, preferably to be held at a venue outside Africa. 5 Swapo's publicity secretary, Mr. Peter Katjavivi, said 6 in Zurich that, subject to stated conditions, Swapo would be prepared to meet the SA Government. It was not willing to negotiate with the Turnhalle alone; but representatives from the Turnhalle could be included in a SA delegation. Swapo's minimum conditions for negotiation would be the withdrawal from Namibia of the SA Administration, police, and armed forces, the release of political prisoners, the establishment of a UN presence in Namibia, and the holding of free, internationally-supervised elections there. Should the Turnhalle plan be implemented, Mr. Katjavivi said, Swapo would continue the armed struggle. Mr. Vorster stated 7 that if Swapo wanted discussions, these would have to be held with the leaders of the territory at the Turnhalle talks. He reiterated that, as a prerequisite, terrorism would have to cease; and he again said that he was not prepared to have discussions with Mr. Sam Nujoma. Later, he indicated that the SA Government might be prepared to attend a conference between Swapo and the Turnhalle, possibly as an observer. The Turnhalle conference was reported 8 to have expressed its unwillingness to attend any talks as part of a SA delegation, for by doing so it would lend support to certain overseas allegations that it was a puppet of Pretoria.

CONFERENCE PROPOSED BY DR. KISSINGER

The US Secretary of State, Dr. Kissinger, suggested that the future of Namibia could usefully be discussed at an international conference held under UN aegis in a neutral country, with a neutral chairman. Participants might be the SA Government, Swapo, delegates from the Turnhalle conference, the UN, and other groups. He put this plan to the Security Council. 9 The Herero Chief Kapuuo, one of the leading figures at the Turnhalle conference, rejected this proposal. Any conference to discuss the future must be held in Windhoek, he said, and not on an international basis. Exiles, including Swapo members, would be given safe conduct to enable them to attend; but would have to agree in advance to accept the decisions thus far reached at the Turnhalle meetings. Mr. Mudge reiterated that there was 4 Star, 2 September. Rand Daily Mail, 26 August.
A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

no possibility of consensus between the Turnhalle and Swapo because their ideologies differed.

SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING, SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER

As mentioned earlier, the UN Security Council was due to meet by 31 August to review SA’s compliance with the demands that the Council had made in January. At Swapo's request, this debate was postponed to begin on 22 September, in order, to enable African Foreign Ministers to attend when they arrived for the commencement of a session of the General Assembly.

Chief Kapuuo sought permission to take part in the proceedings, but this was not granted.

The debate was reported to have been a long and repetitive one. Speakers from the Third World states unanimously rejected the Turnhalle conference. They did not accept the proposals made by Dr. Kissinger. Although warned in advance that the resolution would be vetoed, they finally formally called for a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa.

The United States, Britain, and France vetoed this resolution, on the grounds that substantial progress was being made towards reaching a peaceful solution, and that while the sensitive process of consultation was going on, it would serve no useful purpose for the Security Council to take new initiatives.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY, DECEMBER

During December the UN General Assembly, by a large majority vote, declared its support for armed struggle of the indigenous people of Namibia to achieve self-determination, freedom and independence in a united country. It declared SA's "illegal occupation" to be an act of aggression against the people of the territory and against the UN. Speakers again hailed Swapo as the sole authentic representative of Namibia. The Security Council was once more urged to consider urgently the imposition of an arms embargo against SA. The voting was 107 to 6, with 12 abstentions, those opposing the resolution being the United States, Britain, France, West Germany, Belgium, and Luxembourg.

WARFARE IN THE NORTH OF THE TERRITORY

As described in earlier Surveys and in the chapter of this issue on Angola, for some years units of the SA Police guarded the northern borders of Kavango, Owambo, and Caprivi, beyond which lay Angola in the west and Zambia in the east. Sporadic skirmishes with guerrillas operating from bases in these countries took place from about 1973. During the year that followed the SA Defence Force took over the task of guarding the SWA border.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA/NAMIBIA
At the beginning of 1975 its strength in the border area was increased very considerably: this had been requested by the homeland governments concerned. Guerrilla attacks, believed to be by members of Swapo's People's Liberation Army, continued from time to time, and, adopting the practice of "hot pursuit", SA units made several incursions into Angola.

During August 1975 SA forces occupied the Calueque Dam site, about 20 km inside Angola, their object being to protect White Portuguese and Africans working there on a SA-directed hydro-electric project. Apparently from mid-October 1975 the South Africans advanced into Angola in support of Unita, which was fighting the MPLA. After heavy fighting, the SA troops withdrew to the Calueque area in January, and all left Angola by 27 March. The circumstances were described in the earlier chapter. These troops continued to guard the border area of South West Africa.

It was mentioned in last year's Survey that on 17 August 1975 guerrillas murdered the Owambo Chief Minister, Filemon Elifas, near Ondangwa in the north of his homeland. There were other incursions of fighters, which became more frequent towards the end of 1975. African tribesmen were murdered, stores looted, and landmines laid which caused deaths and serious injuries among local Africans and SA troops.

In an interview with a Press correspondent on 2 February,1 the Director-General of Resources, Major-General Neil Webster, is reported to have said, "South Africans, like the Israelis, must get used to the idea of living with a warlike situation for some years to come". He expected the existing low-intensity war on the country's borders to escalate to a war of mid-intensity, which would mean a state of war midway between guerrilla skirmishes and full-scale conventional warfare.

Mention is made later of the trial of persons suspected of complicity in the assassination of Chief Elifas. At this trial, a Security Police officer read out a list of nearly 60 acts of violence committed between July 1975 and early April and attributed by the police to guerrillas of the Swapo Namibia People's Liberation Army or to members of Swapo living within South West Africa. Some of these were reported in last year's Survey. A few of the more serious of the acts committed since that Survey was compiled are as follows.

During December, a White woman and her son were shot dead on a farm near Grootfontein (about 250 km south of the border). Later that month a British citizen and his African maid were killed at Oshandi (some 7 km from the border), an African lay preacher and a tribal policeman were abducted, and a shop and clinic robbed.

479

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
In January a Coloured married couple were abducted from a remote village. A deputy chief was wounded while fighting off an attack by an armed gang. Attackers entered a farmhouse about 80 km from Windhoek and killed a White married couple (their two small daughters were unharmed).
During February, two Africans were abducted. A rocket attack was made on a SA Defence Force base, during which two national servicemen were killed and three wounded. One of the guerrillas was killed. On this occasion the SA troops apparently engaged in "hot pursuit": it was reported that a Swapo base 3 km north of the border had been destroyed.

A headman and a German construction foreman were abducted in March. A skirmish took place during which a White NCO and two Swapo men were killed, and another serviceman wounded.

This account is continued from Press reports, again only the most serious events being recorded. During April, 5 Ovambo men who were visiting a village near Ruacana were abducted: they included Mr. Johannes Nangutuuala, a member of the Ovambo Legislative Council. Two other tribesmen were abducted from a store, which was set alight. A White serviceman and two African trackers were killed, and five servicemen wounded, when their vehicle was hit by grenades fired from across the border. Nine other servicemen were killed, four of them when a vehicle was ambushed. Seven men were wounded in this incident.

In the month that followed, two African civilians were shot by guerrillas and a mission hospital was raided, all the medicines and drugs being stolen. Eighteen guerrillas were killed and nine captured in skirmishes. Early in June Anglican churchmen visited the Epinga mission station near the border, finding it deserted and the priest in charge missing. On their way back shots were fired at their car, killing an African priest and wounding a boy.

Later that month and during July there were a number of skirmishes with bands of guerrillas who had crossed into Ovambo and were intimidating local inhabitants, forcing them to provide food. During these engagements, at least 54 guerrillas and two White servicemen were killed, at least two guerrillas wounded and captured, and several White servicemen and a Bushman tracker badly wounded. A group of guerrillas entered a village near the border, killing a tribal policeman, his wife and daughter, and three peasants. Thirteen Africans, including a sub-deacon and a school-teacher, were abducted.

Several people were killed by landmine explosions in August and a few insurgents were shot dead in minor actions; but from then there was a lull. One reason was that the country was dry, making it more difficult for guerrillas to find cover, and

480

SOUTH WEST AFRICA/NAMIBIA

easier for security forces to follow the tracks of insurgents entering the country. Another reason was the preventive measures taken by the authorities, which are described later.

It was reported on 1 September that since the beginning of the year 107 terrorists and 34 members of the SA Defence Force had been killed.

A young White serviceman drove his vehicle across the border into Angola, apparently by mistake, and was captured by the MPLA.
According to an official announcement, volunteer infantrymen from the SA Coloured Corps served in the operational area from September, along with Whites.

PREVENTIVE ACTION TAKEN BY THE SA AUTHORITIES

"Reaction Force"

Military correspondents were, during August, told of "Reaction Force", based in Owambo. Immediately a contact with insurgents was reported troops were flown to the scene in helicopters. They were assisted by Bushman trackers.

Emergency regulations

The emergency regulations for Owambo, set out in Proclamation R17 of 1972, were described on page 439 of the Survey for that year. Certain of these were immediately operative, for example the provisions for detention of persons. Others could be brought into force if the Minister of Justice so decided. He exercised this power as from 5 May, in terms of Government Notice R798 of that date. The effect was that entry into and departure from Owambo, except under permit, was prohibited. It became incumbent on all adults to report to a Native Commissioner or the police the presence of anyone whom they knew or suspected was in the area unlawfully. Vehicles used for conveying people into Owambo unlawfully could be confiscated. Except for officials and employees of the State, all persons possessing arms or ammunition were required to surrender these, unless special permits were granted.

Proclamation R89 of 19 May extended all the emergency regulations of 1972 to Kavango and Eastern Caprivi as well. It was laid down that the Prohibition of Interdicts Act would apply to any orders or directions given under the regulations.

"No-go" area

The same proclamation empowered the Minister to declare that any particular area must not be inhabited or entered by any unauthorised person. Such areas were termed "specially prohibited" areas or, popularly, "no-go" areas.

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

Government Notice R869, also of 19 May, stated that a strip of land along the northern border of Owambo had been declared to be a specially prohibited area, closed to the entry of persons other than members of the Security Forces or of the Owambo Government.

In various Press statements the Commissioner-General for the Indigenous Peoples, Mr. Jannie de Wet, said that the strip of land concerned was roughly 1 km deep and 450 km long, between Oshikango and the Kavango border. It might eventually be extended to the west as far as the Ruacana Falls. An estimated 3 000 Ovambos were being moved from the strip: previously permanent residents would receive compensation and assistance in re-establishing homes further to the south. A curfew was to be imposed in the "no-go" area. Bush would be cleared there and a security fence erected. Along the 450 km strip, Mr. De Wet said, people wishing to move between South West Africa and Angola would be allowed to do so only through the control post at Oshikango and on production of proper documentation. The border post at Ruacana would be open only to workers on the Cunene scheme.
Pastor Cornelius Ndjoba, Chief Minister of Owambo, announced that members of the Security Forces had been instructed to act in their own discretion in the "no-go" zone, even shooting to kill if this seemed necessary to prevent further murders and abductions by guerrillas.

TRIALS UNDER SECURITY LAWS

Messrs. Shikongo, Mushimba, and others

After having spent some time in detention, on 1 December 1975 six people appeared in the Supreme Court, Windhoek, on charges under the Terrorism Act. They were Mr. Hendrik Shikongo, Mr. Aaron Mushimba, Miss Anna Nghihondjwa, Miss Rauna Nambinga, and four others who, during April, were found not guilty and discharged. The indictment described the accused as members or active supporters of Swapo. It was alleged that they had committed acts, or helped others to commit acts, which were intended to endanger the maintenance of law and order. Alternatively, they were alleged to have given help to persons whom they had reason to know were terrorists. The acts concerned were detailed.

Their trial in the Supreme Court, Swakopmund, began in February. At least two persons under detention gave evidence for the State. Two others refused, and were jailed for a year for contempt of court: they were Mr. Axel Johannes (who for a time had been Swapo's general secretary in SWA) and Mr. Victor Nkandi. Counsel for the State named seven men whom he alleged had planned to abduct or kill African leaders such as Chief Elifas and Pastor Ndjoba (who had succeeded him as Chief Minister of Owambo). These seven men were Mr. Mashimba, Mr. Johannes, and five others who fled from SWA after Chief Elifas's assassination, among them Mr. David Meroro, a former national chairman of Swapo in SWA.

On 12 May, four of the accused were found guilty on the main charge against them. Mr. Shikongo and Mr. Mushimba were sentenced to death. Mr. Shikongo was specifically found guilty of having transported one of the men who had fled and two others (unidentified) to the place where Chief Elifas had been killed. Mr. Mushimba was specifically found guilty of having bought a LandRover and of handing it over to Mr. Nkandi (who had refused to give evidence) for the use of people who intended to overthrow the administration of SWA by violence. The two women, both nurses, were specifically found guilty of handing money to Mr. Nambinga - one of those who had fled - for people who intended violence. Miss Nghihondjwa was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment, and Miss Nambinga to five years.

The judge refused an application for leave to appeal against the convictions and sentences, finding there was no prospect that another court might come to a different conclusion. The defence counsel said afterwards that he intended petitioning the Chief Justice for leave for appeal.

About three weeks later affidavits were filed in the Supreme Court, Windhoek, alleging that during the trial described above there had been serious departures
from the rule that an accused should be able to communicate in confidence with his legal adviser. It was alleged that Mr. J. A. Smit, a former partner in the firm of instructing attorneys, and Mrs. E. J. Ellis, a switchboard operator in this firm, had during trial given a constant stream of information to the Security Police. These two persons appeared in the Supreme Court, Windhoek, at the end of June. It was reported that Mr. Smit admitted having given information to the Security Police about the defence case. Mrs. Ellis denied having done this, but admitted that she had been a police informer since 1972.
The outcome of this case and of the appeal to the Chief Justice had not been reported at the time of writing.

Mr. F. N. Nangola
According to Press reports and evidence subsequently given in court, the police conducted an intensive search for the persons who had murdered a White woman (Mrs. Shirley Louw) and her son on a farm near Grootfontein in December 1975, and had murdered a White married couple a few weeks later. Eventually, in April, African policemen forced entry into a house at Katutura township, Windhoek, to arrest two suspects. The latter opened fire, killing one policeman and wounding another. One of the suspects, Mr. Fillemom N. Nangola, was seriously wounded and was arrested, but in the confusion the other escaped: it was stated later that he was Mr. Kanisius Heneleshi. A R7 000 reward was offered for information leading to his arrest. The police searched the premises, finding a quantity of arms and ammunition.
Mr. Nangola was brought to trial in the Supreme Court, Windhoek, early in September, on charges of having murdered the four Whites and of robbery with aggravating circumstances. The State alleged that he had entered the territory from Angola with Mr. Heneleshi, and had aided and abetted the latter in committing the deeds mentioned. It was stated that Mr. Nangola's fingerprints matched some found at Mrs. Louw's farm.
During the trial, Mr. Heneleshi's body was found in the bush near Windhoek, with arms and ammunition near it. He had, apparently, died of wounds after a skirmish with the police during August.
Mr. Nangola was found guilty on four charges of murder, and of theft, and was sentenced to death. Notice of appeal was given.

485
INDEX
A
African citizenship-see Citizenship African homelands-see Homelands and names of individual areas African political affairs-22 et seq African States: aid given by SA-401 African women: legal status-214 Africans in urban areas: Government policy-181 (Also see Bantu, Black etc.) Afrikaanse Calvinistiese Beweging-6 Afrikaanse Studentebond-374 Agriculture-see Employment Aid centres-209 Angola: Calueque and Ruacana-411, 427
Civil war-i, 410, 418
Cuban troops-413, 414, 432
Guerrilla activities within-431
Guerrilla activities in SWA--412 (Also see South West Africa)
Hydro-electric scheme-411, 427
People's Republic established-421 Refugees in SWA-1, 412, 422, 432
SA Defence Force action-36, 412, 417, 426
SA Parliamentary debate--419
SA prisoners-414, 431
Soviet Union: treaty with-432
(Also see United Nations)
Apartheid: certain relaxations of-4, 17, 205 Appeals from the Supreme Court of Transkei Act, 62/1976-239 Azanian Liberation Army-24
B
Banishment of Africans-106 Banning of persons-45, 102ff, 315 Banning of publications-see Publications Bantu Affairs Administration Boards-181, 187 et seq Bantu Education: Adult-338
Bursaries-376, 377, 378
Compulsory education to be introduced gradually-325
Disturbances at schools-324
Double sessions-328
Examination boycott-80, 82
Examination results-332 Expenditure on-321, 324
Media of instruction-51 et seq, 330
Psychological services and career guidance-331
Pupils-322, 329
Schools-322, 326
Schools: closure of-57 et seq, 62 et seq, 80
Special education-333
Students fleeing from SA-80, 81
Teachers-321, 334

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
Bantu Education: Teachers: detentions of-116 Technical and vocational-355
Textbooks-331 Universities-367, 370 Bantu Employees' In-Service Training Act, 86/1976-359
Bantu Sport and Recreation Fund-397
Bantu Trust and Land Amendment Act, 110/76-223 (Also see Africans and Black)
Bar Councils, attitude to detentions-49
Basotho Qwaqwa-see Qwaqwa Beaches: racial zoning of-205
Births of Africans, registration of-33
Black Consciousness leaders: detention of-69, 71, 114 et seq
Black Consciousness Movements-22 et seq, 114 et seq
Black Parents' Association-25 26, 61, 65, 68, 71, 82, 115
Black People's Convention-23
Black People's Convention: trial of members-130 et seq
Black Sash--44, 50, 62, 81, 86
Black Sash Advice Offices-211
Black student power-5, 24, 64, 65, 66, 79
Black Unity Front-28
Black Women's Federation-24, 116 (Also see Africans and Bantu)
BophuthaTswana: Citizenship-250
Developments in 1976-249
Future independence-249
Resettlement schemes-221
Squatters-251
(Also see Homelands) Border industrial areas-see Employment
Breytenbach, Mr. Breyten-127
Britain: Attitude to Angolan war-420, 430
Investments in SA-269
Suggestions for a Rhodesian settlement-436, 455
(Also see Rhodesia)
Browde, Dr. Selma-58, 106
Bureau for State Security-99
Bus boycott-see KwaThema
Chief Gatsha--68, 248
(And numerous references under appropriate subject heads)
Buthelezi, Dr. Manus-71
Cape Peninsula: Group areas and housing-171, 197
Squatters-156, 158
Capital punishment-89, 90
Censorship--44, 147
Central African Republic-404
Children, care of-390
Chinese people, status in SA-218
Cillie Commission of Inquiry into Disturbances-82 et seq
Ciskei: Developments during 1976-247
Influx from Glen Grey and Herschel-245
(Also see Homelands)
Citizenship of Africans-3, 34, 181, 184, 186, 229ff, 233, 235, 244, 249, 250, 255, 304
Civil Defence-96
486
INDEX 487
Civil Rights League of SA-50
Coloured cadets-215
Coloured Development Corporation-216
Coloured education: Adult-345
Bursaries-376
Examination results-341
Expenditure on-321
339
Pupils-322, 339, 340
Schools-322, 339, 340
Teachers-321, 342
Technical and Vocational-362
University-367
Coloured local government-175
Coloured Persons' Education Amendment Act, 29/76-339
Coloured Persons in SWA Amendment Act, 30/76-339
Coloured Persons' Representative Council Amendment Act, 94/76-237
Budget-1 3
Meeting with Prime Minister-16, 18
Session in 1976-18, 19
Coloured politics-i13
Coloured population group: Commission of Inquiry-10
Concessions offered by Government-17
Coloured rural areas-217
Commerce: African traders in homelands-259
African traders in urban areas-185, 304
Employment in-see Employment Committee of Thirty-26, 60, 63
Compulsory Motor Vehicle Insurance Act, 87/76-239
Cost of living and minimum living standards-274 et seq
Crime: Capital punishment-89, 90
Comment on-92
Corporal punishment-91
Criminal offences and statistics--88, 90, 91
D
Defence Amendment Act, 1/76-36, 418
Expenditure and Equipment-35
Defence Force: Extended period of military service-37
Military pensions-37
Personnel-35, 308
(Also see Angola and SWA)
Detainees: Categories of persons detained-I 14
Deaths of-121 et seq
Treatment of-I II et seq
Detentions and trials under Security Laws-110 et seq
Internal Security Act-45, 63, 66, 67, 109 et seq
in Transkei-119, 236, 243, 254
of witnesses--47
Disturbances in SA-51 et seq
Casualties and damage caused-84 et seq
in Soweto and elsewhere-51 et seq, 76 et seq in Western Cape-71 et seq, 77 et seq
trials resulting-144 et seq Doctors-see Medical Practitioners Domestic ':;:n14,"

488 A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
E
East Rand: Indian group area-170 Economic situation-266 Education: Bursary
(scholarship) funds-376
Expenditure on-321
Moves towards school integration-322
Per capita costs-321
(Also see Bantu, Coloured, Indian, White)
Elderly Africans: homes for-390 Electoral Laws Amendment Act, 98/76-237
Employment: Africans entering the labour market annually-289
Agriculture-300 Apprentices-292
Also see Education, technical, for each population group)
Commerce and finance-303
Commerce: African traders in urban areas-185, 304
Commerce: Indian traders-165, 169
Construction-302
Cost of living-274 et seq
Decentralisation of industry-296, 299
Defence Force--35, 308 Domestic workers-312
Economic situation--266
Economically active persons-280
Foreign investment-268 et seq Governmental services-99, 306
Homelands-see Homelands
Labour bureaux for Africans-284
Labour contracts attested in homelands-262
Manpower and labour shortages-288
Manufacturing industry-294
Manufacturing industry: Indians-167
Migrant workers-211, 262, 284
Mining-301
Physical Planning Act-297
Police Force-307
Posts and Telegraphs-311
Prisons Department-308
Professions: Africans in urban areas-185
Railways and Harbours Administration-310
Reservation of work-285
Sheltered employment-320, 361
Strikes and work stoppages-66, 67, 69, 75 et seq, 80, 107
316fl, 318
Trade unions-313 et seq
Trade unions for Africans-314
Unemployment-267, 281
Unemployment Insurance-283
Wage levels-276 et seq
Workmen's Compensation-319
Works and liaison committees-319 Exiles, political-104 et seq
F
Family planning-388 Federal Coloured People's Party-- 15 Films, control of-147
INDEX 489
Financial Arrangements with the Transkei Act, 106/76-237 Foreign Africans-210
Foreign investment in SA-268 et seq
G
(Also see Homelands) Geneva Conference-see Rhodesia Germany (Federal Republic): investments in SA-274 Graaff, Sir De Villiers, M.P.-41, 420 Call for a united Opposition-8 Grahamstown: Fingo Village-198 Group areas: Effects on Indian traders-165, 169
Families displaced and resettled-160
In various towns-167 et seq Guzana, Mr. Knowledge-236, 242, 243
H
Health: Personnel-see under name of profession concerned
Services-379
Black spots-221 Citizenship-see Citizenship
Commercial development-259 Farming-256
Financing of development-224 et seq Health services-380 Independence-27, 247, 253 (Also see Transkei)
Labour contracts attested-262 Leaders: Conference of-26 meeting with Prime Minister-27 Manufacturing industry-259 Mining-257, 265 Removal schemes-221, 245 Secondment of White officials-226 Townships in-200 (Also see names of individual homelands)
Hospitals-379
Hotels: accommodation of Black guests-201 Housing: Home ownership by Africans on leasehold stands-186
Income levels for subsidised housing-165
Provided in 1975-163, 187, 189
Shortage and provision of-162, 164
I
Immorality Act-34 Indian Council-see SA Indian Council

490 A SURVEY OF 'RACE RELATIONS, 1976
Indian education: Adult-350
Bursaries-377
Control of-347
Examination results-348
Expenditure-321, 346
Pupils-322, 348
Schools and platoon system-322, 347
Teachers-321, 349
Technical and Vocational-363
University-367 Indian local government-176 Indian manufacturing concerns-167
J
Jackson Commission-370 Job reservation-see Employment Johannesburg: Group areas and housing-167, 190
Soweto riots-51 et seq Journalists: detention of-il17
K
Developments in 1976-248 Resettlement schemes-222
(Also see Homelands, and Buthelezi)
L
(Also see Homelands)
Legal Aid-95
Leon, Mr. Sonny-14, 74 Liberia: relations with SA--403 Liquor: Availability to
Black persons-202
Profits from sale of-191
Shebeens and bottle stores: attacks on-77, 78, 191 Local Authorities: petty
apartheid measures relaxed-205 Local government for Coloured and Indian
communities-175
INDEX 491
M
Magistrates, Black-99 Makgotla-98
Manufacturing-see Employment, and Homelands
Marais, Mr. J. F. "Kowie"-9 Mashinini, Mr. Tsietsi-25, 64, 76 Matanzima, Chief
George-120, 235, 242 Matanzima, Paramount K.-see numerous references under
Transkei Mduli, the late Mr. Joseph-122 Medical aid for Coloured people-389
Medical practitioners-382 Training of-368, 383 Medical University of SA Act,
78/76-368, 384 Migrant labour system-see Employment Military Pensions Act,
84/76-37 Minimum living standards-see Cost of Living Mining: Employment in-
301
In African homelands-257, 265
Motor Carrier Transportation Act, 88/76-239 Mozambique: Armed clashes with
Rhodesia-456
Closure of border with Rhodesia-438 International plan for defence of-457
Relations with SA-404
(Also see Rhodesia)
N
Namibia-see South West Africa
National Council of Women-30 National Institute for Crime Prevention and
Rehabilitation of Offenders-92, 93, 95
National Party-1 National Union of SA Students (Nusas)-100, 373 Trial of
leaders-139 Naud6, Rev. Dr. C. F. Beyers-58, 106, 108, 127 Ncokazi, Mr. H. B.-
236, 242 Ndebele people-255 Nurses-386
Nutrition-381
O
Opposition in Parliament: proposals for united action-9 Organisation of African
Unity-400, 420, 440 Organisations that may be declared unlawful--44
P
Parliamentary Internal Security Commission Act, 67/76-38 Pass laws: Aid
centres-see Aid
Foreign Africans-210
Production of reference books on demand-210
Prosecutions under-207 Passports-see Travel documents Penal Reform-95
Pension Laws Amendment Act, 83/76-240, 392 Pension Schemes-263, 392

492 A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
Pensions—see Social Pensions "Petty apartheid": measures to eliminate-17, 204 et seq
Pharmacists-388
Police: Conduct of-93
Force, Employment in 307
Expenditure on-35
Informers-99
Interrogation by-129 et seq
Population: Distribution of Africans-181, 189 et seq
Registration-33
Size of-31
Vital statistics-32
Port Elizabeth: group areas and housing-173 Press: Control of-150
Detention of journalists-117
Pretoria: group areas and housing-170, 192 Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act, 92/76-152 Prison warders-95 Prisoners-88 et seq
Education of-93
Photographs and sketches of-93
Use of labour-93
Prisons: Employment in Service-308
Expenditure on-35
Q
Qwaqwa: developments during 1976-254
Sotho-speaking people in Transkei-120, 243, 254
(Also see Homelands)
R
Race classification-33 Race relations: official committees to improve-204
Background to events in 1976-433
Britain: suggestions for a settlement-436, 455
Constitutional talks between Mr. Smith and Mr. Nkomo—434
Geneva Conference-455, 456
Guerrilla warfare-438, 440, 444, 445, 446, 449, 456
International Trust Fund proposed-454
Kissinger, Dr. H.-439, 450, 451, 454
Kissinger plan as announced by Mr. Smith-451
Kissinger plan: reactions by African leaders-453
Mozambique: closure of border-438
International plan for defence-457
INDEX

Rhodesia: Organisation of African Unity-440 Patriotic Front-456
Quenet Commission-442
Race discrimination: measures to lessen-442
South African attitude--2, 438, 450
UN Security Council, April--439
Victoria Falls conference-433
White Rhodesians, attitudes of-450
Zambia: use of as a guerrilla base-448
Zimbabwe People's Army (Zipa)-444, 455 Riots-see Disturbances
Roman Catholic Church-322 Rugby-395
S
Sabotage: see Disturbances
Right-wing intimidatory action-100 Scholarships-see Bursaries
Second Attorneys' Amendment Act, 115/76-239 Second Coloured Persons'
Education Amendment Act, 95/76-240 Second Public Service Amendment Act,
64/76-240 Second Railways and Harbours Acts Amendment Act, 89/76-240
taken privately-97
Expenditure on-35
Laws: detentions and trials under-109 et seq, 127 et seq
Legislation-38 et seq
Sigcau, Paramount Chief Botha-244 Snyman Commission-370 Social pensions-
391 Social welfare-390 Somerset West-172 South African Attitude towards
Rhodesia-2, 438, 450
Confederation of Labour-316 Council of Churches-268, 377
Federation of English Students-375
Indian Council-20
Institute of Race Relations-see Institute
Students' Movement and trial of members-22, 135
Students' Organisation (Saso)-22, 374
Students' Organisation: trial of members-130 South Sotho living in Transkei-120,
243, 254 South West Africa: Basters of Rehoboth Education Amendment Act,
32/76-339
Bushman-468
Caprivi-466
Coloured Council of SWA-462 Coloured Persons in SWA Education Amendment
Act, 30/76-339 Dakar Conference-458 Damaras-467
Emergency regulations-481 Hereros-467
Homelands-461 Institute for Namibia-460 Kaokoland-466 Kavango-466
Kissinger-477

494 A SU
South West Africa:
JRV EY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976
Nama in SWA Education Amendment Act, 31/76339
Namas - 465
Namibia National Convention - 470 "No-go" border area - 481 Okahandje
Conference - 470 Owambo - 465 Population - 460 Rehoboth Gebiet - 463 SA Defence
Force action - 410, 479 Swapo - 470
Swapo - 3, 468, 470 Swapo guerrilla activities - 412, 479 Trials under security laws -
482 Tswana people - 467 Turnhalle Conference - 2, 471 et seq United Nations - 2,
458, 459, 477, 478 Walvis Bay: future of - 476 White inhabitants - 468
Soweto riots - 51 et seq Sport - 394 et seq Squatters in Western Cape - 152 Status of
the Transkei Act, 100/76 - 229 Strikes and work stoppages - see Employment
Student leaders in detention - 114 "Student power" - see Black Suzman, Mrs. Helen,
M.P. - 68, 69, 81, 91, 94, 119 Swazi Territorial Authority - 255 Sweden - investments
in SA - 273
T
Taxation - 213
Theatres, apartheid in - 203 Theron Commission - 10 Trade Union Council of SA-
315 Trade unionism - 313 et seq Traders - see Commerce Transkei - 228 et seq
Agreements with Republic - 241, 380
Citizenship - 229 et seq, 235 et seq, 244
Citizenship: implications for urban Africans - 233
Constitution Act, 3/1976 - 228
Democratic Party - 120, 236
Detentions - i 19, 236, 243, 254 Development Corporation - 239
Elections - 243
Emergency Regulations - 1 19 (and see Detentions)
Exodus from Glen Grey and Herschel - 245
Financing of Government - 238
International recognition denied - 245
Political leaders in detention or exile - 236, 241, 243, 254
Political party developments - 242, 244
Removal orders - 105
South Sotho residents - 120, 243, 254
Status of the Transkei Act, 100/76 - 229
Travel documents required - 241, 244
University planned - 372
(Also see Homelands)

INDEX 495
Transport services - 178 Travel documents - 107
(Also see Transkei)
Trials: after disturbances - 144
under Security laws - 127 et seq Bloem - I 34
Faku - 138
Hamilton and others - 135 Holiday - 142
Khuzwayo and Variava - 141 Louw - 141
Molobi - 32
Molokeng and others - 128 Nusas leaders - 139 Pheto - 133
Pietermaritzburg-143 Rabkins and Cronin-138 Saso and BPC members-130 South West Africa-see South West Students tried at Grahamstown-135 Transkei-142 Tshabalala-133 "Turfloop" students-141 Tuberculosis-381 Turnhalle-see South West Africa

U
United Kingdom-see Britain United Nations General Assembly-398, 399
Security Council: general-399
meeting on Angola--428 meetings on Namibia--459, 478 meeting on Rhodesia-439 SA's payments to-398
SA request for help with Angolan refugees-423
SA request for investigation of situation in Angola-426 United Party-6, 40, 48, 156, 231 et seq, 464 United States: Attitude to Angolan war, 417, 420, 421, 430
Attitude to Rhodesian situation-437, 439
Investments in SA-272 Policy towards SA-405 United Students' Front-79
Universities: Closure during disturbances-63, 64
Degrees and diplomas awarded-366
Disturbances at--63, 64, 66, 70 et seq, 86 et seq
Enrolment at-366
Expenditure per student-366 University of Durban-Westville-369 University of Natal-383 University of South Africa-368 University of the North-370 University of the Western Cape-369 University of the Witwatersrand-367 University of Zululand-370 Urban Bantu Council, Soweto-55, 56, 57, 64, 67, 83, 182, 183
Urban Bantu Councils-183

A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS, 1976

V
Van Der Merwe, Prof. H. W.-77, 87 Van Zyl Slabbert, Dr. F., M.P.-157, 159, 160
Venda: developments in 1976-253
(Also see Homelands)
Vigilante action-97 Vital statistics-32 Vorster the Hon. B. J., M.P.-16, 18, 27, 42, 59, 79, 415, 419, 427, 438 450, 451, 476 (Also see numerous references under subject heads)

w
White people's education:
Curricula-352 Expenditure on 321, 351 Pupils-322, 351 Schools-322 SA Teachers' Council for Whites Act-353
women for Peace--30, 81 Works and liaison committees-see Employment,116/76-
Zambia and other frontline states: attitudes to Rhodesia-433, 436, 438, 440, 448, 453
relations with SA-401
SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS
ENROLMENT FORM
Please accept my cheque/postal order for R ................. in payment of:
Donor/Ordinary/Student/Associate/Affiliated Membership. (Mark whichever is applicable.) Signed: ....................................
NAME: (Block letters) ..............................
(Professor/Dr./The Rev./Mr./Mrs./Miss/Ms.)
ADDRESS: (Block letters) ..............................
............................................................
SA INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS
HEAD OFFICE
Auden House, 68 De Korte St. (2001), or P.O. Box 97 (2000), Johannesburg.
REGIONAL OFFICES
Cape Town: 5 Long St., Mowbray (7700). Durban: 8 Guildhall Arcade, Leslie St. (off Gardiner St.) (4001), or P.O. Box 803 (4000).
East London: 116 Medina House, 40 Cambridge St. (5201), or P.O. Box 1162 (5200).
Port Elizabeth: 8 Darling St., North End, (6001), or P.O. Box 2655, North End (6056).
Southern Transvaal: Auden House (as above).
BRANCHES AND LOCAL COMMITTEES OR REPRESENTATIVES
Bloemfontein: Dr. D. W. Engel, 9 John Knox St. (9301). Grahamstown: Mr. James Moulder, Department of Philosophy, Rhodes University (6140).
Kokstad: Mrs. Fay Rennie, P.O. Box 42 (4700). Pietermaritzburg: The Old Mill, Printing Office St. (3201). Queenstown: Mr. P. Pillay, P.O. Box 216 (5320).
MEMBERSHIP
The minimum subscriptions are:
Associate members (South Africa only): R2,50 annually
Student members: R2,50 annually
Ordinary members: R6 annually
Affiliated organisations: R25 annually
Donor members: R25 annually
Donor life members: R210
Associate members receive Race Relations News monthly, and the Annual Report on request. They do not have voting rights.
All other members have voting rights.
Ordinary and Student members receive Race Relations News monthly, and the Annual Report on request. Each may buy one copy of the current Survey of Race Relations at 50 per cent discount.
Donor life and Donor members receive Race Relations News, the Annual Report, and the Survey of Race Relations (free), and certain other occasional publications. Affiliated membership entitles the organisation to two representatives on the Institute's Council and to three sets of its publications. If you wish to become a member or enrol a friend, please complete the enrolment form on the preceding page and send it to one of the Institute's offices.

THE NATURE AND AIMS OF THE
SA INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS
The Institute furthers inter-racial peace, harmony, and co-operation. The Institute seeks the facts, and makes them known. The Institute is concerned with all the people of the country. It promotes discussion and understanding; it opposes discrimination and injustice; and it works to further the social, economic, and political development of all communities. The Institute is not a political body, nor is it allied to or given financial help by any political party or government. Membership is open to all irrespective of race, colour, creed, nationality, or country of residence.